National-anarchism

National-anarchism is a radical, anti-capitalist, anti-Marxist and anti-statist ideology. First-wave national-anarchists advocate that different ethnic and racial groups should peacefully coexist by developing separately in their own confederations of autonomous tribal communes within a post-capitalist stateless society.[1][2]

The term *national-anarchism* dates back as far as the 1920s.[1] The few scholars who have studied national-anarchism conclude that it represents a further evolution in the thinking of the radical right rather than an entirely new dimension.[3][4][5] National-anarchism has elicited skepticism and outright hostility from both left- and right-wing critics. Some accuse national-anarchists of being white nationalists who promote ethnic and racial separatism, while others argue they want the militant chic of calling themselves "anarchists" without the historical and philosophical baggage that accompanies such a claim.[2][6]

The National-Anarchist Movement was propounded since the late 1990s by Troy Southgate.[1]

National-anarchist star

National-Anarchist Movement flag

Contents

History

The term *national-anarchist* dates back as far as the 1920s, when Helmut Franke, a German conservative revolutionary writer, used it to describe his political stance. However, it would be the writings of other members of the conservative revolutionary movement, such as Ernst Jünger, which would later provide the philosophical foundation of the contemporary national-anarchist movement.[1]

In the mid-1990s, Troy Southgate, a former member of the British far-right National Front and founder of the International Third Position, began to move away from Strasserism and Catholic distributism towards post-left anarchism and the primitivist green anarchism articulated in Richard Hunt's 1997 book *To End Poverty: The Starvation of the Periphery by the Core*.[1] However, he fused his anarchist ideology with the radical traditionalism of Italian esotericist Julius Evola and the ethnopluralism and pan-European nationalism of French new right philosopher Alain de Benoist to create a newer form of national-anarchism.[1]

In 1998, inspired by the concepts of the political soldier and leaderless resistance, Southgate formed the National Revolutionary Faction (NRF) as a clandestine cell system of professional revolutionaries conspiring to overthrow the British state.[1] The NRF stressed this was a "highly militant strategy" and advised that some members may only fund the organization.[7] Southgate claims that the NRF took part in anti-vivisection protests in August 2000 alongside hunt saboteurs and the Animal Liberation Front by following a strategy of entryism,[1][8] but its only known public action under the "national-anarchist" name was to hold an anarchist heretics fair in October 2000, in which a number of fringe groups participated. However, after a coalition of green anarchists and anti-

fascists blocked three further events from being held in 2001, Southgate and the NRF abandoned this strategy and retreated to purely disseminating their ideas in Internet forums.[1][3] The NRF had long been aware of the bridging power of the Internet, which provided it with a reach and influence hitherto not available to the groupuscular right.[9] It thus became part of the Euro-American radical right, a virtual community of European and American right-wing extremists seeking to establish a new pan-national and ethnoreligious identity for all people they believe belong to the Aryan race".[4] Southgate disbanded the NRF in 2003.

Shortly after Southgate and other NRF associates became involved with *Synthesis*, the online journal of a forum called the *Cercle de la Rose Noire*, which seeks a fusion of anarchism, occultism and metapolitics with the contemporary concerns of the ecological and global justice movements Thus, through the medium of musical subcultures (black metal and neofolk music scenes) and the creation of permanent autonomous zones for neo-*völkisch* communes, they hope to disseminate their subversive ideas throughout society in order to achieve cultural hegemony.[1]

The national-anarchist idea has spread around the world over the Internet, assisted by groups such as the Thule-Seminar which set up web sites in the 1990s.[10] In the United States, only a few web sites have been established but there has been a trend towards a steady increase.[6] National-anarchism in the U.S. began as a relatively obscure movement, made up of probably fewer than 200 individuals, led by Andrew Yeoman of the Bay Area National Anarchists (BANA), based in the San Francisco Bay Area, and a couple of other groups in Northern California and Idaho. Organizations based on national-anarchist ideology have gained a foothold in Russia and have been accused of sowing turmoil in the environmental movement in Germany.[2] There are adherents in England, Spain and Australia, among other nations.[2]

On 8 September 2007 in Sydney, Australia, the anti-globalization movement mobilized against neoliberal economic policies by opposing the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation summit. During the street protests, national-anarchists infiltrated the left-anarchist black bloc but the police had to protect them from being expelled by irate activists.[2][11] Since then, national-anarchists have joined other marches in Australia and in the U.S.; in April 2008, they protested on behalf of the Tibetan independence movement against the Chinese government during the Olympic torch relay in both Canberra, Australia, and San Francisco.[6] National-anarchists in the U.S. are carefully studying the successes and failures of their more prominent international counterparts as they attempt to similarly win converts from the radical environmentalist and white nationalist movements in the U.S.[2]

On May Day 2010, BANA participated in the Golden Gate Minutemen's march in front of San Francisco City Hall in support of Arizona's anti-illegal immigration senate bill. The march took place during International Workers' Day demonstrations as an attempt to counter mass protest against the bill, in San Francisco's Mission District. Local news media reported that Yeoman and four other national-anarchists were physically assaulted by about 10 protesters as they left the march.[12]

Ideology

The conservative revolutionary concept of the anarch, as articulated by Jünger, is central to national-anarchism.[1] National-anarchists see modernity, liberalism, materialism, consumerism, immigration, multiracialism, multiculturalism, and globalization as the primary causes of the social decline of nations and cultural identity.[1] They stress a strategic and ideological alliance of racial separatists in the Western world, neo-Eurasianists in Russia, Islamists in Muslim-majority countries, autonomist and secessionist movements in the least developed countries, and anti-Zionists everywhere to resist the "New World Order"—globalization viewed as an instrument of Jewish-dominated international banking and American imperialism—that is inevitably leading to global economic collapse and ecological collapse.[1][6]

National-anarchism echoes most strains of anarchism by expressing a desire to reorganize human relationships, with an emphasis on replacing the hierarchical structures of the state and capitalism with local, community decision-making. National-anarchists, however, aim towards a decentralized social order where each new tribe builds and maintains a permanent autonomous zone for a self-sufficient commune, which is politically meritocratic, economically mutualistic, socially and culturally traditional, and ecologically sustainable.[1]

Asserting the right to difference, national-anarchists publicly advocate a model of society in which communities that wish to can practice racial, ethnic, religious or sexual separatism are able to peacefully coexist alongside mixed or integrated communities without requiring force.[13] They claim that "national autonomous zones" (NAZs) could exist with their own rules for permanent

residence without the strict ethnic divisions and violence advocated by other forms of "blood and soil" ethnic nationalism.[13] Some National-Anarchists, however, see the establishment of whites-only NAZs which have seceded from the state.

Many national-anarchists are influenced by the perennial philosophy of Evola and the radical traditionalist school, which calls for a "revolt against the modern world".[2] They therefore have a pessimistic vision of modern Western culture yet optimistically believe that the "decline of the West" will pave the way for its materialism to be expunged and replaced by the idealism of primordial tradition.[1] Many national-anarchists reject Christianity because they believe it is a Semitic religion that usurped the Aryan legacy of Mithraic mysteries as the historically dominant religion and moral system of the West.[1] Some embrace a spiritual anarchism based on different forms of neopaganism, occultism and ethnic mysticism, especially Nordic racial paganism, which they view as genuine expressions of Western spirituality, culture and identity that can also serve as an antidote to the socially alienating effects of consumer culture. Other national-anarchists hold racial segregation and cultural revitalization through the establishment of confederations of autonomous tribal communes ("*volk* autonomy") as the ultimate barrier against globalized racial and cultural homogenization[1]

According to American panarchist Keith Preston, national-anarchism and classical American ideals of Jeffersonian democracy are reconcilable, despite the anti-Americanism of European national-anarchists and the patriotism of American paleoconservatives, because of their common values: regionalism, localism, agrarianism, and traditionalism.[13]

Position on political spectrum

While the combination of post-left anarchist opposition to statism and capitalism, with right-wing support for ethnic and racial separatism, makes its classification on the left-right political spectrum problematic, the following scholars who have examined national-anarchism consider it to be on the radical right.[1][3][5][6]

In 2003, Roger Griffin argued that national-anarchism is a segment of the groupuscular right which has evolved towards a "mazeway resynthesis" between "classic fascism, third positionism, neo-anarchism and new types of anti-systemic politics born of the anti-globalization movement", whose main ideological innovation is a stateless palingenetic ultranationalism[3]

In 2005, Graham D. Macklin, in his essay *Co-opting the counter culture: Troy Southgate and the National Revolutionary Faction*, building off of the writings of Griffin, argued that the conservative revolutionary concept of the anarch provides sanction for the ideological shapeshifting and unrestrained eclecticism of national-anarchism, allowing its adherents to assert they have transcended the dichotomy of conventional politics to embrace higher political forms that are "beyond left and right".[1] Macklin further argued that despite a protean capacity for change, far-right groupuscules retain some principes which he calls core fascist values (namely palingenesis, ultranationalism, anti-liberal and anti-Marxist third positionism, and violent direct action). Macklin therefore concludes that national-anarchism is a synthesis of anarchism and fascism (or, more precisely, the radical traditionalism of Evola), which represents a "revolt against the modern world".[1]

In 2005, Alan Sykes, in his book *The Radical Right in Britain: Social Imperialism to the BNP*, argued that national-anarchism represents a further evolution in the thinking of the radical right rather than an entirely new dimension, a response to the new situation of the late 20th century in which the apparent triumph of materialist capitalism on a global scale requires a greater assertion of the centrality of anti-materialist nationalism.[5]

Criticism

National-anarchism has critics on both the left and right of the political spectrum. Both left- and right-wing critics look upon their politics with skepticism, if not outright hostility, in part because they find it difficult to consolidate national-anarchism into the traditional right-left spectrum.

Left-wing critics assert that national-anarchism is a "Trojan horse for white nationalism" and represents what many anti-fascists see as the potential new face of fascism. They argue that it is a form of crypto-fascism which hopes to avoid the stigma of classic fascism by appropriating symbols, slogans, and stances of the left-wing anarchist movement, while engaging in entryism to inject some core fascist values into the anti-globalization and environmental movements. They further argue that national-anarchists hope to draw members away from traditional white nationalist groups to their own synthesis of ideas, which they claim are "neither left nor right".

These critics warn that the danger national-anarchists represent is not in their marginal political strength, but in their potential to show an innovative way that neo-fascist groups can rebrand themselves and reset their project on a new footing. Even if the results are modest, this can disrupt left-wing social movements and their focus on egalitarianism and social justice; and instead spread separatist ideas based on naturalistic fallacy, racism, antisemitism, heterosexism, and antifeminism amongst grassroots activists.[6]

Some far-right critics argue that neo-Nazis joining the national-anarchist movement will lead to them losing credit for the successes of their "anti-Zionist" struggle if it is co-opted by left-wing anarchists. They further argue that national-anarchists want the militant chic of calling themselves "anarchists" without the historical and philosophical baggage that accompanies such a claim, such as the link with 19th-century Jewish anarchists.[2]

See also

- Alt-right
- Anarcho-communism
- Anarchism and nationalism
- Autonome Nationalisten
- Black anarchism
- Communalism
- Ethnic nationalism
- Ethnopluralism
- Kinism
- Nouvelle Droite
- National syndicalism
- Neo-Luddism
- Neotribalism
- Paleolibertarianism
- Panarchism
- Pierre-Joseph Proudhon
- Post-left anarchism

Notes

1. Macklin 2005.
2. Sanchez 2009.
3. Griffin 2003.
4. Goodrick-Clarke 2003
5. Sykes 2005.
6. Sunshine 2008.
7. Quote taken from the NRF website. See Macklin 2005 for a discussion of the NRF's membership structure.
8. Goodrick-Clarke 2003 p. 50
9. Whine 1999.
10. Dahl 1999, p. 92.
11. *The Sunday Telegraph*, September 9, 2007."[Some protest groups] seemed thankful for the strong police presence. Twenty members of an anarchist movement, all wearing black hoodies with their faces covered by bandanas, were escorted away by police after marching only 20m. The group, New Right Australia and New Zealand, became a focal point for the crowd, who turned on them, accusing them of being Nazis."
12. *SF Weekly,* May 1, 2010; KGO-TV report, May 1, 2010
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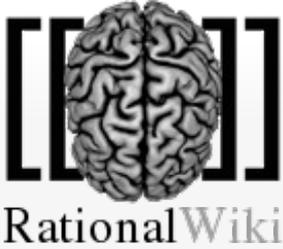
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Search

National anarchism

National anarchism is a political movement which advocates replacing the state and capitalism with small-scale stateless societies as the most effective means of ensuring racial separatism and other aims of fascism. Supporters claim that national anarchism is neither left nor right but is rather a syncretic movement that is 'beyond left and right'.[1] (Compare *Third positionism*.) Nevertheless, as national anarchism has developed out of post-war European fascism, most scholars consider it to be a far-right movement.[2][3][4]

National anarchism has been met with hostility from other anti-capitalist anarchists. One eco-anarchist magazine implored its readers to treat national anarchists 'as if they were Klan members or Nazis.'[5] This hostility has developed due to the racism inherent in national anarchist ideology and their stated tactic of siphoning off members of left groups.

TL;DR? It's for neo-Nazis who don't like central governments.

**A lunatic Chaplin imitator
and his greatest fans**
Nazism

First as tragedy

- Adolf Hitler
- Richard Spencer
- Rudolf Hess
- Joseph Goebbels
- Savitri Devi
- Tom Metzger

Then as farce

- Matthew Heimbach
- Neo-Nazism
- The Turner Diaries
- August Kreis III
- Sebastian Gorka
- William Luther Pierce

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Contents

This is what national anarchists actually

believe [edit]

Leading national anarchist and founder of the movement Troy Southgate has stated that national anarchists seek 'political, economic and social decentralisation right down to the smallest possible unit'. [6] National anarchists would replace the state with 'local, autonomous village communities'.[6] In the national anarchist vision these village communities would be run based on co-operation not conflict. Decision making would be communal. There would be wide ownership of the means of production. The economies of these communities would ecologically and economically sustainable.[7]

National anarchists believe that humans should live life as 'organically' as possible, according to an ill-defined 'Natural Order'.[4][8] This belief in 'natural living' underpins all national anarchist thought. In their own conception they are 'in revolt against the modern world'.[4] The Industrial Revolution is seen as one of the greatest catastrophes in human history.[9] They believe that it put humanity on a course of moral and environmental decline at odds with their idea of 'natural living' due to the urbanisation it spawned. In national anarchist literature the superiority of rural over urban living is always stressed.[4]

Capitalism is seen as moving man away from the 'Natural Order'. This is because it spawns further industrialization, leading to greater urbanisation and globalisation. With these come gender egalitarianism, homosexuality and race-mixing, all of which are seen as against 'natural living'. Materialism, consumerism and classism also thrive in this system.[6]

National anarchists do not look to Marxism for any sort of solution in part because it spawned further industrialization and urbanization where it was put into practice.[10] Instead they look to stateless, tribal societies for answers, albeit with their own necessary modifications.

While libertarian anarchists oppose hierarchy on principle, national anarchists do not. Troy Southgate has referred to egalitarianism as a 'myth'[6], calling hierarchies 'a basic fact of nature'[11] It is argued that capitalism produces rulers who did not earn their place and results in said leaders exploiting everyone else.[10] In a national anarchist society, proper leaders would supposedly emerge, winning authority based on merit and these would bring up the rest of society instead of exploiting it. These leaders would be the most influential people in their society but would not have any sort of vested authority. They would be more akin to 'big men' or chiefs than kings or presidents. Thus, 'authority remains, even as government is abolished'.[4]

Racism   [edit]

The key aspect of the 'Natural Order' that national anarchists seek to 'revive' is racial separation. National anarchists seek to create societies that are first and foremost organised along racial lines. Since virtually all national anarchists are white,[*citation NOT needed*] what they are essentially seeking is white separatism, though, of course, they claim not to be racist.[12] Troy Southgate has said that modernization has resulted in a situation where the white race is at risk of extinction, as much at risk as 'the white rhino and the giant panda'.[10] He has described England as a 'multi-racial hellhole'.[6] That the entire concept of race is a product of the modernization they claim to oppose is ignored.

It cannot be stressed enough that preventing race-mixing is the most important goal of national anarchism and racial separation is the first component of any 'natural order'. This seems obvious enough given the name of the ideology but some proponents have attempted to say that the 'national' simply refers to establishing 'nations' of like-minded individuals. Yet leading American national anarchist Andrew Yeoman has described national anarchism as a blueprint for 'ethnic survival'.[13] When asked what England will look like in 100 years Troy Southgate answered only with a dodgy analogy about how adding more drops of black ink to 'clean water' results in it becoming unclean and eventually not even water anymore.[6] For national anarchists everything else advocated is 'of secondary importance' or merely a means of establishing a white separatist end.

Like many racists, national anarchists have argued that advocating racial separatism is not racism.[14] They argue that they are being unfairly picked on given that it was black anarchists who first started refusing to let whites into their meetings.[5] But that ignores why safe spaces were established in the first place and seems wilfully ignorant. Indeed, national anarchists are fond of playing the victim card with Andrew Yeoman whining about 'intense persecution for racialist beliefs'.[13]

Anti-Semitism is a big feature in the national anarchist movement, which is not surprising given its origins. Troy Southgate has promoted the work of the Holocaust-denying Institute for Historical Review, while other leading proponents have been more explicit in their denial of the Holocaust.[8] National anarchists blame the Jews for much of the world's problems, such as the recent financial crisis. This is cloaked by claiming to be anti-Zionist. For example, the International Monetary Fund has been denounced as 'Zionist controlled'. That national anarchists are merely continuing the traditional fascist line of blaming greedy Jewish financiers for the

world's problems is obvious, despite the cloak. They even follow the traditional fascist line of blaming Jews for both capitalism and communism.[15] The cover has slipped on occasion though, such as when Troy Southgate described the known Anti-Semitic forgery *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* as being 'in accord with the main events of history'.[8]

Other horrors   [edit]

National anarchism is regarded as being a homophobic movement.[3][4] National anarchists in the United States and elsewhere have participated in counter-demonstrations at gay pride parades.[5] Troy Southgate has stated that he pulled his own children out of public education in part due to the UK national curriculum teaching 'reading, writing and buggery'.[3] Homosexuality is said to exist outside the 'Natural Order' and, again, is the product of industrialisation and urbanisation. This, of course, ignores the many instances of pre-industrial stateless societies accepting homosexuality and indeed the abundance of homosexuality in the animal kingdom. Why homosexuality is 'unnatural' is never adequately explained. It appears to be just another example of national anarchists using the cloak of 'nature' to attack things they don't like.

Unlike many other anti-capitalist anarchists, national anarchists believe that the family is 'the basic unit of society'.[4] They believe that men and women have different roles to play within the family and society at large with, of course, men being head in both of these. They argue that traditional gender roles are 'natural' and that feminism 'encourages women to rebel against their inherent feminine instincts'.[8] National anarchists are anti-abortion generally, though debate on whether abortion should be permitted in certain circumstances and what circumstances exists within national anarchist circles.[3] Divorce is also held in contempt, as is artificial birth control.[4]

Counter claim   [edit]

National anarchists counter criticism that they are bigoted and that their ideology is inherently oppressive and authoritarian by arguing that they are only describing the kind of separate, autonomous communities that they themselves would like to live in. People with more liberal values would be free to, and would, form their own autonomous communities, they argue.

The problem with this line of reasoning is that it only holds for the initial group to establish the kind of society national anarchists envisage. As new generations come in, some of them would be born homosexual or transgender and would have to either hide

their identity or leave. Given the stress on the importance of family, the belief that men are its natural head and the hostility to divorce, it cannot even be said for certain that women and young people would be free to leave for other societies if they wanted to or felt they had to.

History [edit]

Although the term 'national anarchism' has existed since the 1920s, the movement is today most associated with the 'National Anarchist Movement' (N-AM) created by Troy Southgate.[16] After leaving the British National Front in 1989 Southgate was involved in various third position groups before he came to the conclusion in the late 1990s that anarchism was the most effective way to secure the fundamental goals of the groups he was previously involved with.

Followers of the nascent ideology began to appear at demonstrations and fairs in 1999 but received a hostile reception by other anarchists, occasionally even being physically attacked. As Casey Sanchez of the Southern Poverty Law Center explains,

'Unifying anarchists has been likened to herding cats. But if there is one theme that most anarchists will rally around, it is that of stamping out racism, especially organized racism driven by white nationalist ideology'.[5]

National anarchists still appear on the streets and are still met with a negative reception.[17] However, they have utilised the internet in order to spread their ideas. This is despite their belief that the internet 'leads to a greater dependence on technology' than they hold acceptable.[6] A broad national anarchist website was created and in 2010 the national anarchist manifesto was uploaded to it.

Although originating in Britain, there are now adherents of the ideology in many other countries. National anarchists are active in the United States through the Bay Area National Anarchists (BANA) group, as well as a few other groups.[5] Adherents are also present in Russia, Australia, and Germany (where they have 'sown turmoil in the environmental movement'.[5]

National anarchists have always attempted to recruit people from all over the political spectrum. Andrew Yeoman has boasted that 'we have ex-liberals, ex-neo-cons, we have Ron Paul supporters, we have ex-skinheads, we have apolitical people that have been turned onto our cause'.[5]

National anarchists have adopted the aesthetics of the far-left in an attempt to recruit members.[8] They have also adopted the frequent white nationalist tactic of using music to draw in young people to the movement.

National anarchists have long regarded '[entryism](#)' as their best chance to give their ideas influence. They look back to the success of Militant Tendency in getting their members elected to Liverpool City Council in the 1980s as [Labour Party](#) candidates. National anarchist leaders have called upon followers to 'infiltrate bona fide organizations, institutions and political parties with the intention of gaining control of them for our own purposes'.[8] Southgate has argued that the groups that should be infiltrated are those with a 'weak, apathetic or elderly leadership'.[10] National anarchists entering these groups should be 'polite and courteous' and quiet about their true politics. Only when trust has been established should the infiltrator invite more national anarchists in, the process continuing until they can take control of the organization easily.[10]

Followers of the movement hope ultimately to gain enough supporters through recruiting and gaining control of existing organizations that they can create 'National Autonomous Zones' where their ideas can be put into practice. These zones would be separate from the state's economy. The examples would ideally be followed. Thus by creating a counter-society from below, the state would ultimately fall into irrelevance.[4][13]

Assessment   [edit]

Troy Southgate has previously mocked the 'inexhaustible plethora of ideological variants which come and go like empires founded upon sand' that industrial society creates.[10] Why he expects national anarchism to be any different is puzzling. The movement has no popular support and cannot even demonstrate without being forced away. Indeed, very few people are even aware that such a thing as 'national anarchism' exists. There is also an understanding that the state would not allow 'national autonomous zones' that secede from it to exist for long. With that in mind some national anarchists have suggested that they must flee the west to establish their communities, which is amusing given that adherents have participated in anti-immigration rallies.[6][8]

National anarchism is going nowhere but it is still worth discussing. This is because, as Spencer Sunshine points out, it is important to understand how fascists are changing their tactics and aesthetics in order to re-brand themselves. National anarchism offers a perfect example of this, as they eschew the fuhrer principle and adopt aesthetics more commonly associated with the far left all while maintaining the core vision of fascism. That is of 'the national community rising phoenix like after a period encroaching decadence which all but destroyed it'.[8]

See also   [edit]

- **Anarcho-capitalism** - The other movement falling under the umbrella term of 'anarchism' that most other anarchists despise. Decide for yourself which is more morally reprehensible!
- **Third positionism** - For a look at the broader movement mixing anti-capitalist economics and far-right social policies.
- **Neoreactionary movement** - though their far-end, the alt-right, is pretty much straight-up 14/88 white nationalists
- **Alt-right**
- **Authoritarian democracy**

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3. ↑ 3.0 3.1 3.2 3.3 Graham D. Macklin (2005). 'Co-opting the counter-culture: Troy Southgate and the National Revolutionary Faction'. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 39(3).
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		Authoritarian
Categories: Nazism	Anarchism	wingnuttery

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Towards Unsettling Paths

Llud

April 19th, 2015

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"*If non-indigenous anarchists are to develop ways of interacting with indigenous peoples that are different from those of political organizations they must begin from direct communication, solidarity and trust. Anyone who really wants to act in solidarity with others does not stumble around inside their homes, uninvited, stinking of arrogance and ignorance, and taking up space. It should go without saying that cultural differences and the unique experience of colonization should be understood and respected.*

The old racist and inaccurate idea of the "noble savage", which a few petty anarchist philosophers still hold on to, is in need of a complete demolition. As mentioned earlier, there are substantial variations between indigenous nations and communities in terms of their internal social structure. So a generalized model can't match up with reality.

Real solidarity can be put into practice through direct contact with the indigenous sovereignty movement, and attacks on common enemies — using the principles of direct action, self-organization, and constant struggle." - Insurgent S, *Colonization, Self-Government and Self-Determination in British Columbia,* 2003

The Path I Know

I have lived nearly my entire life on the traditional lands of the Sḵwx̱wú7mesh, x̌ʷməθkʷəy̓əm and Tsleil-Waututh peoples. For this, it is customary to thank the surviving members of these peoples and their ancestors, but I am unsure how I would accept such gratitude in their shoes. Since the beginning of contact with europeans (diverse groups of people from the same sub-continent as my ancestors), the overbearing trend has been the horror of domination and genocide. Thankfulness, in this context, seems like adding insult to injury more than anything.

Still, the land and mountains are beautiful. The water is clean to drink, and I have thought for a long time of how beautiful, and bountiful the earth, forests, creeks and oceans must have been here, when people were not living in a relationship of domination over the earth, before the British and other europeans came and imposed the terror of capitalism, colonialism and the state. I am thankful to be aware of this, and to understand the task of undoing it all.

As a non-indigenous person living under the weight of capitalism, I have wondered since childhood who I am, and what I am to do. Since a young age, I have clashed with authorities, from schools to Christian ideas and police. As a working class child living in a densely populated area of a suburb, I was bound to form relationships with some of the people from the local Sḵwx̱wú7mesh and Tsleil-Waututh reserves. This has always been a part of how I understood the world. It was always clear that here, people were categorically oppressed by the system, and that the misery I felt under the weight of society was hardly even close to the experiences of many Sḵwx̱wú7mesh and Tsleil-Waututh. I do not, nor have I, nor will I ever identify with the colonizer, the police, the bosses, the bureaucrats, the rich fucks, any of them, and since this has lasted me to my thirties, I see no reason why this will change before my dying days.

At some point before my mid-twenties I became aware of the anarchist movement and I decided that this best represented my tension with this world. Soon after I moved to a part of town, not far away, where I thought I might be able to find other anarchists and engage with the social movements happening in the area. At this time my understanding of anarchy was something more similar to an anarcho-syndicalist point of view with a heavy emphasis on atheism, which

saw the workers taking over the means of production and running the economy in their own interests.

In Vancouver, indigenous people are generally at the forefront of movements that represent some level of class conflict. Many of these urban native people are not from the local reserves or peoples, but are from many different places in the geographic area known as "Canada", pushed off of the land by colonization and industrialization and forced into the Eastside of Vancouver. I am thankful to say that the experience of being in the streets, and witnessing ceremonies with these people caused me to change my archaic view of the world and how I saw anarchy. It became clear to me that this industrial hell is for no-one, and that bringing forth an industrial utopia, worker self-organized or otherwise, would likely end up in the same result of colonial oppression and domination that was causing the misery I already knew so well.

I recently took a trip across this continent and back to the european sub-continent. In some of the places I visited, I intended to see the lands some of my ancestors came from. Having forged close relationships with indigenous people in struggle here, it seemed necessary to think about my own relationships to land and ancestors, a perplexing subject for someone who's ancestors haven't been indigenous in a very, very long time[1]. These are feelings and facts that I am still grappling with, and may be for a while longer.

Another important aspect of this journey was meeting and having conversations with anarchists from the sub-continent about a variety of struggles and ideas. I spent time in London, one of the centres of the hell of domination that covers most of the earth. I also spent time at a ZAD (zone of defense) occupation in western France[2], as well as among comrades in Athens, Berlin and a number of other places having many interesting conversations.

The autonomous zone in France was a land occupation to stop an Airport from being built. People had fought off police attacks and were forging a life without police and state intrusions, while trying to mediate between many different participants in the land struggle with vastly different ideas and motivations. An interesting observation that my travelling partner had was how even here, where you had people casting off the shackles of industrial development, there was a massive disconnect from the land and ecosystems. The best idea offered for reclaiming the land was a pastoral activity, with hay farming and keeping agricultural livestock. They had reclaimed the land and put it in common, yes, but there was no proposal as to whether they would allow the forest to reclaim any area and find ways to live with the ecosystems of the earth. This was a common sight along the "european" anarchist landscape; people there are so far removed from any concept of indigenous life and the wild spaces of the earth, that it is very hard for them to comprehend these possibilities.

In Athens and Berlin, I had some of the conversations that helped motivate me to write this article. The comrades I talked with described to me a general distaste for the idea of stolen or ancestral lands, and were displeased that anarchists would lend their solidarity to concepts and struggles that they saw as inherently authoritarian. The conversations were both extremely frus-

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[1]By indigenous, I mean those who have an intimate knowledge of the lands that they inhabit, and that get much of their identity as a person from their experiences and relationships on and with these lands. An ancestral connection to the land is common, and very important.

[2]ZAD refers to a social movement that exists in France today. They are land occupations that halt development in a number of places, and in the midst of these occupations attempt to set up anti-capitalist communitarian relationships in the form of autonomous zones. The one described in this article is at Notre-Dame-Des-Landes, and is often referred to as "La Zad."

trating and refreshing. In my own context, for better or for worse, we often do not question such subjects. While it makes sense given our experiences on these lands, it is perhaps not fitting of anarchists, and stops us from pushing further in our goal of the liberation for all people.

Land, Indigenous People, Anarchy

> "*The idea that the state will inevitably reemerge over time is another of these hopelessly eurocentric fantasies in which Western culture indoctrinates people. Dozens of indigenous societies around the world never developed states, they thrived for thousands of years, they have never surrendered, and when they finally triumph against colonialism they will cast off the impositions of white culture, which includes the state and capitalism, and revitalize their traditional cultures, which they still carry with them. Many indigenous groups have experience going back hundreds or even thousands of years of contact with the state, and at no point have they voluntarily surrendered to state authority. Western anarchists have much to learn from this persistence, and all people from Western society should take the hint: the state is not an inevitable adaptation, it is an imposition, and once we learn how to defeat it for good, we will not let it come back.*" - Peter Gelderloos, *Anarchy Works*

Indigenous groups and individuals are as diverse as one can imagine. Some groups are traditionally hierarchical and had created vast, highly structured civilizations prior to contact. Others are hierarchical and created semi-sedentary, semi-feudal societies. Many others are non-hierarchical, or very limited in top-down structure.

Among all these peoples there is also vast difference in the level of bureaucracy used in maintaining social and religious relations between individuals, clans, tribes, and neighbouring peoples. Some were more individualistic, whereas others have a more collective identity.

There is also some difference in how each particular european empire impacted these groups. For example, what time and technological level these european empires were at when contact began has had an effect on how intact traditional cultural structures are within each people. It also has an effect on the level of recuperation versus naked repression and Christianization that can be seen in relation to modern colonial power structures.

I am making these points not with the intention of building a patronizing anthropological thesis of indigenous peoples, but instead to deconstruct grand sweeping declarations of who people are. To make generalizations for the positive or negative of whole groups of people, has the effect of erasing people and furthering the colonial project.

The conquest of the "Americas", as well as of the entire globe, and its unique groups and individuals has been a very long process. Zig Zag, an indigenous warrior, who has been involved in the anarchist movement on this continent since the 1980's, has described colonization as a "war for territory". Since what colonial power structures need is access to land, resources, and exploitable populations, indigenous peoples are marked for annihilation and assimilation. At the heart of indigenous struggles, and in fact, their very existence, is the land on which indigenous people live.

When the European powers, and civilizations before them, came to occupy land, they had to first kill-off or subjugate the people who lived there. This is the common thread in how this horrible world came to be. As anarchists, we feel a deep hatred for these circumstances. Since

the word anarchy came to be, we have thrown ourselves with an admirable recklessness at the nation-state in our desire to destroy it. We have seldom cared (nor should we ever have) whether the state takes the form of capitalism, socialism, democracy, fascism, mercantilism, nor even if it comes out of a compromised national liberation struggle.

Indigenous people are diverse and have many ways in which they relate to a state. Some may choose a more reformist route, choosing to use a capitalist framework with how they relate to their lands. Others do what most working-class and subjugated peoples do: just try to survive and get along. What I have been most inspired by as an anarchist, is those who oppose the intrusions of the state into their own free ways of life. These people often practice the use of warrior societies in opposing state and capitalist projects on their territories. The people themselves are unique individuals who may have differing views, but one common thread I have noticed is that these people are often heavily linked to the traditional ways of life of their peoples. These people are unfortunately often a minority in their communities, but they have held on to much of what colonial society has tried to rip from them. I have also noticed that what these people usually fight for is not a relationship of domination over vast groups of people in the form of a nation-state, but to freely recreate with others the forms of freedom and control over their own lives that their ancestors enjoyed.

> *"…and what I've studied about anarchy, is anarchy wishes for social order, but not at everyone else's expense. Not at anyone else's expense. No one else should feel degraded because you're comfortable. Everyone is equal, you organize horizontal… traditional societies are no different. Yes this is a traditional hierarchical system, there is a chief, there is women chiefs, there is children of chiefs. I am born into nobility myself, my mother is a chief, my father is a chief, but that does not mean that I can't be an anarchist. It means that I am looking at that traditional hierarchical system that is also sick. My father is on a decolonization path himself, and I'm not going tell myself that I'm decolonized. I've freed my mind, I've kept a free mind, I'm still impacted, I am not decolonized. Now why I say that is because settler society also must get a sense of what decolonization is, and you're on that path as anarchists. You've taken that step to decolonize.*
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> *And how does that relate to traditional societies? In traditional societies you ask permission to be on the land. In our territory, in our camp, you went through a protocol, but it wasn't police standing at the bridge, telling you, you have to ask us for a right to be here, we didn't say that. We stood there very, very openly and welcoming, but stern. Not cold, not really warm, but just… "I'm not going to get erased, I'm not going to get bulldozed, I'm not going to get railroaded". But at the same time "I'm thankful you're here, this is the protocol we're going to go through first, before you enter the territory". Not just to say you need permission first, which (traditionally) was actually part of it, you're asking the chiefs permission to be on the territory. But what you were asking was not just to be there, like rights, but how can we share responsibility to be on the land. Sharing responsibilities, sharing the (natural) law, self regulation, to me that totally relates to anarchy."* - Mel Bazil, Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en, *Transcending Rights*
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> *"The movement is in our blood, not in your hierarchy"* - Callout for Oglala Lakota Territory Liberation Day 2015

A Proposal for Understanding Place

Imagine a house.

Imagine that house encompasses a vast ecosystem.

Uninvited, you wake up in that house. Unsure of how you got there. Amnesia makes it hard to remember who you are. You realize that something isn't quite right with what you're being told about that house's history.

You also come to realize that there are people who are at the bottom of a hierarchy that has been set up in the house, these people have a greater knowledge of the house for what it is, it's ecosystems etc. They also have some hints of a much more communal and egalitarian way of relating to each other in that house. It is clear that in this house, all are forced to rely on structures and resources that maintain that hierarchy in order to survive, while this group of people have a traditional knowledge of how to thrive and live without these structures. This house in undeniably theirs.

The masters of that house threaten you with violence if you don't keep your head down and work. In this position you are allowed more free-passage through some rooms and hallways in the house, but you remain deeply restricted and in many ways suffocated.

Indigenous and Non-indigenous anarchists must destroy the masters of this house and the structures they have set up, uninvited guests though we often are. We also have much to be thankful for, that we have the examples of our indigenous comrades and hosts of this house, in how we can live freely and respectfully in this house and others.

Destroying the Third-Position

When comrades from the european subcontinent reject the idea of ancestral lands, I don't believe it is because they are desiring the continuation of colonial oppression of indigenous peoples. One position these comrades seem to be arguing is more of a militant multiculturalism, one that places the freedom of individuals in the highest regard, regardless of their place of origin and circumstances of birth. I do have affinity with this position, but I believe it misses some important points in relation to living on lands stolen from indigenous peoples.

When a person or group is placed at a lower level in a hierarchical system, they are then forced to conform to a dominant culture. As an anarchist, I have a problem with the idea that people would need to compromise their diverse ways of being for the benefit of a dominant whole. In the context of a white-supremacist society that intends, through colonialism, to strip people of their diverse ways of being, specifically those that show us an alternative to the hell that we know, it isn't surprising that anarchists lend their solidarity to indigenous rebels, with an aim to break from that dominant culture themselves.

There is of course a major problem here, one identified by at least one of the comrades I talked to on the subcontinent who rejected the concept of stolen lands, and one that anarchists and others would be foolish to ignore. Nazi's, various Nazi spinoffs, conservative nationalists, and many others attempt to argue similar positions to that of indigenous struggles; they argue that their lands are being invaded, by bankers, foreign governments, or immigrants, and they argue that there is a dominant culture that is forcing them towards multiculturalism, accepting immigration, unlearning homophobia, allowing birth control, etc.

Third Positionism is a neo-fascist tendency. It advocates for a break from marxism and capitalism alike, and seeks to create alliances across "racial separatist" lines. Out of this tendency has come the absurd idea of "National Anarchism". Secessionism is a common theme in this tendency. Secessionism refers to pulling away and declaring independence, which in the eyes of a fascist would mean racial independence. While indigenous sovereigntists want a separation with colonial culture, it would seem clear, though perhaps easy for some to confuse, that they are not arguing for white-supremacist categorizations of separation such as "all people from Europe are white, white people must stick with white people, all people from Africa are black, black people must stick with black people."

Attackthesystem.com is a neo-fascist website, with the tagline "Pan-anarchism against the state, pan-secessionism against empire." It appears to have very little of a base in actual social movements, but has contributors from around the world. Deceivingly, they have pictures of a number of classical anarchists on the header to their website. Their writers are not only white fascist rejects and "anarcho-capitalist" wingnuts; for example Vince Rinehart (Raven Warrior) is a Tlingit traditionalist who also contributes to the website. While we are talking about only one known individual, it is not impossible that other indigenous traditionalists hold similar views, and it is possible that if anarchists are not careful with how they interact with indigenous sovereignty movements, they could be creating anything but anarchy.

Although not directly related to indigenous sovereignty, we also know that Nathan Block (aka "exile") and his partner Sadie, both former Earth Liberation Front prisoners, have become third-positionist fascists. They now live in Olympia, WA, and Nathan himself has posted all kinds of esoteric fascist symbols and quotes on his website. One can read about this by searching through the NYC antifa website. Anarchists and many other revolutionaries are not immune from turning in a completely different direction, even if, and especially when they remain radical.

Fascism will use anything to gain momentum. If socialism is a popular sentiment, they will brand themselves "National Socialists" in order to gain adherents. At present, the ecosystems of the earth are collapsing, and western rational thought derived from Christianity is seen as a fundamental part of the problem, while power and control are decentralizing through social media, and mass surveillance. It is a clever ploy that fascists around the world are latching onto labels like "autonomous-nationalism" and "national-anarchism", and that adherents to these positions are advocating for a focus on the land and ecosystems. As is standard for fascists they also propose a largely mythical connection to the past and ancestors. Anarchists must be careful that we are always critically minded and not guilted through privilege politics or wooed by hip occultism and environmentalist symbols and scenes, or anything else, into accepting any kind of authoritarianism. A native traditionalist who argues for racial separation and supremacy may not bring us much closer to liberation than a bonehead fascist.

I have been honoured in the last few years with what I have heard from many of my indigenous comrades. Although I can be seen as a person from a population that committed genocide against their people and that continue to occupy their lands, some of them are still willing to see me as a comrade in struggle. They have challenged me to think about anarchy in a way that does not only come from a western worldview. They have challenged me to be more spiritual in how I view my struggle, and have occasionally challenged me to look into my own origins, that I can only vaguely access. I often think it is foolish, and even self-destructive, how much territory anarchists and leftists leave to the fascists when we do not explore these ideas, when we allow

pre-christian ceremonies and symbols to become fascist ones, but we have much to be careful of, and much to reject.

My ancient ancestors were not white, or Aryan or any of that nonsense. Whiteness was eventually created as european empires needed to begin exploiting non-european populations, and needed the slaves of their nation to join them in that cause. If we are ever to shake off domination and exploitation, and destroy America, Canada and every nation-state once and for all, I do not intend for white people to exist any longer. I intend to honour my indigenous comrades in their search for their own traditional lives. I intend to create a community with all others, where we can collectively ensure our free individuality and diverse traditions, for however many generations they last and for new ones to begin to flourish organically. This greatly differs from a purely separatist solution, in that we all have a chance to become something greater than the possibilities that have been allowed to us since the various processes of colonization swallowed up our ancestors and took away their great wealth of traditional knowledge and ability to live in co-existence.

Individual and Collective Self-Interest

One comrade beautifully described to me that they do not see themselves as a "european", instead as someone who was "born accidentally in a shit-hole of the South Balkans" and that they were unwilling to recognize any ancestors except those who since the dawn of time strived for freedom against all forms of domination, regardless of where they were born. I relate to this, on practical and spiritual levels. I feel strongly for their rejection of a european identity, as it relates to my desire to destroy a concept like whiteness. I too feel that individuals must always have agency. A desire, on individual and collective levels, to break all ties to what is horrible in this world, is of the utmost importance for rebellion. But at the same time I do not expect all oppressed people to simply hear my declaration and accept me as an equal in struggle. I do not expect them to care; I intend to show them, as I move through this life however I can, that I mean it.

On this continent the politics of privilege and the idea of the ally are very popular in social struggles, even among anarchists, and especially around the subject of indigenous solidarity. In the mainstream we see hipster non-profit workers and others, pick up on this disempowering line of thinking. This approach completely rejects the experiences of individuals in emphasizing the experiences of oppressed groups from which individuals are tokenized for legitimacy in struggles. I believe the anarchist relationship to individualism has much to offer in breaking from such a patronizing path.

I do not want to be insensitive towards the people who I believe are the minority within the anti-oppression forum. I know that many of these people are deeply passionate about wanting to end all oppression within public and private spaces, forever. But I cannot in good conscience see my comrades and others go down such a troubled, dead-end road without sending caution to them.

In the last few years a number of texts have circulated that have heavily criticized anti-oppression, allies, privilege politics and the non-profit industrial complex[3]. These critiques have

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[3]The Bricks we Throw at Police Today Will Build the Liberation Schools of Tomorrow, Three Non-Matriculating Proletarians, 2009/ They Can't Shoot us All, Anonymous, 2010/ Lines in Sand, Peter Gelderloos, 2010/ Who is Oakland,

been wonderful to circulate and discuss with comrades younger and older, but they often gloss over the reality that there are a number of people who are from the grassroots, not associated with any non-profit institution, that carry forward the same manner of thinking and sometimes act as their institutional counterparts. The problem here is that these comrades do not fall into the non-profit industrial complex and so they believe the criticisms don't apply to them.

Privilege politics treats people as identifiable categories that can be explained with in a sentence. These categories can then be characterized by one group or individual who visually represent said category. The job of the ally is to take these credible voices and put them on a platform (rightly in a sense) above pompous academics, guilty whiteys, condescending liberals, etc.

The ally is the selfless martyr who is overcoming their privilege and stepping down to help the oppressed. They will deny it, but this is fundamental to their position.

The problem is that no-one acts out of total selflessness. Even our most selfless acts as human beings are often out of a need to be at peace with our conscience, intergenerational self-preservation, or ego. There is nothing wrong with this; the monster, I believe, is created when we deny this fact. If we cannot even be honest with ourselves, then how can we ever be honest with others, especially when we have such a condescending relationship to these "others"?

The consequence in social movements is often a parasitic relationship where one behaves as though they have nothing to gain from their selfless acts and instead is building up an egotistical reputation on the struggles of these others. I believe there is a dire need for everyone to be honest with who and how they are engaging in struggle. If you do not share a common enemy with another, then what actual basis do you have for a relationship of struggle? This can be combated simply by people finding their own individual and collective reasons to struggle against a common enemy, a common enemy that the politics of privilege will not allow someone to acknowledge.

Within the context of a social movement no one would deny that socialization and social hierarchies cloud our vision, leading us towards destructive behavior and complicity with oppression. But there is often (not always) a self-righteous air about those who engage in anti-oppression politics that I find particularly hard to stomach. The general sentiment of these "allies" is that everyone is stupid and wrong, and they need to educate or force others to believe that they and their ideology are right.

It seems clear to me that people throughout history have rarely needed to be sat down and formally educated on why they must struggle against this world. Did the rioters of the black liberation struggle in the states need to go through a bureaucratic process for how to fight against oppression, to sit with gut-wrenching guilt and sorrow, pondering their privileges first? Can we say the same of the gay and trans revolutionaries of the 70's in New York? The maroons in Brazil, Jamaica, and the Dismal Swamp in Virginia? The indigenous societies and their warriors who fought against Babylon, the Celts against the Romans, and those who carry on with this struggle today?

The alienation we experience under capitalism keeps us all too confined for anarchists to not look at our relationships and actions as opportunities for expansion. It would be a bare minimum to provide whatever resources we can to those we have affinity with. Relegating ourselves to the role of supporter or "ally" will do no one any favors when expressing support to indigenous

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Escalating Identity, 2012/ We Are All Oscar Grant (?), Unfinished Acts, 2012/ Ain't no PC Gonna Fix it, Baby: A Critique of Ally Politics, Crimethinc, 2014/ Accomplices Not Allies: an Indigenous Perspective, Indigenous Action Media, 2014

camps or responding to attacks by the state against those who are categorically oppressed. I am only "in the way" if I am disrespectful to those I move forward with, the same as if I am not moving forward myself. The state is already my enemy until death and beyond, when I reach out to those who it attempts to destroy, I am trying to strengthen all our struggles. For us to ever have a chance of unsettling ourselves we must be unrested and unruly, never without initiative.

What has been the largest driving force behind the most powerful, inspiring, and liberatory struggles has been a recognition on individual, and collective levels that we must, ourselves, fight for freedom. We need to be wary of having our struggles compromised and capitalized upon by authoritarians of all kinds, and finding our own reasons and purposes in this struggle will help us towards this goal. To prevent our struggles for liberation from conceding to power and control, before we have a chance of breaking them. To prevent our social war, with its infinite battlefronts, from being told to sit back and introspect.

I do not intend for these observations, gained through years of pain and joy, trial and error, to stay stuck within these pages. I am not writing this from a place of having figured out every detail, but I do see many holes in the way people are engaging with themselves and others. I hope this essay will contribute to a more serious outlook and practice as we move through our struggles and lives which carry heavy consequences for both the positive and negative.

Llud
Towards Unsettling Paths
April 19th, 2015

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