



PIPELINES & EXPLOITATION OF THE EARTH

Nocturnal visit to the home of Jean-Yves Lavoie, president of Junex

The night of November 16, we went to visit the suburbs of Quebec City, or more precisely 1205 rue Imperiale, so as to leave a message for Mr. Jean-Yves Lavoie. For those who aren't familiar with him, Mr. Lavoie is the president of Junex, a company that generates its profits (or, at least, tries to) from exploiting the territory of so-called "Quebec", meaning among other things fracking projects in "Gaspesie".

We have decided to com-

bine our efforts with the powerful ongoing struggle, which is taking place on multiple fronts, that seeks to make the dream of Mr. Lavoie impossible. In other words, rather than allowing colonial extractivist industry and companies like Junex to continue to threaten the soil and the water of Gaspesie or any other region of Turtle Island, we have chosen to heed the call of the Mi'kmaq and other water and land protectors. We will do what is necessary in

order to stop companies like Junex from carrying out their destructive plans.

It is in this spirit, and with our own objective of dismantling the oil and gas industry in "Quebec", that we have smashed the windows of his cars, without forgetting to slash the tires. We also covered his house in paint.

We also left him a voice message, which you can listen to here. [*available on MTLCOUNTER-INFO.ORG*].

His dream of becoming rich through the destruction of territory will not come to pass. Collective efforts of earth defense – blockades, support camps, demos, education campaigns – as well as all the autonomous initiatives put forward by a multitude of indigenous and non-indigenous groups will be much more powerful than the work of Mr. Lavoie and Junex can accomplish in one life.

Quebecers against Quebec!



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ANTI-FASCISM

The Anti-Fascist Movement in 2017

1) Anti-fascism, like any social movement, is a constant. This is to say, it is a social movement with a long history – not a fad, but something that some people have been doing for a long time. Obviously there was an anti-fascism of a sort even in the days before Mussolini was invited into government, but

we don't need to start there to put the present moment in proper perspective. It should suffice to think only of North America, and to start from the 1980s or '90s. During this entire time, there have been people concerned about fascists and fascism – which is



“Fascism is imperialist repression turned inward”: Decolonize Graffiti

“...fascism is imperialist repression turned inward”

-Cope (2015) as quoted in Kesīqnaeh

Following Saturday’s “Open The Borders” demo at the Lacolle Border, the message “DECOLONIZE” appeared along a canal wall in an affluent southwest Montreal neighborhood. This piece provides an opportunity to explicitly outline some links between the ongoing struggle of decolonization across Turtle Island and anti-fascist action. In *Fascism & Anti-Fascism: A Decolonial Perspective*, Kesīqnaeh makes some insightful links to these struggles while questioning the significance of fascism to Indigenous peoples already combatting colonial violence. For the sake of brevity, a few direct quotations are provided below:

Kesīqnaeh states:

“Fascism is when the violence that the imperialist nations have visited upon the world over the course of the development of the modern, parasitic capitalist world-system comes back home to visit.”

“In the settler colonial context this violence is one that was perfected within the exceptional state of the expansion of the frontier, the clearing and civilizing of Indigenous People to make the land ripe for settlement, and the carceral continuum that has marked Black existence on this land from chattel slavery to the hyperghetto.” [...]

“To quote the African People’s Socialist Party, ‘our liberation—and that’s what we must win—will only come about by an all-out struggle to overturn the colonial relationship we have with

white power’”. [...]

“The principal threat then of fascism to colonized peoples is not one that we would move from a state of having not been subjected to violence from every angle to one where we would face that, but rather that the pacing [of] the eliminative and accumulative logics of settler colonialism would be accelerated.”

Contrary to the optics of “good citizen/ good patriot” that right-wing Quebec groups construct in the news and social media—for example, throwing up peace signs or copying an anti-fascist demo chant, “toute le monde deteste les racistes”—they are racist, chauvinistic, anti-migrant and ultra-nationalist. These groups’ hierarchal organizational structures, their leaders and members disguise white supremacist values as outrage for the Trudeau government. But, if it’s the liberals they’re after, why mobilize at the Lacolle border? Their inconsistent messaging betrays their true beliefs. We need to pay attention to how they construct their messages (what, how, when they say something, in relation to what other ideas, and the contexts that these messages are communicated in). It’s not only worthwhile to pick apart the extreme right’s arguments to see the ill-informed and porous political analysis they subscribe to, but also, to think deeply about what is assumed and implied because of these views.

“They all thirst for a new frontier, for recolonization, for territories, for a white homeland. In other words, they thirst for the fulfilment of the settler dream...” (Kesīqnaeh, 2017).

Far away as Montreal’s canal walls might seem from this discussion, there are real connections to be made here. “DECOLONIZE” is a piece done by folks involved in anti-fascist organizing and action. Kesīqnaeh states, “if you want to fight fascism, you have to decolonize.” The people behind the canal’s message want this political analysis to be on everyone’s mind who takes up this struggle against far-right groups across Turtle Island.

“DECOLONIZE” performs aesthetically to disrupt the infrastructures that invisibilize the violent colonial processes that have made it possible for condo developments and affluent entrepreneurial shops to emerge while bringing with them residents and patrons who have little regard for the violent structural arrangements they belong to. These infrastructures organize society according to white supremacist aspirations that deploy anti-Indigenous and anti-Black narratives. While fascism may not necessarily appeal to the white wealthy elite, it’s ideological values sustain the privilege and impunity of those who compete for power in this current socio-political and economic climate. These right-wing groups view the state, it’s policing authorities (yup, they clapped when the riot police showed up at Lacolle), and it’s borders as a kind of legitimate power. However, borders are an apparatus of a settler colonial state founded on stolen land, slavery and genocidal politics. This makes borders illegitimate and this is a call to comrades to take action accordingly.



You Go No Further, Canada

October 11th, 1869: A hundred and forty-eight years ago to this date, Louis Riel led a group of Métis to confront land surveyors sent by the newly confederated Canadian state. The surveyors came to define new property lines as a first step in Canada's control over the Red River territory. This group of Métis physically stopped their work while Riel informed them, "you go no further." So began the Red River rebellion, an inspiring moment in the long, ongoing history of Indigenous initiatives

to fight against and survive the spread of colonialism and its genocidal violence across the continent.

We are non-Indigenous anarchists who chose to commemorate this important day in the history of anti-colonial resistance by vandalizing the John A. MacDonal monument in Place du Canada, Montreal. We spray painted (A) FUCK 150 DÉCOLONISONS

The year 2017 marks Canada's attempts to celebrate the past 150 years of its existence. These efforts include

the state trying to position Indigenous peoples within this distorted narrative of nation-building founded upon stolen land, attempted genocide and assimilation. In the face of this ongoing colonial nightmare we see only one way forward: decolonization and the end of Canada.

Long live the Indigenous peoples of Turtle Island!

Ni frontière, ni état, ni Québec, ni Canada!

None are free until we all are free!

Colonial and Racist John A. Macdonald Monument defaced

The action today is inspired in part by movements in the USA to target public symbols of white supremacy for removal, such as Confederate statues. It's also motivated by decolonial protests, like the "Rhodes Must Fall" movement in South Africa. As well, we are directly inspired by protests by anti-colonial activists – both Indigenous and non-Indigenous – against John A. Macdonald, particularly in Kingston, Ontario, Macdonald's hometown. We also note efforts elsewhere in the Canadian state to rename the schools named after Macdonald, including a resolution

by the Elementary Teachers' Federation of Ontario who denounced Macdonald as the 'architect of genocide against Indigenous people.' The defacing of the Macdonald Monument is also appropriate in the context of the whitewashing of Canadian history this year during the "Canada 150" celebrations, and various calls to action, including the '375+150 = Bullshit' graffiti action this summer.

John A. Macdonald was a white supremacist. He directly contributed to the genocide of Indigenous peoples with the creation of the brutal residential schools system, as well as other measures meant

to destroy native cultures and traditions. He was racist and hostile towards non-white minority groups in Canada, openly promoting the preservation of a so-called "Aryan" Canada. He passed laws to exclude people of Chinese origin. He was responsible for the hanging of Métis martyr Louis Riel. Macdonald's statue belongs in a museum, not as a monument taking up public space in Montreal.

Ni patrie, ni état, ni Québec, ni Canada!

- *Some local anti-colonial anti-racists.*



Interview with Montreal anti-fascist organizer: The stakes are high, and we don't intend to sit idly by as things get worse.

Can you tell me about antifascist organizing in Montreal and what its role is, especially now?

Antifascist activism has a long history in Montreal, going back to the 1980s. Prior to 2017, though, things had been relatively quiet for a number of years, most activity not occurring in the public eye.

Following the racist massacre in Quebec City on January 27, the far right has been emboldened. They have been taking to the streets and organizing in an unprecedented fashion. As a result of which, many of us have begun organizing along explicitly antifascist lines.

The role of antifascism is to expose and neutralize the threat posed by the far right. It is to support communities and individuals targeted by the far right. Ultimately, it is to join with and support those fighting against the root causes of the far right, which in the Canadian context are racism, patriarchy, colonialism, and capitalism.

Why is it important to be fighting fas-

cism now?

Since six people were murdered and nineteen seriously injured by a racist gunman in Quebec City earlier this year, the far right has stepped out of the shadows and is trying to gain legitimacy as a political force in Quebec society. This is part of a broader trend that reached a milestone when Donald Trump was elected, and that we see playing out throughout the historically racist countries in Europe and North America, as the economic crisis is provoking an avalanche of white racism.

The thing is, the answers the fascists provide — scapegoating immigrants, Jews, people of color — simply divert attention away from the real cause of the problems people are facing, namely an unfair economic system and increasing austerity.

History shows that if we don't fight effectively against the far right, people end up dying. The stakes are high, and we don't intend to sit idly by as things get worse.

What are common misconceptions of Antifa?

The politically ignorant believe we are the reason behind the rise of the far right. A quick look at what happened first should set the record straight on that one.

The far right believes we are secretly paid by George Soros or by the government. While most people will find this ludicrous, it lines up with how they have always explained things, i.e. shadowy forces or some foreign Jewish millionaire being behind anything they don't like.

People on the left sometimes believe that we are just into violence, or that bashing nazis is all we care about. This is another misconception, as in fact we're often people who are also involved in less sensational work against government cutbacks, police brutality, racism, and other aspects of life under capitalism.

Many people are confused, and think there is some organization called "antifa". In fact, "antifa" is just the media buzzword of the day, a German contrac-

tion of the word “antifascist”. Since the election of Donald Trump, there has been a proliferation of antifascist groups across North America; this is a good thing, but for better or for worse there is no unitary organization or even single network encompassing all of these groups, or even any one single ideology we all agree upon. This is a mass movement, and like all mass movements, it can't be reduced to just one entity.

Another point of confusion worth noting, is why some of us wear masks at demonstrations. This is not a uniform, it's a simple precaution, both against arrest and against retaliation from our opponents. Not all antifascists wear masks, and not everyone who wears a mask identifies primarily as an antifascist.

What threat do you see in the anti-immigrant groups which appear to be gaining steam in Quebec (and elsewhere)?

These groups pose a threat, but we need to be clear: they only exist in any significant numbers because for years “mainstream” politicians and media personalities have been laying the groundwork for their racist rabblery. It is no coincidence that La Meute was founded by men who had been sent by the government to wage war in Afghanistan. It is no coincidence that this organization has grown to be so large in the province where an Islamophobic “Charter of Values” was proposed by the government and almost became law. These groups do not come out of nowhere, and taking them seriously requires taking the broader context into account.

Far right organizations create political space for racist and exclusionary ideas throughout the political spectrum. By comparison, the racism of mainstream politicians suddenly seems “moderate”. All the while, within their midst, they act like incubation chambers for more extreme individuals and groups.

On a basic and concrete human level, the costs can be high. Six people had their lives stolen from them in Quebec City in January; what message is being sent when hundreds of members of La

Meute take to the streets less than seven months later? Refugees at the Olympic Stadium are being subjected to intimidation by the neo-nazi group Atalante. People cross the border are having to face the possibility that two-bit outfits like the Storm Alliance will be there to bully them as they do. All of these are examples of the violence that we are fighting against.

What is your role in countering them, specifically in Montreal and the province of Quebec?

We intend to expose and neutralize this threat. We will document and reveal the ties between organizations, including the links they would rather be kept out of the public eye. For instance, the neo-nazi Shawn Beauvais-MacDonald, who was an official in La Meute who attended the recent hatefest in Charlottesville. Or the involvement of racists behind the fake news scandal about Muslims at a popular zoo a couple of months back. Or the avowed white supremacists who were behind the attempted anti-refugee protest at the Olympic Stadium that people stopped on August 6.

On the ground, when racists attempt to act, we aim to be physically present to do whatever needs to be done to stop them.

If you'd like to learn more about what we are doing, we encourage you to keep tuned to the Montreal Antifasciste website.

What do you think of the demonstration in Quebec city on August 20, and the mainstream media narrative that counter protestor's actions could have an adverse affect on the cause?

La Meute's march in Quebec City was the largest far right demonstration to have occurred in Canada since the 1930s. Let that sink in.

Our job was to prevent La Meute from taking to the streets. They hid behind police in a garage all day long, and waited until we had left to quickly march around the block. Obviously, next time we'll have to stick around longer.

As for the actions everyone is com-

plaining about: In a large and chaotic confrontation it is always difficult to know the context behind every photograph or soundbyte. That said, random people minding their own business were not attacked. If somebody showed up hoping to attend a racist demonstration, to us that is the real scandal. And as to media who complain about how they were treated, the solution might be to listen when someone tells you politely to not take their photo.

Do you see a difference in how to fight fascism and how to fight racism?

The fight against fascism is meaningless without the fight against racism. And, for that matter, against sexism, homophobia, and transphobia, and also against colonialism and capitalism itself.

What are your views on the use of force?

Systemic racism is violent. Transphobia, homophobia and sexism are violent. Centuries of colonialism are violent, as attested to by the recent murders of two Inuit women in Montreal, not to mention living conditions for Indigenous people across Canada. The situation of people on welfare or getting by with nothing but an old age pension to live on are violent. But in all these cases this violence remains invisible to those who are not subjected to it on a daily basis.

For La Meute to march through the streets of Quebec City, for the Storm Alliance to intimidate refugees at the border, for Atalante to drop their pathetic banners ... all of this is violent to those made to feel unsafe and insecure. The anti-Muslim hatefest that accompanied the PQ's proposed racist Charter in 2013 was violent. And let's not forget the horrific and heartbreaking context of January 27.

We intend to struggle against the above forms of violence, or to prevent them from reoccurring, but sadly there can be no serious struggle without violence, actual or implied. And we intend to struggle seriously.



Vandalism of the store of Robert Proulx, member of La Meute

In the early morning of September 30, with the help of a fire extinguisher filled with paint, we repainted brown the exterior façade of JS RP Tech Informatique, owned by Robert Proulx, located at 6117 Bélanger. Robert Proulx is an active member of La Meute, involved with security.

Contrary to what they chant in the media, La Meute is an Islamophobic and racist group, using a media strategy to spread far-right, anti-immigrant, conservative ideologies, and which promotes white supremacy. Almost all public personalities of the right-wing in Quebec are members. Its idols being politicians like Marine le Pen and, Donald Trump. La Meute, with populist discourses that democratically demand the “freedom of expression”, revives the currents of the far-right in a frightening way. Several

members are inspired by figures advocating for racist murder and the return of slavery, such as the KKK or Adolf Hitler.

Against the re-emergence of the far-right, there is no mercy. We will do anything to discourage them. We are extremely aware that these ideas have the capacity to wreak havoc, especially in the current context, while every day the media propagandizes against Islam, awakening the Western patriotism that justifies the war against the Islamic State and the military occupation of the Middle East. The spreading of racist ideas contributes to reinforcing the national identity and maintaining an exploited class of proud whites.

We chose to vandalize this store the morning of a right-wing anti-immigration demonstration at the border post of Lacolle, organized by Storm Alliance,

another far-right group. Interestingly, Robert Proulx was present. It appears that, on Facebook, he accuses Jaggi Singh as responsible for the vandalism. Well, we don't know Jaggi Singh. We self-organize, autonomously and informally. Everybody hates racists and Robert Proulx.

We won't let a racist discourse take more space. We hope that the message is clear.

Welcome to all immigrants, refugees, and people without status. Fuck the borders. Fuck Quebec, fuck Canada, fuck white supremacy. Solidarity with indigenous people in struggle for their autonomy and dignity.

Here's a poster to put on the walls [*see MTLCOUNTER-INFO.ORG*].

Some anarchists

Robert Proulx's Store Targeted For a Second Time

Hey Robert Proulx, We broke the windows of your storefront. We guess you don't have to clean any more paint or posters off of them now. We've hated you and your involvement in “La Meute” for a while, and thanks for the communique from when your store was attacked on the 30th of September, we finally got your address.

On October 16th, we rolled up to your store at 6117 rue Belanger and

broke your windows. We were happy to see that someone else had spray-painted “RACISTE” in red on the sidewalk directly in the front of your store. Apparently, lots of people hate you, Proulx.

We want to make sure your neighbors understood that this wasn't random vandalism, so we hand-delivered 40 flyers (from the 30th September attack) explaining your racist and xenophobic bullshit, to the mailboxes of all the surrounding

businesses on the street.

Solidarity with refugees and all those targeted by “La Meute”.

Solidarity with everyone who fight fascists – whether in the streets or at their home or jobs.

Nowhere in Montreal is safe for racist scum.

See you next time Proulx.

-The “Fuck Robert Proulx Committee”

FROM PAGE 1

The Anti-Fascist Movement in 2017

➤ to say, for the purposes of this text, some combination of:

- small organizations with specifically racist or otherwise oppressive politics;
- larger movements with politics that are less defined but generally amenable to these organizations' agendas; and
- not infrequently, but particularly during Republican administrations, the executive branch of the United States government (the governments of Québec, Arizona, and a few other U.S. states might occasionally be identified as fascist as well)

During this entire time, there have been discussions of this "fascist threat" (its composition, its activities, its capacities, etc.) and a consistent trend of people taking action against it.

2) **Anti-fascism, like any social movement, is a space.** Meetings, public demonstrations, and gnarlier actions comprise the bulk of this space, which is broadly non-fixed in geographic terms and non-subcultural with regards to the people present – i.e. it does not correspond to where certain people (in the Montréal context, the stereotype would be francophone skinheads who like to drink and talk about the working class) decide to spend their Saturday nights. Like any space that exists in the real world, a concept of purity simply does not apply. The range of ideas present within anti-fascism is extremely diverse, and made all the more so in any moment when participation spikes.

3) **In 2017, anti-fascism is experiencing greater visibility and a higher level of participation than normal.** This obviously has something to do with the electoral campaign of Donald Trump and its success, though it cannot be re-

duced to that either. Suffice it to say, though, that the incoherent conceptual category of fascism feels more relevant to people, and more people are saying it, including those with the largest capacity to broadcast their thoughts. This creates a feedback loop of sorts, which might not necessarily correlate to higher rates of participation in anti-fascism, but which has certainly done so in this case. The demos are bigger, and more frequent. More people are involving themselves in anti-fascism, either for good reasons or bad, and this makes it "bigger".

Accepting this elaboration, a comparison can be made between anti-fascism in 2017 and anti-austerity in 2012 – that is, in the Montréal context, the time of "the student strike" or "le Printemps érable" or whatever other historonym we might prefer. The anti-austerity movement – or more narrowly, the so-called "student movement" aiming for free tuition at Québécois public universities – had a long history before 2012, and its history did not end there, either. The fourth article in the "After the Crest" series from CrimethInc., reflecting on Montréal anarchists' experience in 2012, concerns itself primarily with what led anarchists of various backgrounds and persuasions to engage with the movement in 2012 and the years immediately adjacent; this article also imagines forms of disengagement and distancing that might have been, at times, more empowering than straightforward participation as agitators and bodies on the ground. The remaining points aim at an analysis of anti-fascism in 2017 with the same priorities at the fore.

4) **The baseline objective of the anti-fascist movement, while obviously limited from a critical anarchist perspective, is entirely consistent with anar-**

chist aims. More elaborate articulations of this goal by those with agendas that go beyond the aims of the movement, such as Maoists or liberal democrats, will probably not be consistent with anarchist aims – but these other tendencies do not define anti-fascism as a whole anymore than anarchists do.

Trying to perfectly define the baseline objective of the movement is an exercise in futility. That said, I would consider it a broad effort to do away with the forces itemized in point #1.

5) **Engagement with the anti-fascist movement can serve to satisfy both the emotional and practical needs of anarchists.** Like many others in society, we find the activities of fascists to be monstrous and abhorrent, and we may find ourselves with a desire to "do something" about it; this is true even for the most rhetorically nihilist among us, who present as very aloof but who may nevertheless find themselves beset with righteous fury when an acquaintance gets stabbed, a mosque gets shot up, or a family member starts promoting reactionary ideas on Facebook. These emotions can be rationalized away, or they can be used. Regarding the practical, there is too much to say. There are new friends to be met, plenty of opportunities to practice new skills, and social energy that might be harnessed towards any number of interesting avenues. Even if your goal is just to shit-talk leftists, some level of engagement will provide your critiques a touch of authenticity.

The above two points are fairly banal, I think, but they probably need to be said. The remaining points should challenge many participants in the anti-fascist movement, and perhaps actively antagonize

a few of them, so I want to make it clear right now that these points are offered in solidarity, and that I am mostly contemptuous of the purist rhetoric from certain anarchists (largely the issue of certain tendencies, though I won't name names) that reject engagement with anti-fascism out of hand. If you're one of those purists, cut it the fuck out.

6) Petitioning the government is useless; direct action gets the goods.

For years, Solidarity Across Borders has organized an annual demo in Montréal under the slogan of first STATUS FOR ALL! and then, more recently, OPEN THE BORDERS! These slogans articulate as demands, necessarily directed at the Canadian government, which is arbiter of status and maintainer of borders in this territory. These demands, even if we imagined them voiced or embodied by a hundred times more participants in a SAB demo, will not directly affect government policy. This truth is well-understood by anarchists, both those who participate in SAB demos and those who do not. But when it comes to fascists doing essentially the same thing, articulating a demand for mass deportation or the like, these same anarchists can get very worried – namely, by imagining a clear causal relationship between the petitioning action and a dreaded government policy outcome. It is fine to be disgusted by racist petitioners standing in front of the National Assembly or gathering at some other visible or symbolically important site (the Quartier des spectacles, Montréal City Hall, the Lacolle border crossing), and it is perfectly fine to attack them (in strategically sound ways, of course). At the same time, it is problematic to understand any manifestation of civil discourse as an urgent threat and attendance-obligatory. A call for a demo in a residential neighbourhood with a visibly Muslim character, or to march on the Olympic Stadium at the moment of its usage by refugees, indicates a risk of a pogrom – in other words, direct action. A proper threat assessment would understand such calls as more ur-

gently threatening than, for instance, the passive and virtue signaling public activity of La Meute.

7) Under Canadian law, the state guarantees the right of citizens to peaceful assembly and peaceful expression of political opinion. Thus, any attack on such rights is simultaneously an attack on the state itself. It is absolutely possible to attack the state and succeed, but it is a difficult operation, and one that demands a great deal of resources – of which, it is quite likely, the attackers do not have an abundance. It takes many fewer resources for the other side to pull off some kind of passive event. If one demo is blocked, they will call another on another day. Or they will hide in a parking garage for awhile, then emerge once the attackers have gone home.

The above two points comprise the core of my disagreement with the strategic imperative that goes by the name “no platform”, currently in vogue among many influential participants in anti-fascism, and which provides an undesirable negative affect to the anti-fascist movement as a whole. No platform, as a project, is comparable to the project of policing as articulated by Tom Nomad in The Master's Tools. The exigency is to be everywhere at once, to prevent any instance of violation of non-situational placidity, a project which is necessarily impossible. For the state, the effort to realize this impossibility is, at least, productive. For anarchists in the anti-fascist movement, it is probable that we have better things to do, either inside or outside of the movement, in lieu of devoting all our time and energy to a project that will inevitably fail, and which will likely leave us feeling weak because of that failure.

8) Anarchists should not feel okay about marching behind Maoist banners. This is meant literally as well as figuratively. After the death of Heather Heyer, there was a memorial demonstration in Montréal, which began with a rally at Square Phillips. PCR-RCP cadre were there in force, as well as many anarchists. We found ourselves in the same place, largely for the same reasons,

and this is actually fine; it is important for us to have spaces of encounter with those whom we do not like, rather than simply become more isolated from one another than we already are. But when we left the square, the Maoists did what they always do, which was to hoist their banners and hammer-and-sickle flags in the air, and thereby very effectively mark the demonstration as theirs as far as any spectator would be able to tell. This didn't need to happen. Anarchists could have marched out of the square in a different direction. We talk a lot of shit about Maoists, and other tendencies, in our living rooms – but on the streets that day, we reflexively actualized left unity, rather than do something to develop our own autonomous capacities, and vibilize the ideas we presumably think to be superior to those of Maoism in terms of strategic, ethical, and even aesthetic thinking. Besides, our mutual distaste would have had practical benefit today, namely by making the anti-fascist movement less intelligible, less centralized, less repressible. Let's give kudos where it is due, and say that PCR-RCP cadre are ready and willing to fight cops and destroy property in pursuit of their aims. It is always better to have two potentially rowdy crowds wandering downtown Montréal than one. A chaotic movement is a stronger one.

9) Anarchists should deviate from easy narratives that frequently fail to compete with the narratives propagated by fascists. As soon as anarchist discourse becomes populist, it loses what makes it distinctly more valuable than the discourse of liberals, who have – through television and thinkpieces, podcasts and blog posts – propagated a powerful idea of what it means to be a good and ethical person in affluent, urban, and secular societies. Broadly speaking, The Guardian and your average Netflix sitcom actually have it quite right vis-à-vis their vision for compassion, empathy, and solidarity amongst people who are just struggling to survive in this world, same as anyone else. Alas, it is not enough to be right; the

populist rhetoric of many fascists, which appeals to different emotions, is often more successful in shaping the collective action of the masses. Given that anarchists acting populist today will not provide an outcome of popularity tomorrow (such is the power of authoritarians institutions' ideological conditioning), we should embrace our outsider status and, with it, the freedom to call things as we see them. This is, in some ways, a terrible freedom, because oftentimes the way we see things will be absolutely misinformed, and provide no immediately positive outcome. Regarding anarchists' involvement in the anti-fascist movement, perhaps the most relevant topic here is Islam, which many anarchists broadly oppose (usually along with all religion). The nature of this opposition, of course, is extremely varied, and it is certain that many espousing such a position are also woefully ignorant of even basic concepts relevant to the subject matter. In this, many anarchists are the same as white Québécois who have concerns about at least some aspects of Muslims' beliefs and practices. Anarchism needs to be a space where it is possible to voice those concerns, which might begin a dialogue that corrects some misconceptions, and maybe suggests that there are bigger things to worry about than what some imam said one time. Fascists claim to be the only ones in society who will speak matter-of-factly about Islam-associated problems, while in fact routinely propagating conspiracy theories and other false information. There is no serious possibility that either liberals or Leninists will ever demonstrate by example that the fascists' claim to this effect are wrong, so the task is up to anarchists who are willing to take responsibility for saying things that other people (including people who can make credible claims of being more oppressed) may not want to hear.

10) The only way to stop random and autonomously planned violence is better policing. Such better policing is, in fact, more or less the projectual aim

of some particularly dedicated members of the anti-fascist movement, who investigate incidents of fascist activity, identify who is responsible, and take action against them. This project is entirely laudable, especially to the extent that it is motivated by genuinely altruistic sentiment – unlike the vast majority of activities pursued by actual cops, i.e. the state employees of whom every last one is a bastard. But the volunteer efforts of flawed and underresourced people who have bills to pay, addictions to nurse, all the rest of it, will never prevent atrocities like the Québec City mosque shooting from reoccurring. Rather than indulge in honeyed talk of how this problem will disappear in the context of total anarchist triumph, it should be acknowledged that what will prevent such atrocities is better surveillance, better regimes of punishment and reward for bad and good behaviour, better algorithms to preemptively identify the person about to shoot someone. Obviously the medicine is worse than the disease, even if that's easier for some of us to say than others. There is a place for hunting down individual fascists and making their lives more difficult, which will remain the main activity of some people and which others should try to celebrate, but it is problematic for this to become a markedly favoured tactic of the movement, never mind a strategic-ethical imperative. Not because the anti-fascist movement would have become "a state in waiting" or an arm of the extant state, but because making the world a safe place for everyone is a project beyond our capacities. The degree to which we can respond effectively to things is largely limited by cultural and geographic distances, and if we decide that we have our own lives to live, too, which will not be well-served by developing the mentality akin to that of a heroic but tortured cop, then the burden of that personal choice is that we will be more limited in our capacity to effect social change.

11) Theories of fascism are political and emotionally motivated. In other

words, they are never entirely honest. In intellectualizing fascism (and its relatives: crypto-fascism, proto-fascism, quasi-fascism, Nazism, etc.), the intellectual is typically unable to separate personal bias and agenda from the work at hand. This is why many anarchists call Leninists "red fascists", why Leninists might say anarchists are "fascists in effect", why the enemies of the anti-fascist movement proclaim that "antifa are the real fascists". None of us are actually wrong, because wrongness can only be measured against the definition being used. Occasionally, a clinical definition emerges, usually in an academic tone or an overconceived blog post, which takes out all the moralizing and provides a rigorous and well-reasoned diagnostic framework – but such rarefied definitions never catch on in common discourse, because the pragmatic function of the word "fascist" is to rally groups of people to destroy an enemy that deserves no ethical consideration; people will continue to identify things they don't like as fascist, never mind what any expert says. Without imagining that we can delete the word from English or French, or even from our own speech (for our emotions will sometimes demand that we denounce a thing in the strongest possible terms), anarchists should use different terms, preferably more precise, to identify the enemies of the anti-fascist movement wherever possible. When we choose to use the word "fascism", we should be clear that our choice is informed by convenience and, to some degree, arbitrariness – not truth (for if we do think that our choice of words is "true", we have a bigger problem, which is that we have constructed a semantic reality for ourselves that satisfies our own desire to always be right). In this move away from theories of fascism, which are typically too large in scope to be practical, we can:

- encourage a less alienated relationship to people's very reasonable hatreds, which do not need to be justified with historical narratives or political ontologies;

- build a cultural resilience against the immanent threat of anarchists being identified as “fascists” by authoritarians who want to control everything, a predictable outcome of the contemporary and largely Leninist-animating anti-fascist movement achieving broad success in its goals; and

- continue to use the word “fascist” in much the same way as we have been doing, but perhaps with fewer frustrations with ourselves and others as to whether the word is being used correctly

12) Participation and engagement will produce better knowledge of the anti-fascist movement than intellectual approaches ever will. Don’t trust anyone who has a pretense to superior knowledge of history, metaphysics, and how to live your life. That includes yourself. Walk with the anti-fascist movement for a bit, or don’t, as you like – but do it as anarchist.

I have one reading recommendation to conclude with, which is “Combating the Reactionary Forces of Liberalism” by Common Cause Anarchist Organization, published in *Mortar* #3 in 2015. It is an imperfect article, but it does a very good job at identifying the difference between La Meute and a smaller outfits like Adalante or the Fédération des Québécois de

souche – namely, that La Meute lacks a revolutionary and anti-systemic core, that it is in fact perfectly willing to work within the general framework of the Canadian state. Thinking to the United States, it seems that many defenders of the Confederate flag would probably fit this description as well. Common Cause’s argument is that these people require a different response than fascists do, and I think I buy that, though I don’t think there will ever be much hope of establishing a clear vision of who, precisely, is or is not a “reactionary liberal”, as opposed to those who come from a genuinely revolutionary and anti-systemic perspective, albeit a pessimistic nationalist one. It is clear enough that many people with one foot in the anarchist scene have another foot in the social-democratic scene, but it is harder to speak of actual individuals with any certainty. Our capacity to tell the difference will be even more difficult when assessing the anti-fascist movement’s street-level enemies, but Common Cause has made the best effort I’ve yet seen at realizing a practical taxonomy.

Peter Gelderloos and Seattle Ultras, respectively, provide two decidedly more lively texts that I think warrant some attention: “Fascists are the Tools of the State” in the first case, dating from 2007,

and “Class Combat” in the second, from this year. Both of these take a decidedly less intellectual approach than either myself in this text – I promise I am less aloof from the matters I like to discuss if you hang out with me in real life – or the collectively written, democratically approved text produced by Common Cause.

Finally, I recently had the opportunity to see a few well-preserved magazines issued out of Toronto in the late 1990s, antifa forum. The first thing to say is that, rather than it being some brand-new phenomenon, the North American anarchist scene has been fascinated with terminology issued from the German radical scene for well over two decades (and of course, this is where we get some other terms, such as “black bloc”). Secondly, I think a lot of people would benefit simply from being aware of the existence of older materials like these, even if they have no particular interest in the content. I found many of the theoretical questions and tensions of today coming out in these older texts. I suspect that for younger radicals, like myself and those born even later, these older printed materials will provide a historical sense of the issues that we otherwise just aren’t going to get anywhere else.

– *shadowsmoke, October 2017*

DMS Doxed

Guillaume Beauchamp and Maxime Morin (aka “DMS”) publicly declared war on antifascists in Quebec, and in Montreal.

These far-right fanboys have threatened to find us and destroy us. Big mistake.

On December 5th, we had a friendly run-in with you in the streets. Judging

by how fast you ran away from us, we thought you had understood our warning the first time.

On the night of December 8th we paid you a visit at your home, 2440 Chambly street, apartment #1, in Hochelaga. We had the pleasure of putting up a few posters around your place, just to let your neighbours know that they live next to

some neo-fascist rats.

This was your second and last warning. If you don’t learn to shut up and behave yourself, it’s going to cost you. Feel free to spread the word to your fancy chums: y’all are never, ever safe in this city.

AFC (Antifa af Collective)



In the Trenches: Pipeline Sabotage against Enbridge in Hamilton

Pipelines are war; one built from the insatiable greed of corporations which have normalized violence against the land and its living. Our resolve within this struggle intensifies with each audacious assault Enbridge launches; each time they dismiss the concerns and requests of Indigenous Nations. Every court proceeding. Every act of intimidation. Every lie or false claim of safety or necessity. We've had enough.

So back when Enbridge started shipping in pipeline segments for their line 10 expansion, we started sabotaging them.

There are vast networks of pipeline infrastructure throughout Turtle Island. They are indefensible; perfect opportunities for effective direct action that harms nothing but an oil company's bottom line. It's in this spirit that we found ourselves going for long moonlit strolls through the trenches of the freshly dug line 10 right-of-way. Wherever we felt the urge, we drilled various sized holes into pipeline segments while spilling corro-

sives inside others.

We do this in solidarity with the Indigenous peoples of this area. A people who have been displaced, threatened and murdered since early colonial arrivals – who still continue to face this violence. Who suffer the consequences of this colonial capitalist society and the industries which drive it.

So – to Enbridge: You're gonna want to replace every last section of line 10 that's been laid out so far. We say this because we care for the environment, and don't care about you – so take it seriously. And for every dollar you pursue from Indigenous Nations or individuals for defending their territories, we aim to cost you ten. #sorrynotsorry

To the public: It's up to you to hold Enbridge accountable – in everything they do. Don't let them risk your lives by installing pipelines they now know to be compromised. Don't let them risk lives by installing pipelines, period.

And lastly, but not least, to our comrades and co-conspirators:

A How-To from the heart

You'll need 1 a decent cordless drill, 2 a good smaller-gauge cobalt or titanium drill bit – preferably with a pilot point, and 3 cutting oil. [Oh, the irony!]

With a righteous sense of adventure, prove your stealth ninja skills by getting into the right-of-way. Once you're in there you're pretty invisible from the road so long as you're not fluorescent, adorned in glitter of fucking around with a headlamp too much. Take a breath, take a look, and then find your way to an empty pipeline and start drilling! Go slow [so there's less noise, reverberation, and friction] and apply enough pressure so that you see metal shavings coming up – and then keep at it for 10 to 15 minutes. Cutting oil will help the process along by keeping the drill tip cool and effective.

Have fun. Stay safe.

And get the fuck out there!



Decolonize Turtle Island!

For the last 10 days, an encampment has been blocking the train tracks that lead out of the Port of Olympia, preventing fracking proppants from being sent to North Dakota and Wyoming. In addition to standing in the way of capitalism and environmental destruction, the blockade has created an opening in which we can interact in new, liberated ways. We have made many new friends, deepened existing relationships, and experienced the joy in sharing our lives without regard for profit.

We wish to send greetings and express solidarity with Indigenous resistance to capitalist expansion across Turtle Island. From the lands of the Nisqually and Squaxin tribes, to the shores of the

Wedzin Kwah on Unist'ot'en Territory, to the walls of the Tiny House Warriors of Secwepemc Territory, to the Mi'kmaq struggle on the Gaspésie Peninsula, we wish to acknowledge and honor those whose land we currently fight on and those who fight against the industrial mega-machine alongside us, near and far. Our fight against fracking proppants is also a fight against LNG pipelines, Keystone Oil, and many more; but more broadly the struggle against extractivist industry is a struggle against colonization.

A Freedom of Information Act request revealed that last year's week-long rail blockade cost oil giant Halliburton two fracking operations, and in turn

Halliburton severed ties with the Port of Olympia. While we do not wish to see the Port of Olympia transition to some sort of greenwashed "progressive" capitalism – merely polishing that giant turd of colonization – we celebrate the sheer level of chaos and impact on Halliburton. Sometimes it feels as though no attack on capitalism or the state will ever be enough to cause any real damage, but it's moments like these that remind us that the death machine is more vulnerable than we might think.

*Warm greetings to everyone searching for the cracks in leviathan's armor-
For total freedom,
-some guests on the southern tip of the Salish Sea*

Fuck you, Fuck your Court, Fuck the Crown and the Queen you serve: Response to Sentencing of Line 9 Valve Turners

On December 18th, 2017, two anarchist comrades were sentenced for their role in a 2015 direct action in which a Enbridge's Line 9 was physically shut down. Their affinity group ac-

complished this by physically closing a manual valve, thus proving that it was possible to safely shut down pipelines. This action, the first of its kind, inspired a wave of similar actions, including one

in which 5 pipelines in 4 different states were shut down simultaneously.

At the sentencing of Fred and Will, the judge found it suiting to give the defendants a lecture. "You were convinced",

he said, “that it was correct”. He went on to compare the activists action, in which no physical entity was harmed, with terrorist attacks such as Boston Marathon bombing and the Bataclan massacre in Paris. The commonality between these actions was the fact that they were all ideologically motivated. The judge went on to reference a man in Germany in the 1930s who believed that he had a righteous cause.

Well, two can play at this game. If the condemnation that follows seems overly scathing, keep in mind that this fucking judge compared our comrade to Adolf fucking Hitler.

This judge is a representative of the very same Crown that has been responsible for atrocities much worse than the Boston Marathon bombing or the acts of the Bataclan shooters. The genocidal residential school system was presided over by many judges, and the human cost of this system was much greater than the terrorist acts the judge cites. How dare you chastise our comrades, as if they were errant children, for disobeying your Law, when much greater atrocities have been committed by people using the Law as their weapon? It is your moral code, not ours, which is ill-conceived and naive.

You are old, and will not live to see the full extent of the coming cataclysm wrought by climate change and the economic and political crises it will precipitate. For those of us who must live with the consequences of your generations failure to address the ecological crisis, we cannot tolerate the rape of Mother Earth that Enbridge and their malignant ilk daily engage in. How dare you scold us for taking action in defence of our future? It is our future that state-sanctioned ecocide has been systemically impoverishing for centuries. Would you chastise us for desiring to pass along a liveable world to those who come after us? Would you rather that we wallow hopelessly and helplessly, watching the web of life upon which our survival depends deteriorate further and further? The political channels you would have us believe

in have clearly proven their inability to address the planetary crisis. Would you rather that we shrug and say “Fuck it”? Or waste our lives pursuing state-sanctioned “solutions” that are sure to fail? How dare you claim the moral high ground, you who lives in luxury while the sixth mass extinction rapidly accelerates? What have you done to reverse the damage that this civilization, year after year, inflicts on the Earth?

Fuck you, you old fuck. We are trying to repair the damage that your generation has done. We are trying to staunch the world’s wounds before it is too late. How dare you reproach us for our actions? In your inane lecture, you compared Frederick Brabant to Hitler, for the reason that they both believed in a cause. It insults my intelligence to even dignify this with a response, but since I must stoop to your level, here goes: The election of Hitler was legal, the actions of those who protected Jews and other undesirables from the Holocaust was illegal. The actions of slave-owners whipping slaves was legal, the Underground Railroad was outlaw shit. The residential school system was legal, traditional indigenous ceremonies were forbidden. It is an idiotic abasement of the human faculty for reasoning to equate lawful with right, and unlawful with wrong. The law, in every country, is created by the ruling class of that country, according to the interests and inclinations of that class. That you cannot see this obvious fact demonstrates a poverty of imagination that you should be ashamed to display in public. What you are saying is, in effect, Might makes Right, and in doing so you place yourself in the spiritual company of the judges of countless oppressive regimes, who have legitimized terror and torture by upholding the Law. So I say unto you: in condemning our comrades, you were convinced that you were right, but so was the judge that condemned the Tsilqotin chiefs to death. Or the state toadies who ordered the eviction of Africville and the deportation of the Acadians. Or they who enacted the War Measures Act du-

ring the October Crisis. Or they who demanded that Chinese migrant workers pay a head tax or be deported. Or they who ordered that people of Japanese descent be interned in concentration camps during World War Two. Each of these men, we can suppose, believed that what he was doing was right. But this was not the case.

We believe that there will come a day when the actions of water protectors will be seen in the same light as those who fought against slavery and imperial conquest in earlier generations. Moreover, although we are grateful that our activism has enjoyed popular support, we do not need the approval of mainstream society. We acknowledge no authority higher than ourselves, and we will continue to act in accordance with the aspirations of our spirits for freedom and dignity. We will continue to fight in defense of Mother Earth, on behalf of future generations and all our relations, consequences be damned.

And make no mistake – our movement is growing. Those with their fingers on the pulse already know this – the rest of you will soon enough.

May the sun set on all you represent, and as your generation dies, may the asinine ideology you have so shamelessly espoused die along with you. Fuck you, fuck your court, fuck the Crown and the Queen you serve. May the day soon come where all belief in their sanctity fades from memory, and human beings once again honour what is living instead of your dead abstractions. Only then will we as a people to be able to speak meaningfully of justice.

In the name of our fallen comrade, the praiseworthy and beloved Jean Leger, we declare: ON LACHE RIEN – we are not giving up.

*for the wild,
the Pukulatamuj brigade of the Imaginary Anarchist Federation*

Anti-racist, anti-police

On November 7th, early in the morning, we broke the store window of PSP Corp, a manufacturer and distributor of police and security equipment that supplies police forces in the Montreal area. We then sprayed blue paint all over their merchandise with the help of a fire extinguisher. This action was at once anti-racist, against the police, and against the private security companies that are complicit in police infrastructure in our neighborhoods. The police and their supporters are on the front lines of the

violent maintenance of the white supremacist social order and the colonial authority of the state and of capitalism. Following the rise of the far right in Quebec, the police has defended racists and allowed them to spread their hate. The far right supports and encourages the maintenance and expansion of the police state and the surveillance measures that systematically target racialized and working-class people. Smashing PSP Corp.'s window and destroying their merchandise is a way of fighting back against sur-

veillance and police infrastructure in our neighborhoods.

This action was carried out in the lead-up to the large demonstration against racism and hate of November 12th. Racism exists in Quebec. Security and surveillance technologies and the industries that grow around them belong to a state and a society built on exploitation, white supremacy, and patriarchy, and all of it on stolen land.



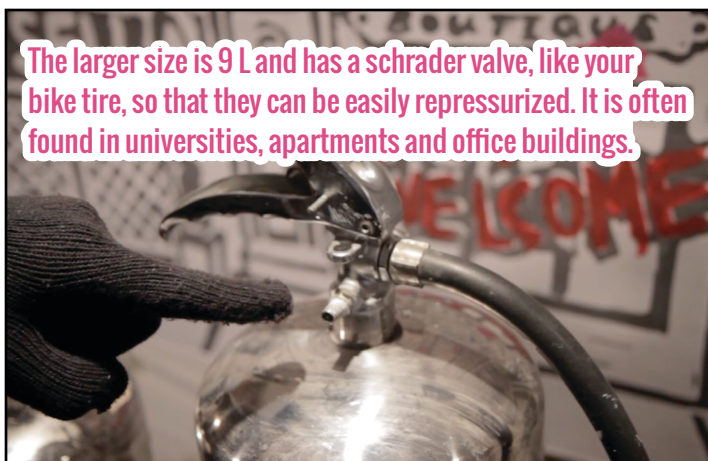
Find a water-pressurized fire extinguisher. They are metallic silver and come in two sizes.



Both sizes have removable tops, which are often attached with a nut.



The larger size is 9 L and has a schrader valve, like your bike tire, so that they can be easily repressurized. It is often found in universities, apartments and office buildings.



The smaller size is 6 L and needs to be repressurized with an air compressor. It is only found in restaurants because they are for grease fires, and are sometimes conveniently placed near the back exit!



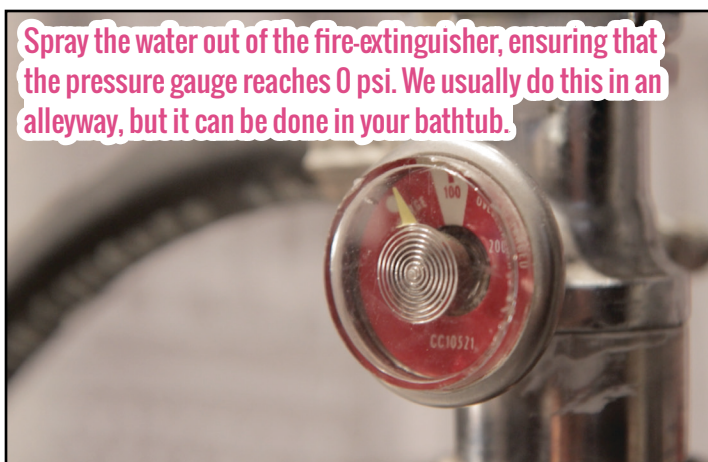
2. Empty the water



Wear cotton gloves to avoid getting your prints all over the thing.



Spray the water out of the fire-extinguisher, ensuring that the pressure gauge reaches 0 psi. We usually do this in an alleyway, but it can be done in your bathtub.



3. Fill with paint



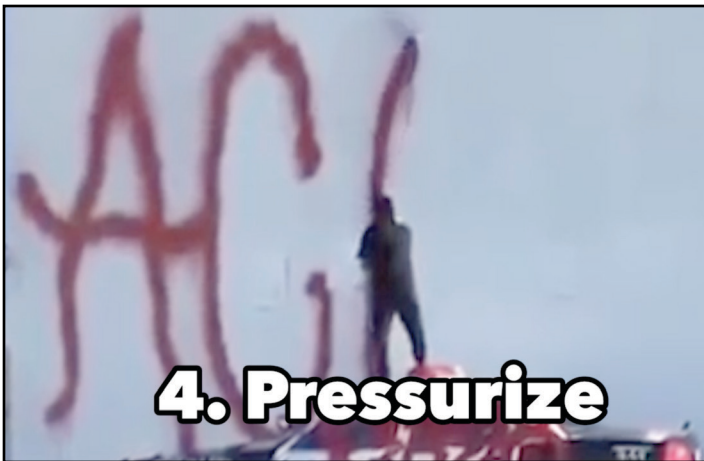


Remove the nut and top section.



Equal parts latex paint and water

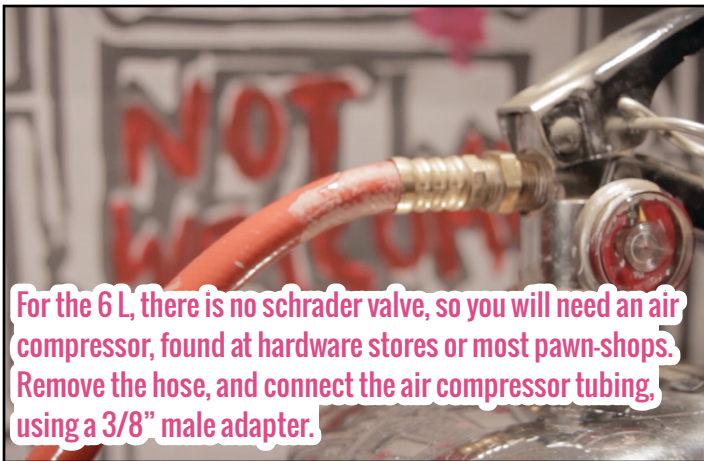
Fill the extinguisher about half way with a mixture of equal parts latex paint and water.



4. Pressurize



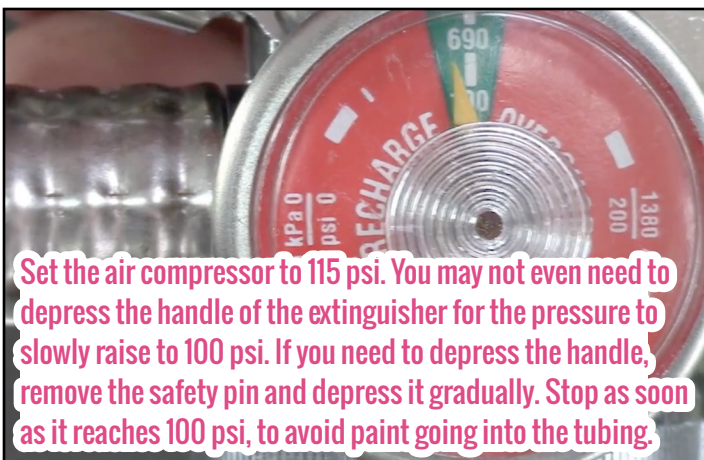
Reattach the top section, and make sure it's tight. For the 9 L, pressurize with a bike pump until the gauge reads 100 psi.



For the 6 L, there is no schrader valve, so you will need an air compressor, found at hardware stores or most pawn-shops. Remove the hose, and connect the air compressor tubing, using a 3/8" male adapter.



3/8" male adapter



Set the air compressor to 115 psi. You may not even need to depress the handle of the extinguisher for the pressure to slowly raise to 100 psi. If you need to depress the handle, remove the safety pin and depress it gradually. Stop as soon as it reaches 100 psi, to avoid paint going into the tubing.



Return the safety pin and secure it with duct-tape. Wipe down with a cloth soaked in rubbing alcohol to remove any fingerprints!