This Month:
Home is Where Our Hearts Are
Timeline of Anarchist Women in History
Sending Seeds of Revolt Out on the Wind
Advice Column: Ask Emma
Review: The Reactionary Mind

Radicle /raedIkel/ [rad-i-kuhl] n. (Botany) The rudimentary shoot of a plant that first emerges from the seed during the process of germination, often the embryonic root of the plant.
When we engage in revolutionary work, we’re acting from a deep place of caring: caring for ourselves, for our fellow humans, for the planet—sometimes all of these, sometimes just one. At times, we forget to care for ourselves and at others we are only motivated by the pain we carry. Whatever the mix, the righteous anger that fuels so much of our work would not exist unless something we cared about was threatened. The desire to confront our oppressors and the desire to protect ourselves and that which we love are interwoven.

On the morning of May 1st, 2012, organized community members and allies marched together to move a local woman, Alicia Jackson, back into her NE Portland home after she had been evicted in the Fall of 2011. In doing so, they sent a clear message that people are willing to take great risks to care for those in their communities by claiming power and liberating spaces. The action was intentionally built on the idea that militancy and care for members of our community are deeply intertwined. The social movements of Fall 2011 created an opening, an aperture or even a psychic shift, that made May Day a ripe moment for communities to organize, rise up, and defend themselves.

The morning of May 1st, 2012 was chilly but blessedly free of the late spring rains that are so typical in Portland, Oregon. In the brisk air, a crowd of several hundred gathered for a rally and march at Woodlawn Park, drawn in by the thorough community organizing and tantalizing street art that had appeared all over town for weeks. The wide expanse of grass was dotted with signs and banners reading “Our World is Here” and “Take Back the Land.” A few blocks away, flying squads, similar to affinity groups, were donning protective gear and readying reinforced banners in preparation for potential police aggression that might interfere with the day’s events. Known for using ‘sturdy banners’ to move crowds forward despite police lines, these flying squads gained their reputation for skillful, disciplined maneuvering during large actions such as the anti-police brutality march in November 2011 and the “Shut Down the Corporations” march on February 29, 2012. These squadrons were developed explicitly as a vital and necessary component of a successful space reclamation, acknowledging that deep care for the impacted community meant intentional preparation for confrontation. While the home liberation was intended to be a militant action, it was also organized to be a welcoming space for the community. As such, the flying squads, the first people one would see approaching the action, specifically did not “bloc up”, meaning no masks, no goggles, faces showing with the hope that an exposed smile would go along way towards building a welcoming action.

What is the Radicle?

The Portland Radicle aims to stimulate discussion of anarchist thought in our communities. We seek to disseminate diverse ideas of autonomy, self-determination, and mutual aid in order to encourage constructive resistance against political, economic, and social forms of domination in our lives.

Call to Contribute

The Portland Radicle is an anarchist-without-adjectives project that is looking for articles from anarchists of all backgrounds for consideration. We like writing that is accessible, but not simplistic. We are looking for articles between 500 and 1500 words. To submit please contact us at: portlandradicle.wordpress.com theportlandradicle@riseup.net
This action was organized by three groups, primarily: the Portland Liberation Organizing Council (PLOC), We Are Oregon, and the Black Working Group of NE Portland. PLOC formed in early 2012 as a network of radical groups in Portland. We Are Oregon is a labor-union-funded-and-staffed community organizing and direct action group. The Black Working Group (BWG) was formed in the Fall of 2011 by and for the black community as a resource defense group, with a focus on housing and the foreclosure crisis.

Months of preparation and coalition organizing led up to this day of action that took place in Woodlawn, a NE Portland neighborhood currently undergoing a rapid process of gentrification.

Lobo Negro, an anti-gentrification activist with the Blazing Arrow Organization (a group that formed after the May Day action), explains, “Northeast is often called ‘the soul of Portland’ because of its historically black neighborhoods, but gentrification, the replacement of locals by wealthier residents through bank investment and uncontrolled development, has changed that. In response, a growing number of people in NE are waging a public fight to keep their homes, rather than be relocated by the banks.”

Alicia Jackson is a black veteran and longtime resident of the neighborhood who was intimidated into self-evicting from her house by Wells Fargo in the fall of 2011. The bank sold her mortgage to a developer who wasted no time in throwing up a new condo unit on Jackson’s property, exhibiting classic methods used by business and housing owners to drive up property values, push working poor families out of their communities, and advance gentrification. The focus of the May Day action became supporting Jackson in reclaiming her home by demonstrating the strength and resolve of the people of Portland to take back land and other resources from the unaccountable economic system, specifically the banking and mortgage industries.

Inspired by brief speeches offered by the day’s hosts, Alice Paul of PLOC and Ahjamu Umi of the BWG, the crowd in Woodlawn Park surged onto Dekum St., banners and signs held high. A diverse collection of neighborhood locals, supporters, organizers, union members, families, and students, they took the street with confidence and enthusiasm shouting out chants, talking, and laughing. Barring a half-hearted and unsuccessful effort made to keep the march on the sidewalks of the neighborhood, the police primarily trailed behind the crowd. As the march approached its destination, the flying squadrons emerged from a rally point to lead a diversionary march through a circuitous route that rejoined the mass of the march in front of Alicia’s house. When the march stopped in front of the destination home, the squads took positions at both ends of the block, creating a police-free zone.

Inside this protected block, all eyes were on Jackson as she walked up onto her porch and declared, “This isn’t just about me; this is for all of us!”

Friends, a local minister, and other homeowners undergoing foreclosure joined her on the porch and made brief statements of support. Amid wild cheers of enthusiasm, Jackson cut the broad yellow ribbon that had been strung across the door, and displayed the key that someone had handed her.

The crowd collectively held its breath as Jackson tried the lock, jiggling, shaking, and coaxing the key to no avail. Finally, the key was tried in the side door and it unlocked immediately, ushering Alicia inside amidst the crowd’s raucous chant of “Welcome Home! Welcome Home!” The beaming grin on Jackson’s face as she stood in her doorway suggested a deep well of emotion inside this quiet woman.

As the success of entering set in, the gathered folks sprung into action as PLOC’s Logistics Team arrived with trucks full of Alicia’s furniture and gardening materials. Music rang out as people jumped into cleaning the house and weeding the yard. Farmers helped create vegetable beds in the backyard formerly dominated by brambles and debris, and long tables of food were set up to serve everyone lunch. Someone announced from the porch that the realtor had taken the house off the market that very afternoon, and the mood became joyous and playful. A huge bag of nerf balls was produced and a friendly game of dodgeball ensued; members of flying squadrons took breaks from their positions to throw the balls back and forth with children. Crowd members enthusiastically saved the arms off of the “For Sale” sign in the front yard and people from different class, race and cultural backgrounds engaged in a traditional May Pole dance, strangers and comrades singing, dancing and interweaving in a physical metaphor of intercultural cooperation.

It was a successful day in a number of ways:

- It is a rare occurrence to take those in power by surprise, to knock off their guard. This clear, positive action was one of those instances where the police, the mayor, and the mainstream media all seemed tongue-tied by the actions of the people. This home liberation was the first of its kind in Oregon, a new direction for the movement, and a new attitude in the streets. This was an actual reclamation of resources, not merely a symbolic action.
- The flying squadron units present that day earned a reputation for effectively defending popular mobilizations against police action, and organizers were vocal about the claimed right to defend this particular action.
- This was an actual community-led event, not an activist spectacle. The PLOC Community Organizing team—lead by the Black Working Group of NE Portland and non-profit We Are Oregon—had been canvassing the neighborhood and meeting with community leaders for months in the lead up to the action, which lead to many visible displays of support (such as...
The action successfully created a choice for the mayor: either to support this homeowner by restraining the police force, or to attack Alicia Jackson in the name of banks and developers.

- The event was strategically timed to maximize impact. May Day in Portland is a historically exciting celebration of communities asserting themselves in the face of dominating systems of oppression. In its months-long outreach and invitation to the action, PLOC highlighted this legacy and the day’s role in the ‘Spring Offensive’ being rolled out by the national Take Back the Land Movement and revitalized energy from Occupy Portland. Additionally, Portland hosted five other events around town, some of which incurred a very high police presence. PLOC predicted accurately that police resources would be spread thin and not directed at Jackson’s re-entry.

Three months later, Alicia is still in her home, and the community continues to support her through round-the-clock house-sitting and rapid-response maintenance. Others see this example and have begun to resist eviction. On July 27th, 2012, Annette Steele, a 79-year-old grandmother and her family announced that they will not move out of their home, despite being served a formal eviction notice by the Sheriff; they will stay and fight for their home along side their neighbors.

On August 5th, the community again rallied on Alicia Jackson’s block to celebrate the 3 months of the successful liberation of her home, and to collectively liberate the empty duplex built on her land for use as a community center. Community members planned to use the reclaimed duplex, which is currently the subject of a legal dispute, as a base of organizing for people of color in the neighborhood against gentrification and police violence.

“Housing must be defended to end violence in working-class communities. Stable housing creates an environment for community self-reliance and healthy relationships. Without secure housing, families are displaced and communities are fragmented,” said Negro, one of the organizers of the duplex liberation, in a press statement. “Gentrification breaks the tie between generations and forces communities to depend more heavily on outsiders such as the police to solve conflicts. Defending homes and stopping eviction protects the community’s safety.”

The night of the community center liberation, the police forced their way into the building, arresting one person, and effectively shutting down the center for the time being. The community center police reaction demonstrates once again that the police respond to the will of banks, financiers, and developers, rather than in support of the community. When the police arrived and forced their way into the duplex, a network of community support was activated and within the hour approximately 100 people came out to offer defense, witness, and assistance to the people living in those homes showing that together we are un-"quenchable. Actions against foreclosure and for collective control of land and resources continue in Portland with momentum and pressure mounting each day.

Ultimately, home defense results from the recognition that the economic and legal systems are used to take advantage of and manipulate working people for the gain of banks and financial institutions. This recognition, that there is no justice in the system, builds belief and power in the principle that the only thing we can count on to meet our needs are our communities, neighbors, natural and created families. Alicia, Annette, and all the other faces of this struggle make it clear that any one of us survives only with the care, compassion, and commitment of our community.

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**Timeline**

**Anarchist Women In History**

**September 1824:** Léodile Bera, writer, feminist, member of the First International, and fighter in the Paris Commune is born.

**September 1897:** Italian anarchist Maria Roda authors a call to arms for working women in Le Questione Sociale: “Let our men know, we want equality and freedom too.”

**September 1907:** By the end of the year more than 120,000 people – are engaged in the strike against rent increases and living conditions.

**September 1912:** Marie Equi is released from San Quentin Prison after a year-and-a-half sentence for an anti-war speech she gave at the Portland IWW hall.

**September 1921:** Marie Equi is thrown into a well, sparking surprise and shock in Japan. Fearing that anarchists would take advantage of the disaster to overthrow the government, a squad of military police arrest Noe Itō, her lover Sakae Ōmura, and Sakae’s young nephew. After only ten days in prison, Sakae and Sakae’s young nephew are beaten to death in their cells. More than 12,000 people participated in a three-day funeral march in San Francisco.

**September 1923:** Civil unrest erupts after the Great Kanto Earthquake in Japan. Raging that anarchists would take advantage of the disaster to overthrow the government, a squad of military police arrest Noe Itō, her lover Sakae Ōmura, and Sakae’s young nephew. After only ten days in prison, Sakae and Sakae’s young nephew are beaten to death in their cells. More than 12,000 people participated in a three-day funeral march in San Francisco.

**September 1936:** Mujeres Libres is founded in Madrid by Lucia Sánchez Saornil, Mercedes Comaposada, and Amparo Pérez y Gascón in order to encourage women’s participation in the Spanish Revolution and add their voices to mainstream anarchist organizations.

**September 1973:** Founder of the Lupeño School, Flora Sanhueza Chilean security forces.

**September 1981:** Beat poet and former Digger activist, Diane DiPrima authors her Revolutionary Letter #73, Dream Poem About Reagan & Co: “If these men, in their true light.”

**September 1953:** French anarcho-feminist and journalist, Marxist, leftists, and artists, including Anne Guerin, Simone De Beauvoir, and Maurice Blanchot sign the “Manifesto of the 121” a “declaration on the right of insubordination in the Algerian War” in solidarity with French imperialism.

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“Don’t Move Out” lawn signs in the neighborhood.

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Sending Seeds of Revolt Out on the Wind
by Evin

My house was raided by the FBI and Joint Terrorism Task Force last month. Like an anonymous comrade who is laying low to avoid a subpoena, I want to make it very clear that I am not a victim. As an anarchist I am opposed to the state in its entirety – it is my enemy. To call myself a victim is to accept powerlessness, even though these raids and the grand jury are clearly responses to anarchists acting in revolt, asserting our power.

This last month has brought me intense sadness – I have found myself crying at work, while listening to cheesy folk punk, while looking at pictures of puppies. But I also feel overwhelming joy at the love I have felt from my friends and comrades and from anarchists around the world.

It is true that sometimes anarchists serve Food Not Bombs and live in collective houses, but it is also true that sometimes anarchists throw rocks through windows and fight the police. To highlight one at the expense of the other would be a mistake. I love anarchism for all of those reasons: as a tendency we act to make our lives more bearable in the here and now, and we attack the institutions that make our lives miserable. Anarchism is dangerous and confrontational and uncompromising, and I love it for that.

We also need to be honest with ourselves about how dangerous we can be: we can’t act surprised every time the state is repressive. The fact that the state is coming down in such a heavy-handed fashion right now in the Northwest means we’ve been doing something right. That doesn’t mean that we should be reckless or welcome repression, but that the state wouldn’t be paying any attention to us if we weren’t a real threat.

I don’t know what the future holds for me. My life right now is in a surreal state of suspension – waiting for what could be any number of potential outcomes. I have several indications that I am a target of the grand jury investigation. In a year I could be in prison, or this could all be an unpleasant memory. No matter what the outcome, I know that I have support and solidarity from friends and comrades, known and unknown, around the world. We will get through this stronger, more resilient, and more rebellious than ever before.

If the state wanted to isolate anarchists from each other or stop the spread of social revolt, it has failed miserably. Since the raids I have made many new friends and comrades, and grown much closer to friends I already had. I don’t really believe in community, but these events have shown me the importance of networks of support and friendship.

“We’ve been given a neutral idea of friendship, understood as a pure affection with no consequences. But all affection is affinity within a common truth. Every encounter is an encounter within a common affirmation, even the affirmation of destruction.”

– The Coming Insurrection

Thank you to everyone who has been doing direct support work. Just as importantly, thank you to everyone who has engaged in a solidarity action – whether that be a demonstration in front of a courthouse, graffiti, a banner hang, or broken windows and slashed tires. Reading all the communiqués that have poured in from around the world has been incredibly heartwarming. The state may try to stamp out revolt in one place, but time and time again it will find that, like dandelions, we continue springing up in other places as soon as the state’s back is turned. We are far too free and wild to be eradicated! Let’s send our seeds of revolt out on the wind in every direction!

Love and solidarity,
a Portland anarchist


September 1960: French anarchists, led by and including Simone de Beauvoir and Françoise Dolto, sign the “Manifesto of the 121,” a “declaration on the right of insubordination in the Algerian War” in opposition to the organized Left’s complicity with French imperialism.

September 1973: Founder of the Latin American Free School, Flora Santucho Rebollado is captured and disappeared by Chilean security forces.


September 1994: LGBTQ anarchists in Ankara found Kaos GL, becoming one of the first organizations in Turkey focused on ending heterosexism.

September 2004: The Madrid City Council maneuvers to evict feminist social center La Esquela Karakola from their squatted building in the Lavapiés neighborhood.
Dear Emma,

Do you think anarchists should always tell people they are anarchists? With social networks like Facebook, it feels like everyone has a public identity because so much personal stuff can be unearthed by strangers so easily and for such a long time afterwards. Because I don’t choose to reject capitalist-controlled society, I sometimes feel like I have two identities, the safe one and the anarchist one. The safe one ends up being the public one; only my fellow anarchists know I am an anarchist. I feel like some of my comrades judge me for having a “safe” public identity and sometimes I agree that we should all be true to our ideals all the time, but I am still thinking it over.

- Subtle Radical

Dear Subtle Radical,

I’m wondering what it is that you are protecting yourself from by having a “safe” identity? Do you fear the state will target you for your beliefs? That potential employers will not hire you if they know you are an anarchist? These are very valid concerns. Are you simply trying to protect yourself from potential ridicule by people who do not understand anarchism? If that is the case, I suggest that you start looking at being an anarchist as an opportunity for liberation. Do you want to be an anarchist so you can sit around with other anarchists, only feeling like your true self around a few people, while the state continues to sell its image of anarchists to a fearful populace? Or do you want to help build resistance?

I always prided myself on staying true to my anarchist ideals. As I traveled the country I presented anarchist ideas to people in ways that they could relate to, defying the misconceptions about anarchists created by the state and the media. Not everyone that I spoke to became an anarchist, but I inspired many to join the struggle as labor activists, feminists, anti-imperialists, free speech advocates, and so on. You have the same potential. You need not be an outspoken anarchist agitator to inspire resistance among the people you meet in your daily life. Be subtle, Subtle Radical. Present ideas that are approachable and relevant to the person you are addressing. You will be helping others and will feel more like your true self. Yes, you will be judged and occasionally ridiculed, but you could also be changing lives.

Being fearless and unstoppable was important to me, yet even I felt compelled to use a pseudonym when I knew my real identity would prevent me from meeting my basic needs, such as renting an apartment, or when it was tactically advantageous, as when I was organizing to build broad support from progressives. I used a pseudonym not to conceal my beliefs but because the name Emma Goldman had been vilified by the government and the press. I was a world-famous anarchist. You, Subtle Radical, are not. More than likely, you have more to gain by being true to your beliefs than you have to lose. That is not to say that oppression of radicals is not very real and that people should not be careful about what they say and to whom. Details of organizing should definitely stay among comrades. But I think the more anarchists can reach out to non-anarchists, the more you can educate people about what anarchism is really about and maybe get them thinking about things in a new way. Facebook and other social networking do complicate things, because, yes, it is difficult to control what you’re sharing and with whom. If that is a concern, keep political discussions to private messages and real-life interactions. This does not mean that you are hiding your true self, just that you are being cautious and accepting the realities of the world you live in.

And maybe a pseudonym would work for you. Some radicals feel more like themselves when they take on a new name. Whatever you call yourself, be true to yourself. Ultimately, how you live your life and how much you share with others should be based on your ideals and no one else’s.

In Struggle,

-Emma Goldman

Emma Goldman was born on June 27, 1869 in present-day Kaunas, Lithuania. She emigrated to the US in 1885 and quickly joined the anarchist movement. Goldman, nicknamed Red Emma, by the press is one of the best-known anarcha-feminist. She spoke all over the country on issues of birth control, atheism, freedom of speech, capitalism, and free love. Her speaking events would be regularly attended by thousands of people, attracting national and international attention to her causes. Her biography Living my Life, and her collection of essays entitled Anarchism and Other Essays along with a number of other books on Goldman can be found at the Multnomah Country Library.

Seeking advice on work, sex, struggle, love or friendship. Write to Dear Emma at theportlandradicle@riseup.net
When I first heard Corey Robin speak on radio shows such as Behind the News with Doug Henwood and Against the Grain I was immediately intrigued by his critical insight and originality. After reading his blog for several months, I finally had the pleasure of reading his book, *The Reactionary Mind*. While most of its points will be familiar to those who have read his blog or heard him speak, the book does not disappoint.

What strikes the reader immediately is the book’s uniqueness: few leftists or liberals attempt to engage with conservative or right-wing ideas seriously on an intellectual level (such ideas typically being dismissed as mere reflections of base self-interest), so Robin’s exploration of the intellectual history of conservatism is uniquely informative and, we can only hope, supremely useful for combating such ideas. We can be glad that someone on the left whose mind and pen are as sharp as Robin’s is willing to partake in the probably frustrating and tedious task of poring over the entire pantheon of right-wing thought.

Robin’s primary claim in the book is that in spite of all appearances to the contrary, modern conservatism throughout the centuries represents a continuity in its underlying features. He writes:

*Conservatism is the theoretical voice of animus against the agency of the subordinate classes. It provides the most consistent and profound argument as to why the lower orders should not be allowed to exercise their independent will, why they should not be allowed to govern themselves or the polity. Submission is their first duty, agency the prerogative of the elite….Historically the conservative has favored liberty for the higher orders and constraint for the lower orders. What the conservative sees and dislikes in equality, in other words, is not a threat to freedom but its extension. For in that extension, he sees a loss of his own freedom.* (pp. 7-8)

This is the fundamental element of conservatism. Although its manifestations may alter, this does not mean that conservatism is a cynical defense of privilege: “The conservative position stems from a genuine conviction that a world thus emancipated will be ugly, brutish, base, and dull. It will lack the excellence of a world where the better man commands the worse.” (p.16)

Furthermore, conservatism thrives upon opposition. Since it is inherently a reaction to claims of emancipation, it is “about power besieged and power protected. It is an activist doctrine for an activist time.” (p. 28)

The primary way the right is able to consolidate its power is by making the privileges it defends seem popular; because the push for equality on the part of women, for example, presents a real loss of power for a large number of men, it is able to attract mass support to uphold systems of domination that seem to only benefit a few. Thus, Robin’s views on the modern Right run directly contrary to the more commonplace views of someone like Thomas Frank in whose view the working class is essentially duped into acting against their own economic interests by the right’s emphasis on cultural/religious issues. Robin’s perspective is also remarkably distinct from that of Noam Chomsky, who repeatedly emphasizes the radical world-transforming aims of neoconservatism as running directly contrary traditional conservatism. Robin’s exploration of conservative thought as manifested over the ages through figures from Burke and Hobbes to Goldwater, Wolfowitz and Kristof is deeply persuasive in countering such more (ahem) traditional views about conservatism by the left.

Another notable thing about the book is that while most of the chapters were written as separate essays or articles for various journals, together they form a unity that makes it seem as though they were all intended to be published as chapters for the book. All too often books made from essays collected over time seem quite fragmented, thankfully *The Reactionary Mind* is anything but.

*The Reactionary Mind: Conservatism from Edmund Burke to Sarah Palin* by Corey Robin New York : Oxford University Press, c2011

8 copies are available through the Multnomah County Library.
Revolution is the creation of new living institutions, new groupings, new social relationships; it is the destruction of privileges and monopolies; it is the new spirit of justice, of brotherhood, of freedom which must renew the whole of social life, raise the moral level and the material conditions of the masses by calling on them to provide, through their direct and conscientious action, for their own futures.

Revolution is the organization of all public services by those who work in them in their own interest as well as the public's;

Revolution is the destruction of all coercive ties; it is the autonomy of groups, of communes, of regions;

Revolution is the free federation brought about by a desire for brotherhood [sic], by individual and collective interests, by the needs of production and defense;

Revolution is the constitution of innumerable free groupings based on ideas, wishes, and tastes of all kinds that exist among the people;

Revolution is freedom proved in the crucible of facts—and lasts so long as freedom lasts, that is until others, taking advantage of the weariness that overtakes the masses, of the inevitable disappointments that follow exaggerated hopes, of the probable errors and human faults, succeed in constituting a power, which supported by an army of conscripts or mercenaries, lays down the law, arrests the movement at the point it has reached, and then begins the reaction.

—Errico Malatesta