



Half Fizzle, Half Sabotage

**A half-way collection of thoughts from
rolling waves of conversations on the
unchartered course of Occupy St. Louis**

Or

A jumbled address to all of us who experienced Occupy St. Louis collapse, started by the discovery of an ugly “how-to take over the occupy movement and capture its revolutionary potential for pluralist-leftist ends” article from a socialist journal.

A WORK IN PROGRESS>>>

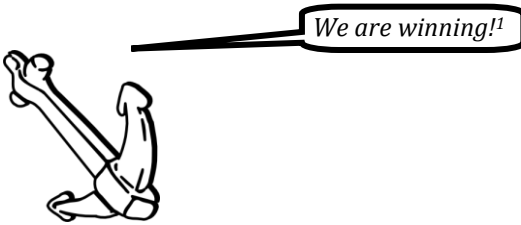
Opening note:

This writing collaboration was prompted by the discovery of a document from a Left-socialist grouping. The document was circulated among some friends and created a little stir since it spelled out the suspected motivations of some participants we had encountered at Occupy St. Louis. It is unclear if this instructional document was being used as a bible by those we had suspected, or if they had even seen it. Either way, it clears some of the fog. Initially, we wanted to re-publish the document to show others, that yes, some people do have ulterior motives that aim to undermine what could be a blossoming revolutionary movement. But the document is too long, and the discussions triggered by the document began to also focus on the importance of how we shoot ourselves in the foot- and maybe this is an equally large obstacle to overcome. The following is the product of ongoing discussions about the decline of Occupy STL and who or what is to blame, with only a half-way attempt to spare ourselves. If we had more time, we would further explore the role of our (and everyone's) own fear. For now, this is it.

Many of the "anchor" quotes at the start of each section have been pulled from this socialist document. If you wish to read the full document from the journal, entitled "Occupy and the tasks of socialists," look here:

<http://links.org.au/node/2657>

From Kiener to Wiener



All participants, except a few hardheads, can see the inglorious disintegration of Occupy St. Louis. The retreat to the online world, the lack of activity, the cliquishness, the outright absence of any new faces (or old ones for that matter), the insistence of calling a 15-person meeting a “general assembly”* (it doesn't take a Russian Revolution scholar to identify a vanguard when they see one), the absence of an occupied camp, the emerging tendency to use the term “*official* Occupy STL” this or that, and on and on. The life form - the electric feeling - that rose those first two weeks in October is simply dead. This is not to say that the concept, the idea if you will, of Occupy St. Louis is dead. *An uncontrollable spring re-incarnation still doesn't seem out of the question.*

So, why *did* it disintegrate here? The loss of Kiener, the cold-weather, the Wall St. eviction? Sure, we did things to contribute to its decline too (didn't plan activities, didn't figure out how to fully jump the gap between what was going on in Kiener and what was going on in our lives when we left the plaza, refrained from raising our voices- defaulting to the articulate ones, failed to stop the natural drift to open reformism and politician and media enamorment, failed to adequately challenge the anti-homeless attitude, didn't do our

* For a long while, 20 people were required for a general assembly to go forward with any sort of legitimacy (what is known as a quorum). When numbers began to dwindle, there surfaced a dilemma of how to officially reduce quorum to 15, when less than 20 people were coming to the assemblies - yet 20 people were required to change such a thing - at two straight assemblies, nonetheless. Head against wall, snake eating its own tail, whatever you want to call it.

part in making Kiener safe for children and free of sexual harassment and racist abuse...). *But what if someone other than the police, other than the man in the sky who controls the weather, acted to **intentionally** deflate and flatten the Occupy movement here?*

No one is claiming a conspiracy. It's just political maneuvering through subtle, psychological manipulation. *We are not presenting this "un-earthed document" as anything other than proof that the counter-revolutionary forces of history are at it again - and they can't be sneaky if everyone learns what they're up to.*

A Case Study of the Worst/Easiest Sort



Our tasks with respect to the anarchists are twofold: 1) to work with them in neutralizing adventurers and ultra-lefts when their activities threaten Occupy as a whole and 2) to out-compete them in daring, audacity, creativity, improvisation, and revolutionary elan in the most friendly, collaborative, and comradely manner possible.²

The most steadfastly manipulative character at Occupy St. Louis is in fact a behavioral psychologist by trade, ass-kisser to established politicians and progressive reformists, and, need we say, (former?) Trotskyist. He celebrates the birthday of Che Guevara, while chatting on and off-line of how dearly he loves Lieutenant this or that of the downtown police. One meeting, leading a charge for centralization because of a phantom "anarchist take-over," and (seeing different people present at the next meeting) loudly advocating for autonomous actions. Underhandedly using his "official" positions within occupy to reasonably discourage expansive initiatives.[†] Using the 99%

[†] To name but one: As an influential member of the "entertainment committee" he cancelled a weekly night of music, while telling organizers of

rhetoric to justify all his friendly exchanges of information with the police, Congressman Lacy Clay, Fox News, the RFT, mayoral candidate and Reverend Elston McGowan, multiple alderpeople, the Mayor's aides, SEIU leadership, the broken-record lifetime professional reformists at CAPCAR, and who knows who else. *Is he sinisterly manipulative, or charmingly insane?* He is too good at what he does and has an uncanny ability to disarm all public confronters of his manipulations through a sort of (psycho)logical verbal terrorism.

He speaks the media's (and politician's) pretentious and scary words of "juvenile," "black bloc," "adventurist," "chaos," "bombs," "anarchists," "agent provocateurs," playing off people's natural desire to feel safe and familiar, using common positive words of "non-violence," "committees," "allies," "voting," "brothers and sisters," "friend of the people," "procedure," and "consensus." He stands out exactly because he is level-headed in a sea of impassioned, angry, lonely, desperate, and excited people. And today, how passionate one is in the face of this sick society tends to be a good measure of health, not the opposite.

And we are not poking at him because of his contradictions. After all, contradictions were undoubtedly everywhere (and was part of what made the Kiener atmosphere so marvelous), but *most* of them seemed to come from a newness, an inexperience of acting outside of our everyday routines, not from the intention to further a political career or enact an ideology.

We know he's not the only one, and we know that there are some good people out there who think we shouldn't give this man any more attention than he already gets. But this is not about some personal beef. This is about how political manipulation happens, or more concisely, the strategy of co-optation, or *recuperation*. It is about what has historically happened to every promising social movement. It is the mechanical dismantling of rebellion's vibrancy to serve the

a march that was planned after the music (as one had been for the two Fridays prior) that the bands simply didn't get back to him.

ends of the existing system. Why not take the time and expose and learn how people kill what we have grown to love and assumed everyone else at occupy had as well (those social possibilities that opened up before us and the dissolving fear of acting against American capitalism)?... and how that joy was dashed intentionally by dictates sent down from this or that communist/socialist party that had “endorsed” what we were doing.

***An aside on recuperative naïveté
(a little different, but MORE of the same)***

Sure, what we are calling *recuperation* is ugly, and it is treason to all that is human and life-giving. But... sometimes it's also sort of, well, *accidentally intentional* - like a bull who is inspired by what he sees in the china shop and wants to help re-arrange, etc. But the bull is actually a costume of baggage - the costume of the social role. These bulls are the paid non-profit professionals who are too blinded by their bulky costumes to know the damage they are doing no matter how much they love people (the china). (Heart in the right place, head up the ass. Or maybe just heart up their ass.) When people welcome these professionals (along with police or aldermen) they actually welcome the fundamental change in the organization of the china shop. To accommodate the bulls and the media cameras in the aisles, the china is placed in cabinets, in strong cages, it looks nice, all in order, but it is, in effect, dead, neutralized, ready for the media to film, ready to be displayed by the smartest political party. (The china that refuses the cabinet is of course crushed by the well-meaning bulls and swept away promptly.)

(Comparing an exciting stewing pot of rebellion to a china shop isn't fair, but hopefully the point with the bull is made...)

How to overcome naïve or intentional recuperation

The militants thus went in front of the factories and allowed the bureaucrats to act instead of them; they substituted the bureaucracy's action for their own. Later they apologized for their own inaction by talking about the "betrayal" of the CGT. But the CGT was not "to blame" for anything. When the "militants" went to the factory gates and watched, they did no more than the workers who stood and watched. And when the workers watched, they allowed the CGT to act for them. The "militants" rationalized their dependence, their inaction, by saying that the CGT "took over." But the relation is mutual. The militants, together with the workers, created the power of the union bureaucracy. The militants did not go to the factory to liberate themselves; they waited for an inexistent power to liberate them.³



*But as we explored above, it's not **all** accidental. Sometimes, people want to suck the life out of collective experimentation (and the joyous refusal to keep doing what we've been told) for their own ends. They do it to build an organization, to gain political power, because the future being discussed is far too scary to implement. Whatever the reason, they do it.*

And we've seen them do it. By marginalizing those questioning the entire system. By instilling control over the spontaneous tendencies to march, to camp, to make signs, to discuss. By flattening the image to spin to the media. By inviting elements (the unions and police) that have experience at channeling popular outrage and excitement into sanctioned activities. **Most are just scared to get ahead of themselves**, some - on the payroll of non-profits while participating in occupy activity - are too obtuse to understand their role in the recuperation (see the previous "Aside"), and some are deeply sinister and deliberate in their efforts to reign in the energy, the people, the potential political power. **The first two can be overcome through engagement either through assurance**

or through bluntness, respectfully. The third through nothing but taking the clothes off these would-be emperors - through venom and mockery. The first two are script-less, so can be reconciled through open participation. The third has a script that's played out throughout history and is being played out before our eyes by those still loyal to the outdated systems - Capitalism, Constitutionalism, Bureaucratic Unionism, etc. And by golly, such blind followers, who understandably have a difficult time thinking for themselves, *actually have a real, live script* - a template on how to recuperate. It ain't no conspiracy theory, the need for this document is just a testament to how those sorry people *taking action to take away action* have very little practice in doing what they are committed to doing - how little social movement there's been in the past 2-3 decades. And, at the same time, for those of us too exhausted and outraged by the system to reform it, we also have little practice in making moves towards a future of freedom, mutual aid, and collectivity. We also, again, *don't want* to believe our eyes when those we saw moving with us suddenly try to stop that movement.
So let's take a break and spin a little science...

What is "Recuperation"???



The most basic and fundamental task facing socialists is to merge with Occupy and lead it from within. Socialist groups that insist on "intervening" in the uprising will be viewed as outsiders with little to contribute in practice to solving Occupy's actual problems because they will be focused on winning arguments and ideological points rather than actively listening to, joining hands with, and fighting alongside the vanguard of the 99% in overcoming common practical and political.⁴

Recuperation is a process by which ideas or actions that challenge the status quo are incorporated and pacified by the very things that they go against. Examples of this are punk,

bicycling, organic food, and graffiti. All of these were once unique expressions of rebellion against a status quo, but now they have or are becoming things to be bought and sold on a market.

Capitalists make millions on the selling of punk, revolutionary symbols, hip-hop, organic food, and graffiti. Punk and hip-hop, once vibrant subcultures have been pacified and come to mean a particular aesthetic (a status symbol, a hairstyle or a type of dress) instead of a safe place to rage against authority and injustice. Organic food is something that is easily available or grown but is sold to us at extreme prices at places like Whole Foods. And so on...

It may seem illogical to think that something that goes *against* the status quo could be *pacified* and even *embraced* by the status quo, but it happens rather often. In fact, it's a very good strategy, one that is used very well by all the authoritarian systems and roles that seek to keep us in check. Systems like capitalism or the State. Roles like the politician or the police. It's a good strategy because it realizes that it's easier to wear an idea or a powerful movement down with diversion than it is to fight it head on.

In any struggle or movement against the state of things, there will always be forces at work that will try to stifle the authenticity and power of the ideas and actions behind it for their own gain. The ways we strive to act in this world and the ways we strive to act against the systems that hold us from our potential can all easily be recuperated or pacified unless we stick together and refuse to give in. It is not about refusing reforms that our enemies concede to us per se; it's about fighting for humanity, it's about taking our lives back with complete disregard for the authority of the State. It's about taking anything that gives us more self-determined lives and not *backing down*. Because as long as the State (whether in communist or capitalist clothing) exists there will always be those on top and those on bottom, and with that there will always be economic and social struggles against State.

Ever since the modern State has existed, there have been many different factions and ideologies that gravitate around it,

looking to use it to promote their beliefs of how to run a top-down society. They—whether they are leftists, democrats, republicans, socialists, or communists—all seek the same goal: the taking of State power and enforcing their ideologies through it. States can be dictatorships, democracies, oligarchies, etc. What unites all States is basically an idea of governing the world that centralizes decision-making in the hands of a group—whether self-elected or democratically elected. This usually means that any autonomous movement that goes against it will be brutally repressed or fought through the use of diversion. Often diversion comes through the recuperative use of *politics*.

Politics as Diversion: Why we must reject the use of political methods.



The socialist left must learn to navigate Occupy's anarchist terrain if we hope to shape and lead the uprising instead of being shaped and led by it. Trying to overturn existing practices in favor of Roberts Rules of Order, majority voting, and formally electing leaders by making proposals along these lines at GAs will fail because Occupy participants have not been shown by example that these methods are superior.⁵

States use *politics* as a method to handle internal and external disputes. Politics, originates from the Greek root *Polis*. The *Polis* in Greece was a place for people to gather together and work out problems—the catch is that you had to be a property owner and a man to be allowed in these meetings. All the while, the slaves of the rich and women were left to suffer the brunt of the decisions. Essentially, the rich and powerful gathered together to figure out how to effectively maintain their positions. It all sounds familiar today and it has been going on as long as people have built States.

Laws, rights, property, are all handled and reproduced in the realm of *politics*. *Politics* is meant to legitimize the authority

of the State. The *polis* is a language of how to manage things and do things through the State, and to refuse to speak it leaves you open to portrayal as a barbarian or a crazy person.

When the media or the politicians complain about how the occupy movement lacks clear formal demands that could be submitted to the State, they are expressing the desire to use political methods of change. They want to hear demands expressed to the State, because demands are easy to digest and only appeal to the lowest common denominator; plus they give the semblance of a unified group that can be talked to. They cannot understand any movement or group that does not recognize their ways of organizing, especially movements or groups that have no interest in promoting uniformity. *They can't believe that there would be those who care nothing for speaking the language of the State.*

Political maneuvering requires people to act and speak in a very rigid way if they want to have an effect. When we play the game of politics, we essentially play a game of appearing legitimate to an authority or a constituency. These authorities or constituencies could come in the form of the politician, the Worker, the “normal and good People,” the media, etc. The problem with appealing to these groups is that they are not real or homogenous. They are in reality often just easy talking points used to shut people down. “The good and normal people are not in support of the movement because it’s....” “The workers don’t like it when...”

When someone or a group claims to speak for how the workers or “normal” people feel, they are engaging in something dangerous: the reduction and pigeonholing of people. For every “normal” person they claim is offended by something, you could just as easily find another “normal” person who isn’t. For every worker who is offended by graffiti that was a result of a protest, one could just as easily find a worker who writes graffiti. This may seem like splitting hairs, but it’s important if there is any intention of making our struggle more fluid and accepting. If we do not recognize this, we are ignoring and silencing so many voices.

The result of using political methods is the cutting of corners. It often means disavowing people or watering down those who do not speak the proper language. Instead of fluidity, a movement can become wrapped up in the internal bullshit of how to appear legitimate to a target constituency. Instead of recognizing that life is complicated and full of many different people with different feelings, life is reduced to a shallow game of how to speak and act correctly.

When we begin to see the bullshit legitimacy of appealing to the State and political systems, a bit of room opens up for us to engage in tactics that would normally be out of the question. For instance, instead of asking for things that we are excluded from (happiness, wealth, housing, public space, etc) by the State and Capitalism, we can take them and hold them on our own terms. Instead of begging those who have power to represent us, we can ignore them and do our own thing.

This all opens up room for experimentation, instead of the usual rigidity of speaking correctly or doing the right thing to look good in the eyes of the “People,” the media, etc. With this we can find others and build strength. We can come to define ourselves as we please without the use of rhetoric (normality, worker, etc).

The State is an Alienated Form of Power



One of the most important elements that makes Occupy an uprising and not merely a mass movement is its alleged leaderlessness. Of course as Marxists we know that every struggle requires leadership in some form, and Occupy is no exception.⁶

The problem of the State is that it supposes that we cannot govern ourselves, that we need representatives and laws to tell us how to best run our lives. Instead of groups of people learning to live together and solve their own problems, there

are representatives (cops, politicians, bosses, etc) who seek do it for us; and they really do a horrible job!

And how could they not do a horrible job? It's impossible for any political or economic representative to ever represent all of our desires, even if they have the best intentions. This is why there are constant social and economic struggles. *Whether it's your boss, your local politician, or your president, it's impossible to successfully govern the complex labyrinth of human relations.* This is what the State tries to do: reduce our lives to going through its hoops. Because of this, there are constant problems. Some in the system have realized this, embrace it, and just exploit their power; others naively still try to use the system to change things (see the "Unintentional Recuperation" section). Those that good-heartedly try to use the State or capitalism only end up taking us further from true freedom (think of the Hope and Change of the 2008 Obama campaign). And there lies the inherent problem with the State: it is something that takes our power to freely change the world around us and makes it alien to us by crystalizing it into the State, where all decision making must go through it to be legitimate.

What is frustrating about this is that the desire to speak so that the State understands ignores the very fact that the language and function of the State is oppressive. Instead of abolishing the very structures that cause oppression, people bicker over power and how to use the State to fix things. The idea that someone or a party can ever represent everyone's interests is ridiculous and it's been shown to come with terrible results. The fact is that you cannot use the State, capitalist or socialist, to abolish inequality, because it is exactly what causes inequality.

The Left and Recuperation



In practice, the socialist left follows Occupy's lead rather than Occupy follow the socialist left's lead. As a result, we struggle to keep pace with Occupy's rapid evolution.⁷

The occupation movement that has sprung up has caught the eye of pretty much every political party, union bureaucrat or organization with liberal or leftist leanings as an opportunity for a power grab. They are intrigued. For years the Left in this country has been pretty weak and for many leftists, the occupation movement is a good way to gain more influence and power. Unfortunately for them, pretty much all Leftist methods of organization don't quite jive with the occupy movements' because the occupy movement, unlike left-liberal organizations, doesn't necessarily aspire to take political power or build social and economic hierarchies to fulfill its ideas.

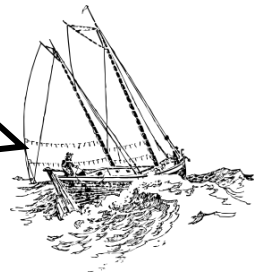
So Leftist and liberal political groups are scheming of ways to use the energy of occupy. The Democratic Party and the Service Employees International Union are trying to figure out ways to get #occupy people to vote for Obama, even taking on some of the 99% vs. 1% rhetoric. Socialists and Communists are trying to figure out how to become spokespeople or leaders of the occupy movement (as they did so well during the 2003-4 anti-war movement) and scheming of ways to get people to join their parties. But they are all having a hard time taming the beast, because the occupation movement thus far has no real formal platform. It is a movement that is more tied to the struggle of people's daily lives and not to voting in the next politician or Socialist party member, who will only barely help us, if at all. For the most part, it seems to be apprehensive towards promoting any political party or any method of organization that involves centralized control or majority rule.

These groups consider a lack of centralized control and majority rule a hindrance to change, but really, in our opinion, this is strength. Centralized control and a system of majority rule are things that must be avoided at all costs. They are the killers of spontaneity and diversity. This does not mean we must reach consensus on everything. Just like democracy, consensus can create an elite. So often, consensus becomes strictly about making policy instead of just a method to keep fluidity. The point is to meet each other and figure out what we want, not to let others dictate how we should fight.‡

This does not mean that the occupy movement is a pure movement, full of real, sincere people. There is danger in claiming homogeny and this is exactly what the Left and any Statist group aspires to: uniformity of struggle. So far, the occupy movement has tried to avoid this and has been successful in many places.

One More Time: Unintentional Recuperation

If we are already doing it – taking, occupying, acting, organizing, building – why go backwards and then return to the past – democracy, rights, etc. – why then make demands of the very people this movement has made irrelevant?[‡]



Recuperation can come out in very sinister ways as shown above, but also it can come about *unintentionally*. This means that our struggle can become weak by us unknowingly playing

‡ "When the consensus process is focused on participation and discussion, then, it is extremely effective at being inclusive. No one can be prevented from speaking. But the "unanimous" decisions within consensus are fetishized as if they provided a complete social order, when in reality they provide only a few punctuated moments in a complex cooperative activity. The small part of our sociality that is actually formalized stands in for our sociality as a whole." - *Slingshot* #108 (Berkeley, CA), January 2012

into the very things that oppress us or hold us back from what we want. Any struggle against the status quo has to question all notions and systems that are considered sacred in order to change anything.

An example of this is when many at the OccupySTL camp unconditionally accepted the police, and in particular Lt. Dan Zarrick, as a friend. Lt. Dan Zarrick was a common sight at the occupation and he was on friendly terms with many people. He was the supposed “good” cop that we could all look to if we needed help. *And in the worst of ways, he was the ideal cop.* He never got too mad or too nice. He followed the law, which like anyone knows, are the laws of the rich and powerful. He would make vague association to being a part of the “99%.” He gained a lot of trust, often to the point of people letting him in on discussions and planning meetings. Unlike many cops, he was level headed and this made many people comfortable to tell him and other police the ins and outs of the occupation, and even tattle-tale from time to time about others in the occupation.

In some people’s minds, to criticize Lt. Dan Zarrick (or anything police related) was akin to criticizing a very sacred character; and you would be shunned by many if you did. You might be thought of as irrational, or just called an anarchist hothead or a violent person (often at the same time). It’s a bit of a waste of time to wonder if he really was a nice guy who really liked us or if he was a sinister guy who just wanted to get intel on the dynamics of the occupation. But his personal feelings don’t matter when it comes down to it. His role as a police agent will never bring us towards freedom.

And, lo and behold, on the night of the eviction, blessed Lt. Dan Zarrick was the one *servicing the eviction* on his megaphone (only to be drowned out by an air-horn and screams). His knowledge of the dynamics of the occupation allowed for a smooth eviction. It should be clear that no matter how nice this Lt. Dan Zarrick was, he was the one evicting us, even if he wasn’t the one actually arresting those who chose to stay. During the whole surreal chain of events, a woman said: “At least, Lt. Dan didn’t touch anyone! Unlike all the cops who

arrested everyone!” Even the fact that this trusted pig was kicking us out (and even worse, he wasn’t even physically forcing us out!) of a camp that was a home to many and a wonderful empowering experience to many more was not enough to warrant an ounce of criticism for blessed Lt. Dan. *It all reads like a slap in the face.*[§]

Another example of unintentional recuperation could be one of wanting to play into the game of *politics* by trying to make politicians or mainstream media listen to the problems of our daily lives. The idea is that if we get a progressive politician to listen or present ourselves to the media, things will change. This could mean looking at people like Ron Paul or Barack Obama as solutions. This could mean getting people to register to vote. This could mean getting the media to portray us in a good light by dressing up and looking nice, so as to theoretically incite the “masses” to join us.

Though these examples come from very sincere places, they end up locking us into a system that isn’t ours and has never really been. These positions and attitudes come from a real need to change the world, but they take our collective power away from us and move it into some else’s court—thus they lose the initial sincerity and power. When people unconditionally accepted Lt. Dan into the ranks of the occupy movement, we lost our power and even worse, our camp. When we vote for a politician, we give our voice to a politician. When we dress up pretty and look civil just so the media won’t make us look crazy, we are giving up our real voice. When we sublimate our struggles to a party outside of us, our struggles lose all the real power they could have. We need to be creative and critical if we wish to destroy the structures and roles that keep us in this nightmare of a world.

[§] Once the shock wears off, you can see there is something *really profound* about a movement that challenges the system but loves its foot soldiers – it’s the stuff mutinies are made of (note the Golden Age of Piracy, Russia 1905 & 1917, Mexico 1910-1925, Vietnam/U.S. 1966-71, Portugal 1974, Tunisia/Egypt 2011... but the initiative probably has to come from the mutineers (not those they repress) – a move to disarm, desert, etc. - not just be nice.

It's sad to think of how much time and energy (and money) is spent on political campaigns or developing relations with police, only to inevitably see them whither away before our eyes. But it's really exciting to imagine how all that energy could be used to create beauty that is completely autonomous from those things. Instead of relying on the police, we can realize the true causes of "crime" or violence and come together. Instead of throwing our voices to the wind in political campaigns, we can use them to think for ourselves. Instead of relying on the media to portray us, we can portray ourselves as we please. **We can finally figure out who "we" are.** *It won't be easy.*

The power of autonomous movements, like the occupy movement, is that they require us to come together to figure out things for ourselves. They require us to meet face-to-face to see for ourselves who we really are, not who a third party thinks we are. This is hard for media, politicians and the police who would rather we go through them. The power of the media in making a spectacle out of everything it touches blinds us from the very real connections we can make with others. It seems like so many are used to listening to the sound bite portrayals of the media and politicians, instead of getting out in the world and seeing for themselves. It's all the more sad that some think the media can ever give any movement coherence and feel the need to spend so much time appealing to them.

One of the inspiring things about the occupation down at Keiner Plaza was the wackiness of it. We had free reign to do whatever, to plan actions, to get ourselves in awkward conversations, to spout whatever ideology we wanted. It was a real, sort of bizarre, combination of people who may or may not agree, but at least we were trying to figure it out more on our own terms. For too long in the United States, there has been no wind in the sails of social or class struggle. The doldrums are behind us. We bear partial responsibility (as do the more ill-intentioned reactionary forces) for that heavy anchor at the bottom. Enjoy the breeze!? Anchors aweigh!? Cut and run!?

It's up to us.

Revolutionaries whose aim is to liberate daily life betray their project when they abdicate to passivity or impose themselves over it: the point is to wake the dead, to force the passive to choose between a conscious acceptance of constraint or a conscious affirmation of life.

This is starting to look awfully like a slave ship...

Smartass!
Provocateur!
Fascist!
Violent devil creature!

Lower the sails!

I voted for some change and it's kinda strange, now it's all I got in my pocket.

OBAMA!

VIOLENCE!

I told y'all before I would break the law to put some food in my baby girl's belly.

PROCESS!

I believe I can fly!

I believe I can go occupy a building down the street.

CONTROL!

VIOLENCE!

The power of the state, of capitalists, and of union bureaucrats depends on the citizens' acceptance of this power.

Too much motion, I'm gonna puke!

This is better than the internet.

Anchor and sailboat quotes:

1. A common exclamation increasingly used as Occupy began to show signs of eating itself in the late Fall.
2. From "Occupy and the tasks of socialists."
3. Fredy Perlman in "Worker-Student Action Committees" (1969)
4. From "Occupy and the tasks of socialists."
5. From "Occupy and the tasks of socialists."
6. From "Occupy and the tasks of socialists."
7. From "Occupy and the tasks of socialists."
8. A refreshing voice from Kiener

