
Grumpywarriorcool

What makes our movements white?

amory starr

Beginning in the Global South with IMF-riots in the 1980s, the anti- or alterglobalization movement is the most recent phase of resistance to 513+ years of colonialism. The movement has taken aim at the institutions, legal frameworks, and justificatory popular ideologies which implement and enforce the privatization and marketization of the ecological and social commons. Around the world, indigenous people, farmers, fisherfolk, youth, workers, and unemployed are collectively asserting “one no” to this “neoliberalism”/multinational capitalism/imperialism and generating “many yeses,”¹ based in ecological and community-oriented livelihoods and political processes.

The US alterglobalization movement is built on the foundations of Latin American solidarity, internationalist unions, progressive populism, Green Party and other sustainability work, anti-fascist, and do-it-yourself organizations centered in punk rock communities, connections with European autonomism,² new agrarian/sustainable cuisine movements including anti-biotech, political pagans, anti-nuclear movements, environmental justice, forest wars, and other forms of radical ecodefense.

The most intense and visible manifestations of the movement use the term “direct action.”

Repopularized between 1999 and 2001, direct action has become hegemonic in the US alterglobalization movement. The conjunction of activist punk, political paganism, and radical ecodefense have produced a political framework and culture which emphasizes anti-hierarchy, consensus-based decision-making, open organizing, mutual support among all groups, invitations to cultural diversity, low-budget operations which creatively maximize use of marginal and discarded resources, physical spaces that prioritize low-throughput/sustainability, free services for all participants, vegan food, affirmation of marginal youth cultures including travelers, direct action tactics, carnivalesque imagery, and heroic personal risk.

As Francesca Polletta shows in her important book *Democracy is an Endless Meeting*, these methods of organizing and action have roots in ear-

lier movements such as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), and the feminist movement.³ At the same time, Direct Action organizing is a jarring departure from much of what has become familiar in labor and community organizing since the 1960s, particularly in its embrace of what many would call “undignified” low- or no-budget physical spaces, unwillingness to impose fees or dues, hostile rejection of any leadership, and the moral priority given to direct confrontation with law enforcement.

*i'd been in the streets for a couple of years and i finally had to say something about the masculinity of that experience, about how i felt “weak, fearful, trivial” next to other activists who showed “courage, humility, sacrifice.” it felt like the gendered story in every war movie i'd ever hated for just that reason. suspended by the agonizing disappointment that i would have to be a street warrior to really contribute to my beloved movement, i hid the halting poem under my bed. **we have come to recognize ourselves by the glint of riot helmets.***

I didn't know that for radical women in the New Left, the romanticized pressure to “become street fighters” during defense of People's Park in 1969 was “the final straw” that drove them away from the male Left and into the women's liberation movement. I didn't know that their earlier straws were straining our own organizing—“forceful public speaking as the mark of leadership” and the prioritization of “intellectual theory” and “verbal debate” over organizing. I didn't know that that women involved with SDS (which “revered the mind, but ignored feelings”), looked back heartbroken for “doubting their intellectual talents, for accepting men's definition of the world.”⁴

While I was suffering from repeated history, I was also struggling mightily with the horrifying news that people of color were describing the alterglobalization movement as racist. (I first heard at the Los Angeles Democratic National Convention protests in 2000, which was actually a bit late as the issues blew up immediately after Seattle.)

I was shocked. This is the movement that **does** get beyond capitalism in its analysis. It's anti-corporate, targeting the enemies of the environmental justice movement. It's challenging the economic policies that are forcing people into brutal migrations. It's discrediting the development theories that tell urban communities they should be grateful for “enterprise zones” and toxic jobs. It's making the connections between redlining and horrific dam projects and high interest loans at trade schools. And we're doing the Black Power thing, taking leadership from people of color (the Zapatistas)! This was the movement I'd been dreaming of because it was about the assaults on communities of color here, indigenous communities everywhere, ordinary people in the Global South, and farmers. This is the movement challenging the devastation of diasporas, taking on economic policies in a context of racist colonialism and ethnocentric “development.” This is the movement that understands environmental destruction as livelihood destruction. This is the movement that does it right! How could

anti-racist activists not be as thrilled as I was that this movement was actually happening?

I embarked on an admittedly defensive exploration of how this could be. I started reading everything posted on the *Colours of Resistance* website,⁵ interviewing activists, asking questions, consulting with anti-racist coaches, painstakingly cataloging the charges of racism, and publishing a few articles refuting all but a few seemingly isolated incidents. Finally, just before the next Conventions (a good four years later), I started to get it. And that would just be embarrassing if it weren't that I think I'm not alone.

Of course, globalization is affecting communities of color both here and abroad. Of course, globalization is more than an economic project—it's part of racist imperialism. Lots of white people are working on the growing anti-imperialist movement in the US. But (aha!) it's not *what* we work on that makes our politics anti-racist, it's *how* we do it that matters. And in fact, a lot of the alterglobalization *how* is even pretty good. Consistent with principles of anti-racist organizing, we *do* carefully design campaigns to make connections between distant global institutions and our neighborhoods, we *do* emphasize building community as part of our activism, and we *do* work to empower marginalized people. What I have finally begun to understand is that the *how* is deep and subtle.

This essay does explore what it is about the way that we do seemingly anti-racist work that alienates activists and communities of color—groups we'd like to be working with. Before I go any further though, it's important to note that white activists have better and worse moments in struggle with whiteness, so this paper does not generalize about white activists. It seeks to describe the problems with what I call "white organizing." Also I need to note that this essay weaves together the scholarship and the lyrical insights that work here and there to help folks see what is invisible. And several colleagues must be credited for the ideas presented in this multivocal text.⁶

This essay does assume that activists see themselves as organizers, by which I mean that they want to expand participation in the movement, rather than operating only as small cells or vanguards. It also assumes that activists are already aware of and working to address the destructive, exclusionary and alienating effects of security culture. This essay addresses activists who are interested in examining, self-critically, the impacts of the whiteness of our organizing out of concern for building a participatory and multicultural revolution.

Smuggling My friend Jane is a feminist scholar, active in multiracial queer communities, and she's white.⁷ She's radical but not an alterglobalization activist. One day she cleared her throat and said, "You activists spend so much time dealing with your fear of the cops and jostling each other to be more brave. Why is pushing yourself around those issues really important but it's not important to push yourself around dancing—as long

as you're wearing a tutu and all?" And Aimee, droopy in her tutu, stirred and exclaimed, "Oh! Dancing is wimpy and girly. Cops are macho."

we don't recognize warriors as macho when they're women

Foucault reminded us to be very careful about what parts of the old regime we are smuggling into our revolutions.⁸ What I was calling "courage, humility, sacrifice" is the internalized piece of masculinity. Recognizing how feminists might (still) be smuggling masculinity, helped me see how revolutionary anti-racists might be smuggling whiteness.

Where is the smuggler's hold? In feminism, these warriors hide out under the protection of "diverse feminisms." Anybody's version of feminism is legitimate. Among radical countercultures, the same commensurability applies in the discourse of (sub)cultural diversity.

So what? What's at stake in this smuggled masculinity? Invoking "culture" claims a socio-moral status beyond reprove and a horizontality which obviates critique. **It is this framework of cultural diversity which makes it difficult to identify and address internalized oppression within radical and revolutionary countercultures.** The freedom from critique prevents us from discovering what we are missing.

What is missing in a fearless feminism? In fearless activism? Just as Audre Lorde pointed out that anger is loaded with information and energy,⁹ artist Dan Cohen describes the value of fear:⁹

The culture of the barricade, of opposition, needs to celebrate its own lucid rage...but what about that internal world behind the barricades? What happens to the doubts, fears, questions whispered in the silences between confrontations? Those voices of intimate reflection are an enormous archive of knowledge, but remain hidden behind profound doubt and fear.¹⁰

Feminist warriors smuggling the masculine self-image of "courage, humility, strength" are cut off from this "archive."

Not so Counter-Cultural... Activist cultures are heavily invested, deeply meaningful frameworks designed to create time and space that affirm and manifest our hopes, dreams, and visions. But, like any culture, these precious, hard-won expressions and rituals can be deeply alienating to those who do not share them. While no culture can be a universally welcoming landing pad, that doesn't mean that organizers are absolved of any responsibility for culture. Culture is an unavoidable part of how we do politics, and it must be viewed critically, as any other part of organizing.

White organizing in alterglobalization, radical ecodefense, anti-imperialism, and other movements often draws on "alternative" subcultures which experience themselves as countercultural. These subcultures do, in many ways, explicitly counteract and displace oppressive hierarchies, including racism. But the subcultures smuggle whiteness. It is the unacknowledged whiteness that undermines a subculture's language of outreach, inclusion, and revolutionary change.

For example, the Direct Action framework of "diversity of tactics" establishes unstructured space and participatory democratic processes,

which are presumed to provide space for any radical political possibility, including anti-racism. Within this framework, people have the right to participate as they wish, and stylistic differences are enclosed by a framework of cultural diversity. But after Miami and Cancún,¹¹ I wrote:

i'm going to stink, i'm going in there even though i'm contagious, i'm going to bring my barking dog, i have the right to do whatever the fuck i want and people just have to deal with it and i'm going to call this "cultural diversity" or "class issues" or "activist dogs." meanwhile other folks around are feeling like another white guy is doing whatever the fuck he wants, which is [again] downright unpleasant for [us folks] who seem to be always subject to some white guy [cop, schoolteacher, boss, landlord...] doing whatever the fuck he wants at our expense even though it's obviously no way to treat other human beings and we don't know anyone in [our group] who would treat people that way nor would [people in our group] let people be treated that way if we had any influence over the situation, which must mean that all these other people in here think that what he's doing is a perfectly fine way to (mis)treat/inconvenience/offend other people...

excessive individualism isn't cultural diversity, it's internalized white privilege

Massimo De Angelis explains that the struggle against globalization requires both local struggles, where "our desires and aspirations take shape" and the increasingly global context of struggle, which is fundamentally the "discovery of the other." As we become a global community of activists, we develop solidarity through a "creative process of discovery, not a presumption."¹² Most poignantly, he writes:

And if you are irresponsible towards the "other" in your community, then think twice, because the world we are fighting against is based precisely on this persistent indifference to the other...¹³

Assuming that spaces, behaviors, and actions are culturally neutral and therefore inclusive, is an act of indifference or disregard for other people. To create inclusive space, we need not neutrality, but discovery. During my research, Lorraine Romero schooled me on how offensive it is to Latino people to have a meeting without having food first, or to eat your own lunch that you brought without offering some to others near you.

*so i'm sitting on the floor, i'm eating my food, i don't even notice any more how many cops are parked across the street, i'm tired, someone just came in the room i don't know i'm not paying attention...all that to me feels like **nothing is going on.** to a person of color (or any person new to this activist culture) entering that space, a lot of things that are going on: there are no chairs and the floor looks too dirty to sit on, people are rude, and there is a frightening army of police across the street.*

The discovery Massimo urges means not only getting to know each other, but also interrogating the structural contents of political concepts and space we take for granted which, as it turns out, have a huge impact on the shape of our political work. Take, for example, dignity. For privileged activists, dignity is about washing the blood off their hands by dis-identifying with professionalism, managerialism, and status symbols. For people

who wear uniforms to work and don't get to be clean there, dignity, particularly in political space, involves having the aspects of self that capitalism and racism withhold.

if i'm willing to be super uncomfortable and not shower for a week so that i can fight for change, maybe i need to understand that spending our precious organizing money on some chairs will enable a whole bunch of really cool people to feel like our meeting is a place they can be comfortable—people who just can't sit on the floor because their legs or back ache, or have come straight from work, or can't afford to get their clothes dirty, or just find sitting on the floor really fucking weird and there isn't a way to explain it to them before they are going to feel like this space isn't a space for them.

Individualism and its Communities A hallmark of white countercultures is the vision of individualistic self-creation in which oppressive childhood values and institutions are cast off, and political compassion embraces what might best be theorized as “imagined community.”¹⁴ This process involves finding community and “chosen family” with those who share political perspectives. Since white activists often face ridicule, threats, or abuse from parents for participating in activism, many find it hard to imagine parents participating in radical political action. People with parents who are supportive, or who might even participate in marches, are considered “lucky” in white activist communities. Experiences of critical mass (such as large protests) are powerful for white activists, in part because of the isolation that accompanies politicization.

Meanwhile, activists of color envision social movements in intimate terms; fighting racism is protecting their mothers, fathers, brothers, sisters, children. Survival and struggle are principles learned at home, from family and elders, at church... Activists' evolving political principles and work need to make sense in the context of their histories, their families, and the spiritual/religious traditions of their communities.

While white activists are also under pressure to conform, revolt is encouraged by white traditions which valorize defiant and expressive individualism.¹⁵ Individualism enables white radicals to reject home and family, and to define themselves anew. Radicals of color are sometimes taken aback by white activists' distance from family, history, and community. People without families and communities may seem like unaccountable, untrustworthy free-agents. It is also hard to assess the extent to which activists who have separated from their birth families for political reasons, are indeed totally cut off from their family's resources; a confusion that leads to seething tensions about class privilege.

This individualistic mode of politics also says that the intellectual content of political actions is more important than their social content. When activists focus energy on clever communications and/or disruptions which even the mainstream media will cover, they imagine that the cleverness and surprising courage of these actions will excite people to participate in various capacities, or if they missed out, hearing about these actions or seeing them on TV will inspire people to participate in the next

one. White organizing sees a “good action” (a clever and visible one) *as organizing* because **joining a movement is understood as an individual intellectual act, not a social one**. Individualism pre-dates politics, community follows.

For whites who have left home, subcultures are precious. By necessity, these subcultures celebrate individualism at the same time as they awkwardly endeavor to create the community that many have never previously experienced. These communities’ foundation and basis of connection is a commitment to carefully-chosen principles, moreso than the social relationships themselves.

Strange Commitments Activist countercultures often emphasize “prefigurative” practices which embody revolutionary vision as if it were already achieved, thereby calling it into being. Some aspects of prefiguration are rarely contested, such as the need to address multiple oppressions even while organizing urgent campaigns. But other aspects of prefiguration have become controversial flashpoints. Two controversial prefigurative practices are radical democracy and responsible consumption.

In radical participatory democracy, everyone has an equal voice and is welcome to participate without having to establish a reputation or credentials. Leadership, when it exists (most often in the form of “facilitation”) is supposed to be temporary, rotating, and random, affirming that all participants have equal (and equally limited) authority.¹⁶ Far from a theoretical ideal, participatory democracy has been refined by Quakers, civil rights organizations, the New Left, feminists, as well as community organizing and direct action movements. Polletta argues that deliberative strategies are developing steadily, as activists try to formalize equality, build the relationships on which collective deliberation depends, and communicate democratic rituals.¹⁷

Popular in radical environmental and alterglobalization movements, responsible consumption is a personal and collective practice which builds awareness of dependency on third world resources (including labor), and then works to reduce that dependency. Independence involves re-learning subsistence production¹⁸ and creating alternative forms of identity and celebration. (“Look what we found in the dumpster!”) Even activists who feel that consumption politics are inadequate in themselves, often practice responsible consumption as a “practice of commitment”¹⁹ to global justice.

These activities are similar to anti-racist practices in that they are *local* (unlike mass actions and international campaigns), *build community*, and *empower* marginalized people. Despite these similarities, other aspects of the culture are off-putting. Participatory democracy’s legacy from the civil rights movement was as an idealistic and youthful drama disconnected from more serious struggles. (Polletta re-tells this history.) The hegemonic civil rights/anti-racist organizational style rests on the presence of well-known, established activists. Meetings and actions are dignified and tidy,

prefiguring a very different future than responsible consumption—one without the material scarcity imposed by racial inequality.

White organizing assumes that activists arrive at meetings having decided already to be committed and to do inconvenient, uncomfortable things in service of their convictions. It's not necessary to make meetings themselves comfortable or empowering. Participants who are committed will not be daunted by discomfort. If people aren't willing to be uncomfortable, they're not ready for activism. In contrast, anti-racist organizing endeavors to establish legitimacy, comfort, and confidence by affirming values, traditions, culture, ideas, and leadership of people of color, and ensuring that the space is non-dominated by white culture, procedures, and ideas (although white people and ideas may be present.)

Imagining Empowerment White organizing has specific assessments of what is “empowering” for strangers. Conceptualizing new activists as isolated individuals, an “empowering space” is one that will provide “something for everyone” (individuals) through “diversity of tactics.” In contrast, anti-racist organizing sees new activists as people embedded in oppressed communities. An “empowering space” is dignified and welcoming for people more accustomed to exclusion and invisibility. It must acknowledge and show commitment to transforming the experience of the marginalized group. And it must be *safe* from daily experiences of racism and violence.²⁰ These crucial aspects of anti-racist organizing are ill-protected by diversity of tactics.

negotiating the order of the line at the taco stand...i was committed to fairness and accuracy to the order of arrivals...then i realized that the uniformed Latino men i was negotiating with were negotiating something else—something more and other than fairness. perhaps when life is abjectly, incessantly, unfair, getting some fairness isn't very powerful. it's going to take more than vigilant neutrality (formal equality) to heal these wounds. generosity, kindness, yielding, compassion, and joy are the comfort, the balm, the sanctuary, and the alternative.

My orientation to fairness reflected an arbitrary, individualistic orientation to the mechanics of social justice. This orientation drives white organizing. For example, we create highly formalized methods of equalizing conversation space, methods which take for granted that we all arrive equal, that we all have the same sorts of needs from that space, and comparable capacity to articulate and negotiate them. And that we don't need any generosity, yielding, or compassion.

Smart Radicalism, the Political *sine qua non* In white organizing, radicalism is a fundamental axis around which politics revolve. Invoking the term “radicalism” almost always implies two things. First, it implies a commitment to radical principles and theories of social relations and alternatives, such as anti-capitalism, anti-imperialism, racial and gender liberation, and so on. Second, radicalism entails “correct” interpretation, reasoning, and application of principles in a given situation. Correct theory and application are understood to be the most likely to be *effective* in

eliminating oppression. For a position or an action to be correctly radical (as opposed to fetishized, compromised, or misapplied radicalism) is the highest value accorded within radical circles. This hierarchy echoes exclusionary social class structures and could be the unwitting internalization of class elitism within activist countercultures.

In radical white organizing, once people have gathered to participate in social action, a major activity is securing the radicalism of the group, which consists of identifying and vilifying any “reformists” or reformist proposals. It also may involve some kind of subtle litmus test of the martyrial militancy of members—their willingness to engage in high-risk direct action. Those who do not pass are unofficially disregarded. These tests and the resulting rigid (although unacknowledged or even denied) hierarchy is not missed by those demoted, who feel unwanted or excluded. They may not return to future group events, but their loss is considered unimportant by those who prioritize radicalism and/or militance. The performative requirements of sufficiently impressing the radicals may become a preoccupation of remaining members.

While ideological and tactical radicalism exist in antiracist organizing, they are not the standard by which organizations and organizers relate with participants. Instead, friendliness, comfort, safety, generosity, and reliable personal connection are the necessary elements of “good” political work.

Some antiracists, such as Bernice Johnson Reagon, seek to recenter debates about radicalism by reorienting the terms, showing that Black survival and anything that prioritizes it, is in and of itself already radical. The sociology of race reveals that the radical/reformist distinction is too dualistic and does not take into account the wily ways of both racism and antiracist resistance which require, for example, both state intervention and autonomy from the state, militant action and slow, creeping transformation, etc. Some antiracists have pointed out that the very word “radical” is symptomatic of what they call white culture, an abstract, exclusive, either/or standard that is more distracting or divisive than it is galvanizing, empowering, or productive.²¹

Grumpywarriorcool Then Jane says “And another thing...” Oh boy. “You know I’ve met about ten of these brave new warrior activists from the anti-globalization movement and there’s really a pattern of how they hold their faces. They really have a mean, judgmental look on their faces. it’s expressionless, but smirky. And it surprises me, because I would think as activists they’d be wanting to be more friendly to people.”

I hit the roof. “I’m having a hard enough time trying to convince people that there might be more going on in radical counterculture than just cultural diversity. Now you want me to try to talk to them about the looks on their faces? Isn’t that the very sort of invasion of the person and oppressive, hegemonic pseudo-values that we’re *fighting*? What you’re asking for is what folks would call ‘fake.’ They would reject that as not the world they want to live in.”

Jane responded “If it’s fake to be interested in new people then what are you all about?...If you are fundamentally disinterested in other people, you’ve got bigger problems than a possible risk of fakeness.” Then she paused a bit and observed, “The radical people of color I know are so full of life. But your folks seem like they’ve rejected love of life, rejected too much expression.”

“Well I think part of what grumpywarriorcool is about is like this democratic ethic of not wanting to take up very much space.” She said, “Get over it. You better figure out how to be democratic and still be full of life.”

Countercultures, alienated from the vapidness, repression, and denial which permeates white public culture and family life, promote some version of “cool”—a refusal to participate in the lie that everything is ok. But cool is a smuggler too. Its cultural roots glorify emotional detachment as the basis of dignity. *Cool Rules: Anatomy of an Attitude* tells the history of cool, complete with a section entitled “a whiter shade of cool.”

many times over the years in my own home, people have come in the door and they don't introduce themselves and i don't introduce myself and my housemates who know this person don't introduce them. it's obviously the right thing to do in that situation and yet none of us do it. there's something all gushy and vulnerable and uncool about it...

There’s a video called *The Merchants of Cool*.²² Cool is the internalized piece of commodity culture, consumerism. We don’t even realize cool isn’t ours! We think we made it up. They’ve sold it to us and we think it’s who we are! Cool is the reification of self-indulgent insecurity. Which is fine if you really are just an angry kid, but it’s not okay if you’re actually a revolutionary anarchist warrior.

Cool is a problem for activists because it gets us into a place where we then feel undignified and vulnerable smiling, approaching someone, talking to strangers, being unilaterally *friendly*. All of that is very un-cool. Whether cool is a habit or a fragile bulwark for someone who feels they can barely keep it together,²³ the result is very little friendliness, and, ultimately not even what most people would call civility, like greeting people when they come into a common space.

Joyful Warriors Jane wasn’t done yet. She asked, “What do you think the face of a powerful activist looks like?...What is the face of a joyful warrior?” As participatory democratic radicals start to think through unintentionally smuggled hierarchies, the possible necessity of temporary leadership, and other complexities of power, it would be useful to discuss together the kinds of power we believe in, how power manifests, and then what is the face, the gesture, the relationship with strangers, and the greeting?

In order to get past our emphasis on smartness, we might want to collectively remember precisely how people became involved in (and left) our groups, and compare the importance of cleverness and friendliness in our organizing experiences.

In critically reflecting on our relations with people and groups outside our own, we may want to analyze to what extent we are driven by “discovering the other” in a responsible way, and to what extent are we driven by indifference and contempt masked as politics.

In taking responsibility for our decisions about resources, we might review honestly and systematically, what resources we have access to, and how best to utilize those to make movements welcoming to more and more diverse participants. In discussing race, class, and gender in activist communities, I have noticed that while we have ready access to language and techniques to recognize, confront, and discuss sexism and racism, we are at a loss when we try to discuss class. Frameworks for addressing classism are underdeveloped and, to the extent they exist, have yet to permeate progressive culture.

These suggestions are tentative and preliminary. I hope it provides a map for bravely discussing these issues, sifting through cultural cargo, and creating new countercultures which are more multicultural. In a powerful invitation—the Black Power exhortation to white allies, so eloquently updated for our movements by De Angelis. **Let us see as central to our politics the replacement of indifference with discovery.**

Notes

1. “One No, Many Yeses” is a Zapatista Principle. See Zapatistas in Cyberspace: <<http://www.eco.utexas.edu/Homepages/Faculty/Cleaver/zapsincyber.html>>.
2. See George Katsiaficas. *The Subversion of Politics: European Autonomous Social Movements and the Decolonization of Everyday Life*. (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2006), 235.
3. Polletta, Francesca. *Democracy is an Endless Meeting: Democracy in American Social Movements*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
4. Ruth Rosen, “Leaving the Left.” In *The World Split Open: How the Modern Women’s Movement Changed America* (New York: Viking, 2000), 136, 119.
5. <<http://colours.mahost.org/>>
6. Much of the analysis that follows was performed jointly by amory starr and Rachel Luft. The method of analysis used was an intense distillation of perspectives. The version of anti-racism which was used to perform this distillation was not the anti-racism articulated from within the anti-globalization movement, but instead one from outside it, best represented by the influential People’s Institute (<<http://www.thepeoplesinstitute.org/>>), whose analyses were often present in (but not at all completely encompassing of) the anti-racist-anti-globalization discourse. Readers should be aware that references to “anti-racist perspective” below are not descriptive of anti-racist-anti-globalization practice. For a comprehensive view of anti-racist pedagogy, see Luft, Rachel. *Race Training: Antiracist Workshops in a Post-Civil Rights Era*. Diss. University of California, Santa Barbara, September 2004. Also see my overview of these issues “how can anti-imperialism not be anti-racist?: a critical impasse in the anti-globalization movement,” in *Journal of World Systems Research* 10.1. (Winter 2004).
7. Jane Ward.

8. *Birth of the Clinic*. New York: Pantheon, 1963. *Discipline and Punish*. New York: Pantheon, 1977.
9. Lorde, Audre. *Sister Outsider: Essays & Speeches*. Crossing Press, 1984.
275. also see Lappé, Frances Moore and Jeffrey Perkins. *You Have the Power: Choosing Courage in a Culture of Fear*. Penguin, 2004.
10. Cohen, Dan Baron, "Beyond the barricade," *New Internationalist* 338 (September 2001). <<http://www.newint.org/issue338/beyond.htm>>
11. WTO 5th ministerial, Cancún México, 10–14 September 2003. FTAA negotiations, Miami FL, 19–21 November 2003.
12. De Angelis, Massimo. "from movement to society." In *On Fire: The Battle of Genoa and the Anti-Capitalist Movement*. Tucson, Arizona: One-off Press, 2001, 118–19, 124.
13. Ibid.
14. Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1991.
15. Bellah, Robert. et. al. *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.
16. See *Anarchism in Action: Methods, Tactics, Skills, and Ideas*. <<http://www.radio4all.org/aia/>>; *Collective Book on Collective Process* <<http://www.geocities.com/collectivebook/>>; Steward Community Woodland consensus process step-by-step <<http://www.stewardwood.org/resources/DIYconsensus.htm>>.
17. Polletta, 2002, 178, chapters 7 & 8.
18. Bennholdt-Thomsen, Veronika and Maria Mies. *The Subsistence Perspective: Beyond the Globalised Economy*. London: Zed Books, 1999.
19. Bellah, et. al., *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life*.
20. This fundamental difference leads anti-racist organizers to say, "If we're going to keep escalating the tactics, we're going to keep turning people off to them." (Brian Dominick, "Anti-Capitalist Globalization Organizing," *Arise! Journal* (June 2001).) But this interpretation of anti-racism is not without its critics. Ward Churchill argues that pacifism sometimes indicates a pathological commitment to pacifism rather than justice (similar to activists more committed to radicalism, than organizing.) (*Pacifism as Pathology*. Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Publishing, 1998.) As noted by a recent collective commentary, tactical moderation may actually normalize white middle class perspectives. "But to realize our potential for building a mass movement requires, first and foremost, clarity as to who actually constitutes the 'mainstream' and why. The right, the corporate media, and elite policy makers persist in painting 'mainstream America' as white and middle class. Even many white liberals cling to the notion that building a mass movement against war necessitates the use of techniques and rhetoric that 'don't scare away' middle class whites." (Numerous Authors. "Open Letter On Movement Building." 21 Feb. 2003. <<http://www.Znet.org/>>).
21. Rachel Luft, 2003. Reagon, Bernice Johnson, "My Black Mothers and Sisters Or On Beginning a Cultural Autobiography," *Feminist Studies* 8.1 (Spring 1982): 81–96.
22. Pountain, Dick and David Robins. *Cool Rules: Anatomy of an Attitude*. Reaktion Books, 2000. Dretzin, Rachel, "The Merchants of Cool," PBS Frontline <<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/cool/>>
23. Seems to me that insecurity is now, like eating disorders, a collective phenomenon—it's not a personal pathology or a disorder. See Bordo, Susan. *Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture, and the Body*. University of California Press, 1995.