



A Primer To
Police
Crowd
Control
Tactics and
Frameworks

This text was written by tom nom(A)d with the help of many others

Introduction

The police operate based on a simple formula. This zine is about that formula. Most of this information, and all the graphics, come from the US Military Civil Disturbance Guide, or FM 3-19.15, just search for this on the internet to find the pdf. I recommend reading thoroughly and talking about it with your affinity group. There is a lot more information in the manual, too much to process in one sitting; here, we will only be dealing with the development and operation of tactical frameworks. In the back of the manual, Appendix D, there is a full "practical application" scenario that shows how all these pieces and parts become a methodology. The important thing about this manual, and why it serves as a central point for information, is that these tactics, and the formula with which they are analyzed keep getting used by the police in every pre-action civil disturbance manual, for example the RNC Civil Disturbance Manual, and the general structure of this document is also the framework used in many post-action reports published by the cops. This indicates, along with experience, that even if this manual is not "the manual" used to train police, its structure, terms, and methodologies serve as a main basis for the planning of tactical operations in "crowd control" scenarios. And this is just one manual of many.

The police have their own language, just like the military. Their war destroys our language, rationalizing oppression with banal terminology. To combat this I

will try to make this section as understandable as I possibly can. To aid with this, I will try to define terms as we go along.

In protest situations there are a lot of different types of forces that you will have to deal with. Beyond the regular street cops there are SWAT teams, Rapid Response teams, the National Guard, and finally the army itself. It is important to understand what these forces are capable of and what their responsibilities are in protest situations, this will be covered after the terms.

The next section will be section on police situation analysis and some basic tactics that they will use in order to buy time to move more forces into an area. These systems of analysis have very specific rationales and follow basic patterns. If we can understand this, we can better predict what they will attempt to do in order to counter us.

The final section will be a section about police platoon structures, formations, signals, and arrest tactics. These things are very important to understand if we are to attempt to hold our advantages on the street. Police telegraph everything. In other words, they signal what they are going to do before they do it. Many times we pay attention to the front line of riot shields, but behind that line there is a complex choreography. To understand, and predict, what the police are going to do we need to understand how they communicate.

Now these are general guidelines for how police are trained to behave. They do not always follow these guidelines. Many times the cops react violently without orders, either out of adrenaline or fear. That is the power of the state however. It is not an over-reaction, as some claim, but rather the state exercising its power. If we start to think of things through this realization, we can begin to find ways to subvert police tactics, instead of playing the role of the passive demonstrator. But to begin this process of becoming more than activists, we need to understand what the state is and what it is capable of.

These guidelines also do not all apply in Washington, DC. Most guidelines are the same, but DC has many small police departments with their own jurisdictions. These departments overlap sometimes, and other times they do not. DC also has the use of the entire nerve center of the intelligence apparatus. The tactics are mostly the same in DC, the actors are different. But just like anything else, we need to figure out how to turn jurisdictional battles into an advantage. More study is needed on this topic however.

The Forces of Repression

It is inevitable that at some point, as an activist, that you will come into conflict with the state. It is useful to know what and who we are up against.

Local Police- These are the first forces that we would confront. They can range from the local beat cops to the SWAT teams and riot squads.

National Guard- When the situation escalates the local mayor can request that the National Guard be sent in. This requires a request by the local mayor for the declaring of a state of emergency, or the governor just declaring a state of emergency. The National Guard are state forces. They operate under state laws, unless they are federalized, at which point they operate under national laws. In DC there is no National Guard so they can call in a neighboring state's National Guard or use military personnel based in the area, as they did against the Bonus Army demonstrations in the 1930s and people even reported to have seen military helicopters and DELTA Force assisting police during October Rebellion in October 2007.

Military- The military can be called in on request by a state governor, or by the president in the case of a State of Insurrection. The military can also loan equipment to local and state forces if requested. The US Military cannot be used in domestic operations, outside the District of Columbia, under the Posse

Comitatus Act, which prohibits US Military deployment for domestic policing unless a State of Insurrection is claimed over an area by the President, this occurred during the Rodney King Uprising in LA and New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina. The Coast Guard is exempt from this act because they are part of Homeland Security. The legal barriers have been recently revised to only include law enforcement, meaning that US troops can be used for crowd control as long as they do not make arrests (recently military police have been spotted at DUI checkpoints in southern California along side local cops and highway patrol). For this purpose the 3rd Infantry Division's 1st Brigade Combat Team (a brigade that will be 20,000 strong by 2011) has been stationed on US territory and trained in "non-lethal" crowd control techniques.

The FBI- The FBI is always around. They monitor the things you do and are watching, especially at demonstrations.

Federal Protective Agency- They protect federal property. If you are on federal property, like a federal building or even a military recruitment center, the FPA can be called in.

Homeland Security- Homeland Security is always around as well, their job is to identify "terrorist" threats and figure out a way to neutralize them.

JTTF- The Joint Terrorism Task Force is an alliance between the feds, mostly the FBI, and local police. Their job is also intelligence.

Army Intelligence- They have been known to spy on local antiwar and radical groups, specifically groups that are engaged in counter-recruitment activism.

Delta Force sometimes collects intel at larger rallies, like Seattle '99 and October Rebellion.

There are more agencies that you will have to deal with. In DC for instance there are the Capitol Hill Police, the Pentagon Police, etc. Remember to research the local police conditions before a demonstration and find out as much as possible about the possible government forces and their tactics.

Police Crowd Analysis

The police analyze the capabilities of the crowd based on the situation, the crowd dynamics, and the crowd type.

Situation Analysis- First the police will try to analyze the situation. To do this they look at the causes of the unrest, how the crowd is developing, and what type of gathering it is. When analyzing the type of gathering they have two different categories that they break the types of crowds into.

The first is the impromptu crowd. These types of crowds are crowds that have no formal, or announced plans to assemble. They assemble through word of mouth.

The second type of crowd is an organized gathering. These are the gatherings that we most know as protests. They are pre-planned, announced, and have outreach materials.

From this point the police will analyze the basic method of dispersal. A routine dispersal is a pre-planned dispersal, one that was planned ahead of time. An emergency dispersal is when people panic, due to some variable, and run quickly to disperse. A coercive dispersal is a dispersal by force. Due to the possibility of this method to incite a crowd, the police like to negotiate the

dispersal with organizers before the gathering, they find that this is a way to get the crowd to "police themselves".

Crowd Dynamics- There are three basic definitions of crowd dynamics that the police will define crowds by. They are public disorder, public disturbance, and riot.

Public Disorder- This is a basic breach of civil order that has the potential to disrupt the normal flow of things. Permitted protests fall into this category.

Public Disturbance- A public disturbance is a situation that has the potential to escalate. In this situation people are yelling, chanting, singing, etc.

Riot- A riot is a situation which includes property destruction, defense against police, and the potential to spin out of police control.

Crowd Type- Along with the general dynamics of the crowd the police will also categorize crowds into 4 types of crowd.

Casual Crowds- This is the normal gathering that one witnesses everyday, for instance a lot of people walking down the street. Each person, or group of people, come separately and leave separately. They have no common agenda.

Sighting Crowds- These are the crowds that assemble for things like festivals and sports games. They are brought together in one place by an event or happening.

Agitated Crowds- An agitated crowd is a crowd that is starting to develop a unity beyond an event. This type of crowd is defined by strong emotions, yelling, screaming, and verbal confrontation with the authorities.

Mob-Like Crowds- Mobs are crowds that have become confrontational, beyond verbally confrontational.

Crowd Assessment Questions

The pigs will then begin to ask a series of crowd assessment questions. This is done to both refine their definitions of the situation and to help them organize information to plan a response. I am going to list the questions and go into a little more detail about some of them, full descriptions of the questions can be found in the Civil Disturbance manual

Who we are? What is the identity of the crowd? What does the crowd identify as?

They will determine this information largely from pre-action intelligence and announcements by the organizers themselves. This is the first step in how they analyze what we are capable of.

What are the goals of the action?

This helps them determine whether they can try to placate the crowd by offering a space to demonstrate in, they call these goals of recognition. But if the crowd has "other" goals, that go beyond a desire to be seen and heard, then they are more likely to prepare for confrontations.

What are the factions of the crowd?

They ask this question to develop a landscape of active groups in the area and use this to decide how to allocate forces and which groups they will attempt to negotiate or work with.

What are we capable of?

What are our traditional behaviors and norms?

This question is important for a couple reasons. They use this question to figure out how to contain certain groups and with how much force. The second reason that this question is important because the information generated in the answer is completely based off prior actions, off prior experiences, more on this in the analysis section later on in the zine.

When and where will we assemble?

They point out how they need to figure out this information in order to plan a response and that the lack of this information coupled with the action being planned by a dispersed yet organized network can mean that actions may manifest quickly, with little or no notice, and that this is a contingency that must be prevented.

Where will we go?

What are possible targets?

What is the "worst case scenario" (often their worst scenario is our best case scenario)?

When and where will we disperse?

What are our plans for meet-ups and follow-up actions?

Terrain Analysis

Due to the proliferation of more organized forms of resistance, the police have started to do more detailed terrain analysis in an attempt to establish rally points, escape routes, and places where they have an advantage in engagement.

They base their terrain analysis on two factors, whether the terrain is rural or urban, and have sets of categories for analyzing the terrain, if it is urban. They first analyze the urban plan, the plan of the city overall. Then they analyze the smaller area of possible engagement on the street level. We have seen this taken to a new level, the pigs try to physically alter the environment, this means removing possible debris and projectiles, dumpsters, trash cans, newspaper boxes, etc..

When they are analyzing the city plan itself, they have four categories that they group cities into.

Satellite Patterns- These are cities that are structured around one central hub with other urban areas converging at the hub. These smaller areas are dependent on the central hub.

Network Pattern- These are urban areas that are not dependent on a central hub but are rather networked together.

Linear Pattern- This is when a series of urban areas are aligned along one central axis, maybe a road or river.

Segment Pattern- This is a single urban area that is divided by various things, highways, rivers, etc, into segments.



Satellite



Network



Linear



Segment

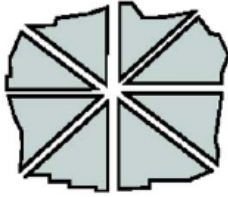
Figure C-2. Urban Patterns

When the police analyze smaller areas of engagement they analyze the street patterns based on three categories.

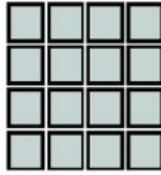
Radial- These street patterns radiate from a central point. Usually that central point is the center of religious or political power.

Grid- These cities, like many in the Rustbelt region, have very easy to follow grid pattern streets.

Irregular- Irregular street patterns are patterns that might include irregularly placed streets, winding roads, etc, but in no set pattern.



Radial



Grid



Irregular

Monitoring, Blocking, Containing, and Dispersing

From the initial situation analysis the police will then develop a basic plan of action. To begin the plan they will first decide what their objective will be. They can and will mix approaches in order to try to get a crowd to do what they want them to do. The overall goal is to decrease the intensity of the crowd.

Monitoring- Monitoring the crowd means gathering the intelligence necessary to determine the mood, size, intent, etc of a crowd gathered at any one point. This intelligence will be used by the police in order to determine a response.

The monitoring is continuous and can include infiltrators, helicopters, cameras, etc. The police will use these images to determine who the crowd leaders are and try to open up lines of communication. Their goal in this is to a) try to negotiate with the crowd or b) divert the crowd from their goal.

Cameras are positioned to be intentionally seen. The theory is that if a uniformed officer is seen filming, people will feel less secure carrying out illegal acts. So camera-people are intentionally in uniform and close enough to the crowd to be seen, but not close enough to be in any danger.

Blocking- Blocking is exactly what it sounds like. The police will block a crowd from entering an area or advancing further. Common tactics for blocking

are fences, barricades, and large line formations, we will get into formations next. They will also use blocking tactics to delay the arrival of people to an area.

Dispersing- Dispersal and dispersal tactics are used with caution. There are numerous concerns, from the police perspective. FM 3-19.15 states that the dispersal strategy is utilizes a mixture of force and psychological incentive to make a crowd leave an area. In dispersal situations the police will attempt to use this mixture in a way that avoids making the situation more out of their control.

They define dispersal as the "taking deliberate actions to fragment an assembled crowd in order to prevent the destruction of property or prevent injury". They will attempt to disperse a crowd by first segmenting them and then forcing them to move down pre-planned paths. If this fails there is a potential that the crowd will just fan out into small groups, which becomes a much harder situation for the police to control.

When dispersing the police will attempt to funnel the crowd into small areas, large areas provide us with the ability to reassemble. There is a delicate balance here as well. They are going to attempt to funnel the crowd into small areas, at slow speeds, but not make people feel cornered.

To begin the dispersal process the police will have to inform you that the demonstration has been declared illegal and that we have an order to disperse. Legally they have to repeat this three times, audibly. If it is not audible then the warnings do not count, legally. The announcement also has another effect, a psychological one. The hope, on their part, is that once they make this proclamation that the crowd morale will drop with the threat of violence and that some people will leave the demonstration. When making this proclamation, they will tailor the language to fit the crowd. If the crowd is pretty calm, then they will word the proclamation carefully and gently. If the crowd is empowered, strong, angry, and doing actions that the state does not like, then the proclamation will sound more like a threat.

If the proclamation does not work, they will resort to a show of force. The show of force is a psychological weapon that is mainly based on first theatre and then the actual force that can be employed. In the manual they recommend that, when using a show of force, they have the police dismount from vehicles and set up their lines in full sight of the demonstrators in order to display their numbers and organizational strength.

When choosing to use a show of force they will attempt to use the intelligence gathered from monitoring to assess the situation more completely. They have a balance to strike. On one hand the show of force can disperse a crowd. On the other hand it also shows the fascist underbelly of the beast and can provoke a

crowd to attack the police. The calculation that the police will make is that dispersal is a possible tactic if they feel that they can get the crowd to disperse through narrow passages, while at the same time not scattering small groups in the crowd into different parts of the area. Their fear is that we will disperse into areas and reform to continue the action. If this happens the police will employ heavy patrols in the area, motor marches (the driving of heavy vehicles through the area), and/or the setting up of checkpoints/searchpoints.

Containing- If the police decide that it is preferable to attempt to keep people in a small area, as opposed to dispersing them, they will use tactics designed to contain the crowd. This set of tactics will be used when the police determine that they do not want to crowd spreading out, want to detain certain people in the crowd, and/or want to prevent more people from entering the situation.

To accomplish this containment they will use a series of tactics to set up a perimeter around the area that they are attempting to isolate. They usually rely on crowd control formations but have also been known to use road blockades and or barriers.

This is not a purely stationary set of tactics however. When the police are attempting to contain a moving crowd or march, they will ride vehicles or bikes, or walk alongside, the march. At a certain point they might attempt to edge

themselves over into the crowd and either push them a certain direction or attempt to trap them against an immovable object, like a building.

Formations and Signals

The police will employ different crowd control formations depending on the situation. It is important for us to understand what they are doing, who is doing it, and why. Many times people look at the front line of police, yet the whole communications structure is constantly working behind the scenes and giving hints as to what they might do.

I am first going to give a brief explanation of the basic elements of a control force formation. Then I will give some brief descriptions of the formations themselves and what signals are given to indicate a police movement. There are a lot of graphics in this section. I feel that it is easier to see than explain.

The theory behind the control force formation is that, with the use of "less-than-lethal" weaponry, the police can keep a distance of 15-100 meters from a hostile crowd. This type of police action requires a lot of set-up and many people playing specific roles.

The Elements-

Base Element- These are the first two ranks of police. The first line is police in riot gear with shields and the second line are police who are equipped with any of a variety of "less-than-lethal" weapons.

Support Element- The support elements exist to provide logistical and force support. They will fill in for base element police that need to be replaced, perform extraction/snatches, or provide general support.

Command Element- This element contains the platoon leader, platoon sergeant, radio operator and possible voice recorder operator and/or interpreter. They do not have a fixed position but move about as needed.

Reserve Support Element- They are not technically part of the formation but are brought forward to join the formation if needed.

Formations- There are a series of basic crowd control formations that the police will employ. I will be providing graphic examples after the written descriptions.

Line Formation- The line formation consists of one or two ranks of police lined up shoulder to shoulder in a line. This formation is used both offensively and defensively, and is the most widely used formation. Offensively the line is used to clear areas and to push crowds. Defensively, the formation is used to hold or block a crowd from advancing somewhere.

Echelon Formation- An echelon is an offensive formation, which looks like a diagonal line, used to push people away from a certain location and move them in the direction desired by police. The point person goes in the direction of the

target and when the line reaches the target it can either form a defensive line or push forward and clear the area.

Wedge Formation- The wedge is a formation used to split crowds into segments. Many times you only see this formation used with vehicles in the US, but modified versions of this tactic are used all the time. Increasingly police have moved into a tactic of eliminating space between them and the crowd by sending individual cops or sometimes small squads or lines into crowds to split them up.

Diamond Formation- The diamond is an offensive and defensive formation. Offensively, it is used to enter crowds and is the formation most used by extraction teams/snatch squads. Defensively, this formation is used when all around security is needed.

Circular Formation- Similar to diamond formation, except the formation is rounded at the edges to allow some flow between the corners of a street for instance. It is a way to have 360 degree vision without blocking the space entirely.

Formations are carried out by single squads but often they involve entire platoons. A normal police platoon will break down something like this. The

numbers of people in each layer of the hierarchy may modify depending on the conditions on the ground, but the structure usually remains relatively similar.

NOTE: There are nine platoon equivalents within a light infantry battalion.

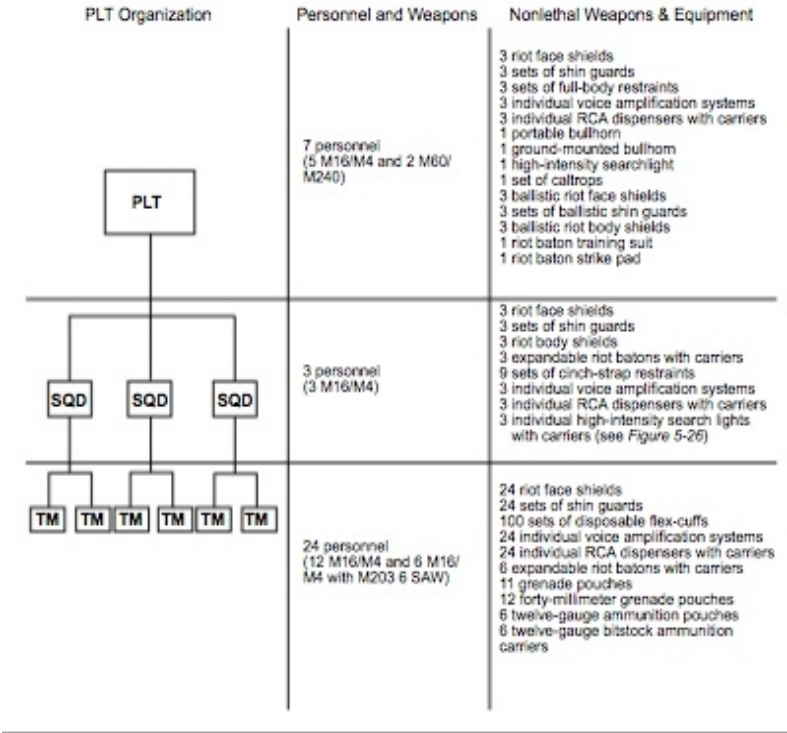


Figure 5-39. NLCS Distribution

In this pamphlet it is only possible to provide some diagrams of the formations that are used. Here is the key for those diagrams.

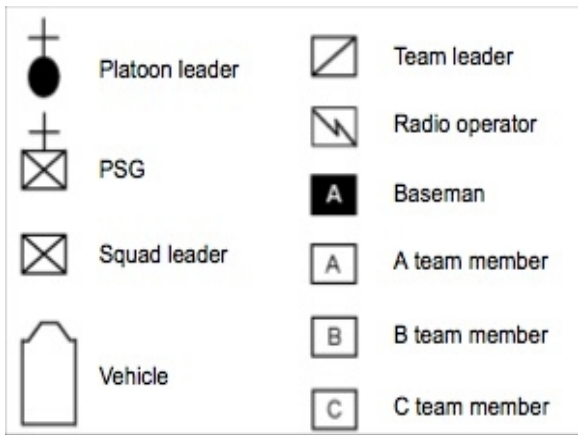


Figure 6-1. Symbols for a Formation Element

When the formations are on the street each squad will look like:

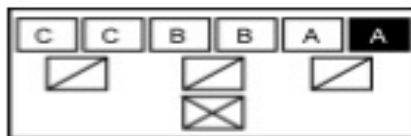


Figure 6-6. Squad Line Formation

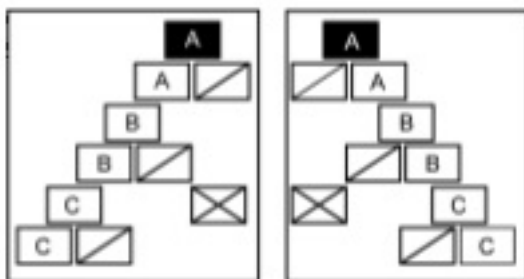


Figure 6-7. Squad Echelons Left and Right Formations

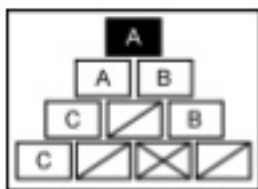


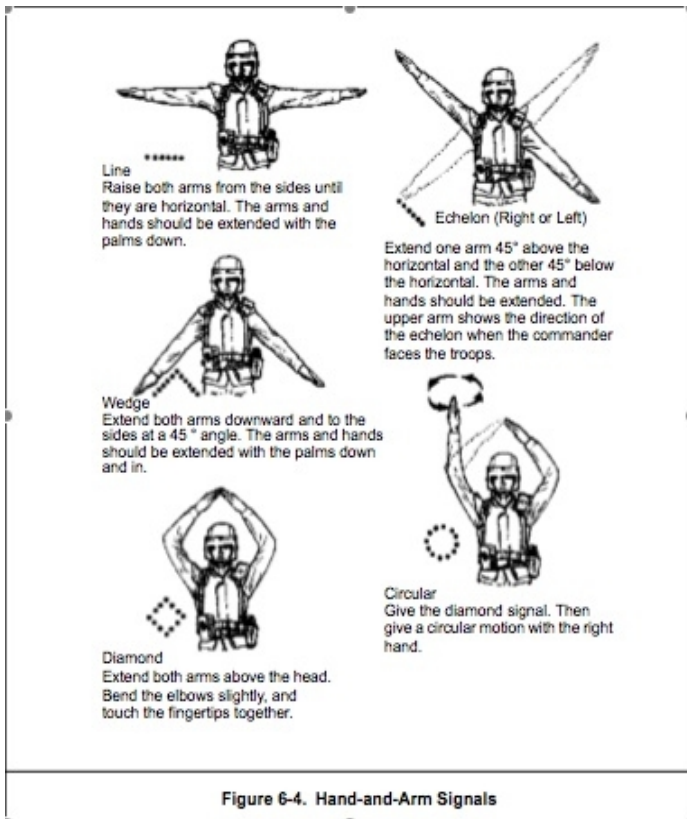
Figure 6-8. Squad Wedge Formation

Please refer to the manual, Chapter 6, for more thorough diagrams of platoon formations and the interactions of formations. The diagrams in the manual itself were too large to be able to make legible on a pamphlet sized page.

Signals- The police communicate through a series of verbal and nonverbal cues. The verbal cues are audible, if you are close enough. The nonverbal cues can be seen. A general rule is to pay attention to who is talking to who. If the back lines, the command element, is on their radios, moving around, and talking to a group of cops, then something might be up. Try to be aware.

To signal a new formation, or a movement in formation the squad or team leaders will give any of a series of non-verbal commands either to emphasize or substitute for verbal commands. The team or squad leader will walk out in front of, or to the side of, the other police in the squad and give a non-verbal signal.

The non-verbal commands for formations are:



In recent events a new signal has been noticed in California, both in Oakland and LA. The signal is for an advance which is preceded by a volley of weapons

fire. In LA the movement forward was preceded with volleys of rubber bullets. It looks like the following signal, from the US Army Visual Signals Guide except that the hand is held open and extended forward at a 45 degree angle (yes, like a Nazi salute)

Raise the fist to the shoulder; thrust the fist upward to the full extent of the arm and back to shoulder level; do this rapidly several times.



Figure 2-33. INCREASE SPEED, DOUBLE TIME, or RUSH.

There are two more non-verbal signals that I would like to go over. The first is the Extraction Team signal.

An extraction team is a team from the support element that moves into the crowd and makes a targeted arrest. Sometimes this is done as a way to disperse a crowd or to eliminate instigators. The faster we see it coming, however, the better of a chance we have to use our unarresting tactics to prevent the arrest.

When an extraction team is forming you will notice a series of police gathering behind the front line. The squad leader of the extraction team, once the squad is organized, will stick his hands between the arms of two police and say "Open". The police that were tapped will open like a double door and the extraction team will run out into the crowd. An extraction team looks like this:

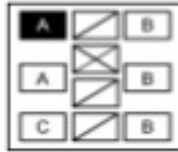


Figure 6-5. Extraction Team Formation

Police also have a signal for firing a "less-than-lethal" weapon. The officer properly equipped to fire a specific type of weaponry will walk up behind two front line cops, will tap them on their inside shoulder. After they are tapped they go onto one knee and put their shields up. The weapons operator will then fire the weapon over their shoulder.

Conclusion

We have been noticing two things recently. Firstly, the pigs are willing to deploy overwhelming amounts of force and millions of dollars of equipment to stop us from taking actions, that's because we do pose a very real threat to them. Secondly, these tactics are very expensive, take a lot of time to set up, are very logistics and communications heavy, slow to respond to contingencies, and generally linear. If you read the RNC post action reports that have been published there is one overwhelmingly important lesson, one that was also expressed in the Netwar in the Emerald City paper on the Seattle demonstration by the RAND Corporation, is that fluid groups, in fluid actions can destabilize police strategies rather quickly.

At the RNC police did not have control of the streets for 6 hours or more, according to the pigs own assessment, and that the only way this was quelled was that they had to deploy thousands more pigs onto the streets, occupy the city (which cost them economically due to the complete shuttering of downtown St Paul), and use mass arrests to clear downtown, and even in the face of that they did not begin to maintain complete control until the demonstrations were over. What is important in reading this through the civil disturbance manuals is that the pigs are not trying to stifle all dissent, they have to maintain the facade of political contestation in the US in order to maintain the myth of freedom. This means that, and they explain this themselves, that they are analyzing the threat

level of a situation in order to control the possibilities of action, not the actions themselves. This control of the possibility of actions is meant to allow certain, non-destabilizing, actions to occur while being able to contain other, more destabilizing, actions. They are attempting to construct a stabilized environment by controlling the possibilities of contingencies, or unanticipated actions and reactions. This also, consequently, means that any contingency that we create, any action that they cannot prevent, is the possibility of increasing contingency. Our actions have effects and cause reactions, if they cannot control the possibilities of actions from the beginning then they face a situation that is increasingly divergent from their analysis, and therefore increasingly divergent from their strategies. Being as logistics heavy as their strategies tend to be, any destabilization on the ground, and divergence from their attempt to frame the possibilities of the action, becomes potentially a source of entropy. When people broke off blockades and began to circulate around downtown St Paul, in nonlinear way, the police lost control of the streets and could only respond to the situation, and because they had been forced to deviate from their plan they had to sweep downtown to stabilize the situation so they could move delegates. The biggest point in which their strategies fall apart is not the point that the anarchists control the streets but at the point where they don't control the streets. They can respond to a group controlling a street, that group is stationary and engaging in a linear action which can be analyzed, fluid groups cannot be analyzed in any framework that operates on generalizing situations. This framework of analysis forces the state to only be able to see linear, static groups.

There is one simple reason for this, their analysis framework relies on easily abstractable, generalizable groups with linear tactics. Look at the crowd assessment questions for example. They are all based in the assumption but also the imperative need to generalize groups as objects but not as fluid collections of individuals. This means that they can only see certain aspects of the crowd, for instance they can only analyze us based in our past actions. They base their understanding of action as rallies and marches, actions that have a logical beginning and end point, and a linear progression between the two. Any variable that they cannot abstract becomes an additional contingency, this includes the fact that we are all acting for our own reasons but the pigs can only see the generalized goal and generalized motivation which makes their approach to us based in how they view the generalized grouping of "the anarchists" as a unity or object.

Recently we have seen these approaches play out in DC. The DC pigs have taken to using a tactic of containment/dispersal, essentially mobile containment with force being applied to contain the crowd to the degree that they deem possible without sparking confrontation. This practically means that they will mobilize hundreds of cops to surround a park and then assess the bloc. If they see a small, generally unorganized looking group, they are going to occupy the street with the amount of pigs that they deem necessary to contain any possible contingencies, including stopping all traffic in the Georgetown neighborhood

even if the bloc is marching on the sidewalk. If they see that the group is large and organized they will give that group some of the street, or all of the street and reroute traffic. Either way they will run bikes or motorcycles up the sides of the march to prevent anyone from being able to reach windows and walls. This tactic attempts to contain the march while letting it move, in order to prevent people from feeling boxed in, and then control the situation to the point where the crowd becomes demoralized and disperses itself, also to avoid physical confrontation. The reasoning here is simple. Confrontations are really destabilizing, all sorts of events can occur which will cause the situation to spin out of their control.

This tactic is really equipment and logistics heavy, they cannot mobilize it on a moments notice. This means that much of how they are viewing a situation is coming from information that we are giving them, mostly by publishing our plans and announcing actions over the internet. In a certain sense we give up our biggest advantage by entering into their sight, by allowing ourselves to be generalizable because they know we will be in a certain place at a certain time, the only variables are then size and general crowd dynamics, both things that they can respond to easily. Our ability to be fluid, to break apart and reform, to take unannounced yet coordinated actions, will be the thing that allows us to operate safely and successfully.

They operate under a spatial and temporal generalization, having to generalize space, size, and time to control a situation. Because they recognize that actions change situations, they are attempting to operate by stabilizing the situation from the point of convergence and projecting this into the future of the duration of the action, meaning that they have to control not acts but the effects of those acts. It is not the broken window in itself that can set a bloc off, it is the reaction of others in the group to that broken window that can cause a situation to spin out of control, in this sense all reactions are additional variables. That is a lot of variables to control and in this sense the only way to control a militant demonstration is to control the possible reactions to other actions, to control entropy. Cops try to control entropy to maintain their stabilization in spite of these variables. It is for this reason that they love huge black blocs, they are already huge generalizable groups that can be surrounded, blocs are also logistics heavy. If you notice, their biggest fear is not the huge black bloc, it is the tiny affinity group, the group that does not announce actions, the group that escapes their gaze. This form of operation under the radar is not a tactic, it requires more fluid forms of organization based in preparation for contingencies not static plans, destabilization not linearity, and localized networks to facilitate this. What we need to learn is that organization for action is not in getting really well defined plans down and then telling everyone those plans. This approach is both unilateral and dangerous, with the dissemination of a plan there comes the possibility of conspiracy charges. Rather we need to begin to work within the realm of strategic frameworks, general outlines of what the terrain and situation

on the ground is and what would need to be done to accomplish a goal. This is a different form of organizing but the kernels already exist in the very form of action we use. We already operate within affinity groups that are clustered together, we already operate as individuals in the street. The whole strength of the bloc tactic is not in massing in one place, rather it is in the ability to break out into smaller groups and to take non-linear, non-homogenous actions. This non-linearity is an expression of the world we want to create, a world where individuals have control over the conditions of possibility for their own lives and have the ability to change those. This requires that we resist the same way that we hope to build, with autonomy and solidarity, not uniformity and homogenization, conveniently enough this is the very tactic, and thus politics, that the state cannot deal with preemptively.

The demand for nothing but everything is the one demand that they cannot co-opt, working in small groups based in affinity is the one thing they cannot see. The state is a force that attempts to form aggregate unities out of situations that are not linear. They use laws and cops to keep down the possibilities of everyday life, scared that we will escape from their models of everyday life, things they call laws. What was observed in the recent events in Greece was that government ministers were taken aback, not by the sheer crushing force of riots in the streets, but that there were no mass groups or sets of demands for them to negotiate with, the insurrection was fought on a plane that the state could not see. The vision of the state presents itself to be omnipresent, and must

because the state claims to be an expression of a social framed by the state itself, formed in its image. If the state is claiming to be everything then its vision must be all seeing, but because it inherently ignores the dynamics of everyday life itself, because it ignores out acts and the effects of those acts (until they must be eliminated by the state) they can never combat us on the level of our organization, that would require them to occupy a plane that they cannot acknowledge. The state is a static unity but the social it governs is a mobile dynamic field of engagement, fluid, chaotic. Instead of organizing as static groups who claim some privilege to analyze the social, which makes the social nothing but another appropriation of the model of a static object, we need to organize the way our lives are, coming from our desires, always trying to break away from limits, rejecting to ability to be aggregated into unities, into objects. We need to have an organizing process that is heterogenous, multifaceted, and dynamic, in short we do not need to figure out a way to win, and hence control a situation, rather we need to figure out ways to disorganize, to break organization on the street, and to create space which no one controls. This is the tactic of refusal, a tactic of disorganization.

Suggested Reading:

US Army Field Manual 3-19.15- fas.org/irp/doddir/army/fm3-19-15.pdf

On War- Carl Von Clausewitz

Society Against The State- Pierre Clastres

Cyberwar Is Coming! (Arquilla and Ronfeldt)

Networks and Netwar Chapters 1,4,6,9 (Arquilla and Ronfeldt)

From the Centre to the Periphery- Alfredo Bonanno

Armed Joy- Alfredo Bonanno

20 Thesis on the Subversion of the Metropolis- The Invisible Committee

Our Enemies in Blue- Kristian Williams

Lockdown America- Michael Parenti

Overkill: The Rise of Paramilitary Police Raids in America: Radley Balko

*note: Balko is a fellow at the CATO Institute, a super capitalist think-tank. I have endless disdain for what CATO does but this piece is really good.

Other Texts in the Tactical Analysis Series:

Against Pacifist Linearity

We Give a Shit: An Analysis of The Pittsburgh G20 Actions

Beyond Property Destruction

For more information and materials go to introtoanarchy.blogspot.com



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