

community.” According to all of their literature, it’s what they are about, apparently. The employees are treated well, and amongst the service class population of Oakland, it is considered a good place to work. In most cases, barristas view their jobs as an “opportunity” that is generously bestowed on them by their petite bourgeois employer. While this sentiment is common enough in local service workers, it is built on a lie. If an employer truly cared about their employees, they would immediately collectivize the entire operation and render each participant an equal share, thus negating themselves as sole owner. Everything else that is not a collective will carry the scent of greed and exploitation inside itself. Sooner or later, someone will catch on and let go.

During the recent demonstrations against the police, it was common to find someone in the crowd pointing out a specific small business and list their grievances with the owner or manager. This was often followed by someone else smashing the windows or painting the walls on their behalf. Out of all the businesses that were vandalized, only a small minority of them belonged to the petite bourgeoisie. The rest were owned by the grande bourgeoisie. Attacking small businesses was generally discouraged during all of the protests. Only in the case of specific grievances was it seemingly allowed. From this, it is clear that the people on the streets had more anger towards the grande bourgeoisie, but it is also clear that there is little love for their petite bourgeois counterparts.

A revolution will eventually happen in the United States, and when it does the bourgeois will insist we are on the same side. Naturally, the instinct will be to repeat the mistakes of the French Revolution and trust them. Unfortunately for them, too many of us rabble know how to read and write this time. So we won’t be fooled on this go-round. The grand bourgeoisie is responsible for most of the mess we are in here in California. All of it, actually. Most of the petite bourgeoisie are hopelessly conjoined with them in their capitalist hypnosis, but a small segment are having second thoughts, especially with the existence of Amazon and Google. These are the business owners to whom money is incidental and have only a passion for their craft, whatever it might be. These people still maintain some connection to reality, and may choose to side with the poor and working population.

Most of the infrastructure that the grande bourgeoisie built in the Bay Area since 1848 has to be scrapped. All of it is centered around resource extraction, the car, and money. Naturally it has to go, but we still have to secure the water and food infrastructure so that we don’t, you know, *die*. While we phase out industrial production, mono-cropping, and lake-draining, every manner of crafts-person, permaculturist, natural builder, plumber, and local farmer will be suddenly free from capitalist law. All of our efforts will be aimed at establishing a sustainable world where we can all live in harmony with the earth, and in this they will be free to join. In our revolution, we will all have much to do, and without the existence of laws it will be much easier to tear up roads for farming, demolish useless buildings like the jails, salvage all valuable construction materials, and generally repair the world so we can keep living on this Earth. This may take 200 years, especially with the existence of things like the Chevron refinery and the Lawrence-Livermore nuclear laboratories, but it is more than feasible.

We hope some renegade members of the petite bourgeoisie rebel against capitalism, collectivize their businesses, and help us in our efforts to destroy the system to the best of their abilities. Rather than the pursuit of money, they will have the pursuit of life and freedom (literally). As for the rest of the bourgeois, we do not even care. If they are still loyal to capitalism when the revolution comes, we will not be the ones dragging them off to the guillotine. It will be the peasants, returned after hundreds of years, still screaming for the blood of the rich. Our revolution is not only possible, it is already happening. Just look around. The writing is clearly on the wall.

December 22: A banner reading “Oakland - Ferguson - NYC / No Love For The Police” is dropped at a Oakland Raiders game. In San Francisco, a small group disrupts the Spanish Consulate in solidarity with anarchists facing repression in Spain.

December 25: Another FTP march departs from 14th & Broadway, which soon arrives at Jack London Square. Several stores are attacked, a BevMo is looted, and the Christmas tree is trashed. The march joins an annual street party aimed at celebrating Christmas with the homeless before dispersing.

December 31: The annual New Year’s Eve noise demo draws hundreds of people who march through Uptown, attacking police officers with bottles. After the police attack the march, arresting 29, many regroup at the jail and shoot off fireworks in solidarity with the inmates.

January 1: Hundreds gather at Fruitvale BART for a vigil to remember Oscar Grant III, murdered by BART police 6 years earlier.

January 16: Protesters shut down several BART stations in downtown San Francisco early morning. In Oakland, the weekly auction of foreclosed properties on the courthouse steps was disrupted.

January 17: In North Oakland, people block off Telegraph Ave to hold a guerilla film screening of footage from the Civil Rights Movement in 1960’s.

January 18: About a hundred people march through the streets of Oakland against the police. Multiple people are arrested, and eventually arrive at Fruitvale Station which is subsequently closed.

January 19: Early Monday morning, several dozen demonstrate in front of Oakland Mayor Libby Schaaf’s house in the Upper Dimond. Later that day, thousands march through East Oakland to “Reclaim MLK Day.” During peak traffic, Stanford students blockaded the San Mateo bridge.

their rhetoric, ultimately they hope this will aid them in their efforts to pacify the revolt.

In the end, the act of shooting police officers is a limited act of rebellion; in that it is not easily replicated by others. It remains largely a spectator sport while only a small handful of individuals carry out the shooting. For the most part, it also has little effect on the actual systems of policing, with the exception of New York City where officers were instructed to forgo arrests for low-level crime. But nevertheless, the fact that it is happening at all is indicative of the massive erosion of the police’s public legitimacy.

Saturday, December 20th: Two NYPD officers fatally shot in Brooklyn

Sunday, December 21st: A police officer was fatally shot in Tarpon Springs, FL

Saturday, December 27th: Shots fired at police officer in Durham, NC

Sunday, December 28th: Shots fired at sheriff’s deputies in Dade City, FL

Monday, December 29th: Shots fired at LAPD officer in South Los Angeles

Monday, December 29th: A single shot was fired at a police officer in Statesboro, GA

Monday, December 29th: A single shot was fired at the home of a police officer in Durham, NC

Thursday, January 1st: Shots fired at police officer in South San Francisco, CA.

Here we are, back to the familiar hoo-haa. You need to eat, I need to eat, and we all need a roof over our heads. When we all went back to work, back to our lives, back to our routines, it felt like thousands of us were in on a secret; the looted beer still on our lips and the joys of nights before still burning in our minds. The uprising against the police flared up night after night, blotting out the straight lines, and bringing chaos to capitalist order. In one moment all of the gentrification, urban revival, venture capital, and real estate deals were meaningless. For every person on the street there were fifty more at home cheering them on while the fires burned. In Oakland, San Francisco, and Berkeley people stood up to the government - and then ‘life’ went on.

But in those first weeks of January after the uprising had subsided, we all began to pass each other on the streets, and it was clear that something tremendous had just happened. Never before had so many of us come together to get something done, and that memory will not go away, nor will the energy that was released during the rebellion. Now is the time to put that energy where it is needed, into the material concerns that affect us all. For instance, there are countless empty houses in East Oakland alone, and most of them belong to the banks. With an organized effort, a movement to acquire free housing would quickly emerge. All that is needed

are people willing to take it on.

No one should have to pay to live in these conditions. If no one had to pay rent, if no one had to hustle all day, how much less strife would there be? Could it be that they keep us working like dogs so that we never have time to think, for ourselves, for our children, for anyone? Could it be this is all carefully arranged to keep us stressed out, violently angry, in constant poverty, and unable to quit our jobs? In our weeks long uprising, we broke out of this arrangement for a moment, but now it seems we have returned to the same old grugery.

We have to continue the rebellion, albeit in new and different forms. We have to keep the fires inside of us burning and more importantly, strengthen and develop the relationships built between people during the revolt. We don’t have to wait for the next protest to be called or march to be shared online - we can find things happening all around us and begin to fight back. People struggle in Oakland against the gentrification of Driver Park and St. Andrews Plaza in the face of a yuppie invasion. Students get organized and disrupt attempts by the school board to turn their schools into charters. People organized benefit events and showed solidarity with those arrested during the uprising. This rebellion hasn’t ended, it’s spirit continues on in the struggles to come.

SMASHED UP

THE EAST BAY SOLIDARITY NETWORK IS AN ORGANIZING COLLECTIVE BASED IN OAKLAND. WE SUPPORT WORKING-CLASS AND POOR PEOPLE IN DIRECTLY CONFRONTING EXPLOITATION, VIOLENCE, AND INJUSTICE. WE ORGANIZE STRATEGIC DIRECT ACTION CAMPAIGNS AGAINST LANDLORDS, EMPLOYERS, AND THE STATE, AS WELL AS FORM ALLIANCES WITH COMMUNITIES AND ORGANIZATIONS WHO ARE MOST AFFECTED BY CAPITALISM AND SYSTEMS OF DOMINATION. WE WANT TO RESIST ALL MANIFESTATIONS OF OPPRESSION THAT OCCUR IN OUR WORLD, IN OUR ORGANIZATIONS, AND IN OURSELVES. THIS MEANS ACTIVELY FIGHTING WHITE SUPREMACY, HETEROPATRIARCHY AND COLONIALISM. WE ALSO SEEK TO MOBILIZE THE RESOURCES OF PRIVILEGED COMMUNITIES TO LEND CAPACITY AND TANGIBLE SUPPORT TO THOSE WHO ARE STRUGGLING FOR THEIR OWN LIBERATION.

YOUNG SERVICE WORKERS ON THE SANCTITY OF SMALL BUSINESS.

It was the first Friday of December, which in Oakland usually means hoards of people descending onto Telegraph Avenue for the monthly Art Murmur festival. But on this night, a much different crowd filled the streets. After successfully shutting down the 880 freeway and West Oakland BART station, hundreds of people outraged at the recent police murders of Mike Brown and Eric Garner marched towards 14th and Broadway downtown. Suddenly, the sound of shattering glass echoed everywhere; someone had smashed out the windows of a new wine bar. Cheers of joy went up from most of the crowd, but a few rushed to protect the vandalized shop: "Stop! This is a local business!"

Although corporate chains bore the brunt of the vandalism and looting in the most recent wave of actions against police murders, protesters also tagged and smashed windows at smaller businesses in gentrifying neighborhoods like Temescal and Downtown Berkeley. In the wake of these actions, some movement sympathizers have been quick to criticize the vandalism of local businesses, implying that locally owned businesses are not a legitimate target of popular anger. Even some who sympathize with property destruction of corporate targets like Chase Bank argue against targeting small businesses.

Based on our experience working for small businesses and as white workers who are actively in solidarity with the Black Lives Matter movement, we want to suggest that not only is it appropriate to organize against and express anger at such places, but given the corresponding rise of upscale establishments, mass displacement, and police violence in the Bay Area, it may also be a strategic direction for our movements.

LOCALLY-GROWN EXPLOITATION

The defense of small businesses in the Bay Area relies on a misplaced liberal morality which contrasts "good" local businesses and "evil" corporate ones. This dichotomy has become dogma for many people, who amount their consumer choices to brave political acts. Feel bad about sweat shops? Purchase your next gift at a local boutique! Recession got you down? Shovel dollars into your local economy and dad just might get his job back. But are local businesses actually better for the majority of us?

The dominant image of small businesses as Mom and Pop stores run by elderly couples who work long hours as a labor of love is not reflected in the local economy. The reality is closer to a young, wealthy owner who does not work in their own store but instead employs a small group of wage laborers. And since small businesses don't have the profit margins of large corporations, they often rely on sweatshop discipline and poverty wages to make ends meet. Most anyone who has worked in the industry can attest to a repressive atmosphere: workers are not allowed on breaks, are scolded for talking to co-workers and punished for showing up five minutes late. Furthermore, even service workers who make tips frequently earn below a living wage and are subjected to unpredictable work schedules that necessitate finding a second or third job. When these practices happen at large corporate chains, they become the themes of documentaries, muckraking articles in the liberal press, and bumper sticker slogans. But when they're used by local businesses, they're written off as necessary evils.

In higher-end establishments, employers frequently justify poor treatment by trying to instill pride and artistic ambitions in their employees; workers are all but required to do extra learning, research, and labor outside of the workday to satisfy the employers' need to serve the coolest new cocktail or coffee bean. At a recent mandatory meeting for an East Bay-based organic catering company, workers were told by the CEO: "This is not a job; it's a craft. You are all artists, and you should treat your job as such. If you don't, you won't succeed in this company." What he was saying was that if you do not invest hours off the clock in becoming a more efficient and valuable worker, we won't employ you.

By romanticizing small businesses like the hip restaurants, cafes and bars currently springing up all over Oakland, we gloss over the experiences of the low wage workers who make them possible. When compared to the horrendous treatment that service workers must endure, the shattering or spray-painting of a few windows does not even the score.

A DIVIDED HOUSE

While we as low wage white service workers are exploited by small business owners, we must recognize that our race and class positions heavily shape our treatment in the workplace. Our jobs are often segregated in much the same way the Bay is, that is, although we work for the same employer, our experience of work is dramatically different. Young service workers are often subjected to bad treatment and low wages, but they are also offered the jobs that pay relatively better, bring in tips and earn more respect from management. Back of the house workers (i.e dishwashers, lower-level cooks), in addition to dealing with unpredictable schedules, job instability, and intense pace of work, are also paid less and completely excluded from the broader culture and decision-making of the workplace. Back of the house employees are usually immigrants and almost always people of color, and are thus subjected to a variety of racist abuses from higher-ups. At our work



These days, you are probably familiar with the term *bourgie* (*pro: boo-zhee*). You may have seen your friends point at a chic couple walking down the street or at a new, swanky restaurant and say "they hella *bourgie*!" On the bus, at a party, or walking down the street, you can probably hear this word yelled in the air. At a protest, it is quite common to hear people say, "that's *bourgie*, smash that shit!" But what does it mean? Where did it come from?

Well, a long time ago in a far away land called France, there were small craftspeople who lived inside walled cities. At the center of these walls was usually a castle or manor belonging to some king or lord. Around this castle or manor were the *bourgeoisie*, a class of craftspeople who possessed their own means of production. Some people slaved all days in the fields, planted vegetables on land that was not theirs, slept in beds that were not theirs, and when harvest came, gave up the product of their labor to the king or the lord. But not the *bourgeoisie* craftspeople. No, these craftspeople were able to sell tools to the lord who would then rent them out to the peasants who worked his land. They crafted the beds the peasant slept on, brewed the beer the peasant drank, and rented the rooms the peasant called home. While the peasants trudged to and from their labor, the early *bourgeoisie* sat indoors by the fire and counted their money.

Over enough generations, the *bourgeoisie* was able to save and pass on enough capital to become a class unto themselves. Now the only thing that stood in their way were the kings and lords. In the 1700's, the *bourgeoisie* began to organize against the royals, no longer willing to pay them any taxes or obey their laws. And then one day in 1789, the peasants and the *bourgeoisie* rose up together to overthrow the king in the Great French Revolution. It was during this moment that the reign of capitalism truly began. The *bourgeoisie* were now free to sell their crafts and conduct business without the interference of a divinely appointed king.

Although the revolution in France was immediately followed by Napoleon and his First Empire, the way had been cleared for capitalism to advance. Power fell away from the kingdom and into the

hands of individual capitalists. The Emperor just sat back and watched. Through the 1800's, various *bourgeoisie* families were able to pass on their wealth from one generation to the next. By the 1860's, this group of people was commonly known as *le grande bourgeoisie*, a class of people whose children would never know poverty. Below them on the hierarchy were all the other aspiring craftspeople and store owners, putting all of their energy and capital into singular enterprises like restaurants, masonry, or selling produce. This class of people was called *le petite bourgeoisie*, and they lived the frantic lifestyles of the some small business owner today, often hovering just over the poverty of the slums. Regardless of their differences, both classes extract their profits from the working population. They sell us what we cannot get anywhere else. In exchange, we have to work for them. This has been the simple arrangement for over 200 years.

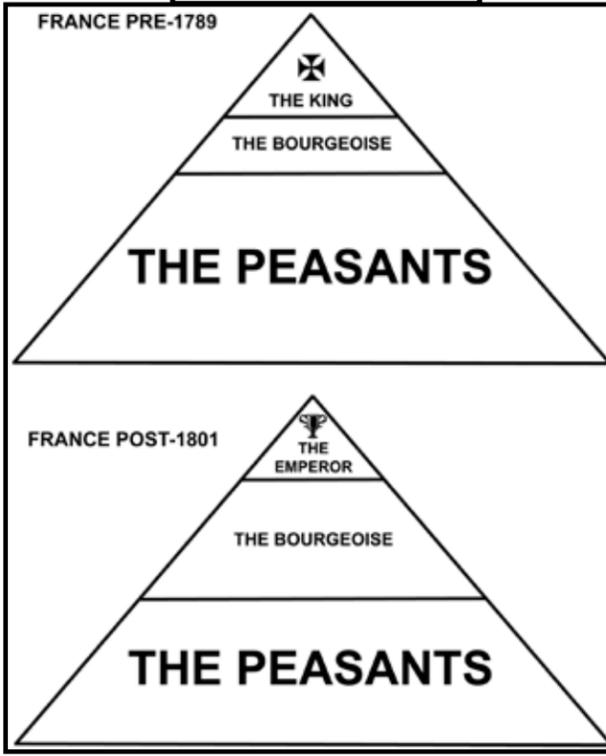
Very little has changed since then, and we will examine one example of the contemporary *petite bourgeoisie*. Farley's Coffee was started in San Francisco in 1989, just after the Loma Prieta earthquake. At a time when many buildings were red-tagged from the quake, Farley's provided something no one could get anywhere else: a place to meet. From these humble beginnings, the first Farley's cafe was born on Potrero Hill. As it is in all such establishments, the owners worked along side their staff until they had amassed enough profit to expand. After twenty years of accumulation, the owners of Farley's moved part

of their capital across the bay to Oakland. In 2009 and 2010 they quietly set up two new locations, one at 33 West Grand in Uptown, and the other near the Oakland/Emeryville border. Both locations happened to be near the site of future gentrification. It took a few years to get out of the recession, but now both locations are getting a lot of business. Most of their current customers have either moved in to the new Emeryville luxury apartments or have just gotten a job at places like Pandora or Pixar.

To make up for their lack of power, the *petite bourgeoisie* operate in small groups or ensembles. They often rent from the same landlord and run their businesses side by side, many times on the same block. Usually they put each other in business by drawing people to their block. Usually the landlords who rent to them are friendly-ish (to them), although they are often members of the *grande bourgeoisie*. The main distinction between the two camps is that the *grande bourgeoisie* own the means of production for their ventures, whereas the *petite bourgeoisie* do not. For a cafe to become part of the *grande bourgeoisie*, it would have to become Starbucks, an entity capable of buying coffee farms outright. As

it is, Farley's is at the whims of most everyone, especially the corporations and businesses that bring the customers. Without the *grande bourgeoisie* and the wages they pay, the *petite bourgeois* would sink back into the world of the contemporary peasant. The *bourgeoisie* is tied within its own web, at every level, and to enter their world is to become entangled in it.

Farley's makes a sincere effort to ingratiate itself with "the



THE TERM ANARCHIST WAS FIRST USED IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION TO DESIGNATE ANYONE WHO SPOKE AGAINST THE BOURGEOIS RULERS.

THAT'S WAR

In the midst of the recent revolt against white supremacy and the police across the Bay Area, some anonymous rebels cut down a freeway sign on the Interstate 580. The sign memorialized the four officers who were shot by Lovelle Mixon in East Oakland in early 2009, during another moment of rebellion after the well-known shooting of Oscar Grant.

A few days later, a black man approached a police cruiser in Brooklyn and opened fire, killing two NYPD officers. In the week afterwards, several more officers were fired upon across the United States, from Florida to California.

Before the officers shot in Brooklyn were announced dead, the state began working to capitalize off of the events. The blame was shifted to the demonstrations, and anyone that dare questioned police impunity. On the other hand, Civil Rights organizations and other participants from the Black Lives Matter protests denounced the shooting as well. Under public pressure, the moderate elements of the movement become more moderate, and attempt to reign in the radical segments, all in the name of the movement's legitimacy. Widespread anti-police sentiments were erased and replaced with a reformist agenda in an effort to distance themselves from those who would take up arms against the police.

In truth, those who have revolted against the system do bear a mild amount of responsibility for the recent shootings of police. From New York to Ferguson to Oakland, people have taken the streets, defied the police, attacked their property and even the officers themselves with projectiles. As loosely concerted acts, they undermine the legitimacy of the police and provide a social context in which bolder self-defense measures can be taken by oppressed populations. In the cases examined here, this self-defense takes the form of shootouts with law enforcement.

In the hours after the Brooklyn shooting, the NYPD union declared that it would begin to operate as a "war-time" police department. The words shocked many, but this only serves to obscure the reality of the war being waged on a daily basis throughout the country and the world. This war is rendered invisible by how deeply it has been embedded in our everyday life, and because it is almost entirely one-sided. This war takes many forms, from being forced to pay

for food and housing, to being imprisoned for even the smallest offenses. Evictions, layoffs, gang injunctions, police shootings, the list goes on and on.

When workers go on strike, or when people reclaim houses previously rendered inaccessible by private property laws, they fight back in the war. When people come together in the streets and fight the police, this is another form of engaging in this war. The war is only noticeable, even if not perceived as a war specifically, when people fight back. So when people take up arms against the police – and not just anyone, it is less alarming to the public when white supremacists murder police officers, which unfortunately happens more often than not – it makes this war extremely visible.

It is by rendering this war invisible that the system can maintain legitimacy. The systems tactics of warfare are normalized and internalized by eliminating or recuperating any manifestation of resistance towards them. Recuperation by channelling resistance into political channels such as non-profits, citizen complaints, electoral campaigns, compromises. Elimination by repression such as arrests, tear gas, and shootings.

But in the last few months, resistance has been as clear as day. From New York, where people angered over Eric Garner's death have shut down traffic all over Manhattan, including the Brooklyn Bridge, to Ferguson, where they burned down dozens of buildings and police cars after the grand jury decided not to indict Darren Wilson. Here in the Bay Area, people took the streets for nearly every night for over two weeks, looting corporate stores, destroying police vehicles, shutting down several highways, all while defending themselves against police attacks. It is not isolated to these cities either, similar actions have taken place all over the country.

Police are not only delegitimized through others actions though. With such a high-profile rebellion, they

must reveal their true nature, even if briefly, in an attempt to eliminate it. This is why the NYPD union declares themselves a war-time police department. This is why the Police Officer Associations of SFPD, OPD and SJPD here in the Bay Area announced that upholding the first amendment and protecting their officers were two conflicting interests. While risking a temporary escalation by



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places we've seen chefs berate prep cooks for "not speaking English correctly," small organic farmers complain that their Latino farm workers are "lazy because they hang out with their family and community too much," and a group of immigrant women workers be falsely accused of stealing and subsequently fired. Multiply these encounters thousands of times and you get an idea of the nature of local business in the Bay Area.

Additionally, wage theft among immigrant workers is occurring on a drastic scale. Wage theft in California costs workers an estimated \$390 million a year, and it largely affects those in smaller independent businesses, as these employers more frequently operate "under the table" and pay people in cash. Furthermore, workers who try to reclaim these wages by filing complaints with the state only recover roughly 17 cents on the dollar, as businesses have developed a variety of tricks to avoid payment.

As white workers, we realize that there is a huge difference in how we experience working in these places. Racial segregation, hierarchies, and exploitation of immigrants prop up these businesses, so it's important for us to find creative ways to work in solidarity with our coworkers, both in our workplaces and in the streets. Although we too labor under highly exploitative conditions, we must admit the relatively superior position we are in, in terms of the jobs/wages that are accessible to us, and the fluidity with which we can change employers.

SMALL BUSINESS, THE POLICE, AND DISPLACEMENT

Most of the vandalism during recent actions happened in rapidly gentrifying areas where long-term Oakland residents, working class people and people of color are being displaced and upscale restaurants, craft coffee shops and other small businesses are moving in.

These new businesses cater almost exclusively to people with money, both in their aesthetics and in the price of their products. Low wage workers are not the intended market for \$12 craft cocktails, \$40 dinners and \$3 cups of coffee that take 20 minutes to make, even if we can splurge on a night out once in a while. Whole blocks of Uptown are overrun by fancy bars that cater to a gentrifying, privileged class that defines food and drinks by how rare, artisanal and "exotic" they are. In other words, they are marketed exclusively for those with money.

More importantly, as these small businesses move into neighborhoods that have long been populated by working-class people of color, they make demands of the city to protect their investments. This usually means beefing up police presence in neighborhoods targeted for development. As former Oakland Police Chief Anthony Batts said back in 2010,

"I believe police departments are economic drivers. If you have bad stories coming out about crime or bad policing, investors are not going to come to a city. So in an industrial age city that is built much like Oakland has been an industrial age power house, it has to redo itself, it has to re-engineer itself with a different economy, and in order for that to happen you have to have a lot of investment, whether its federal funds or from private investors to come. Nobody's going to invest in a city when you have a high crime rate so you have to drop that."

When combined with the suspicion of white neighbors, this increased policing in certain areas can have deadly consequences, as we saw with the police murder of unarmed Alex Nieto in San Francisco in 2014.

Small businesses also collaborate with the city to receive

lucrative tax breaks, which line the pockets of business owners and developers, even as those same developers loot the wealth that our communities create through our labor and drive up housing costs. For example, \$50 million was invested to renovate the Old Oakland neighborhood, now populated mostly by upscale bars and restaurants which receive a variety of tax breaks and other subsidies from local, state and federal programs. How often do we see these same establishments using their resources, social capital, or political connections to contribute to community struggles for justice? In times of low protest activity, businesses often work actively against the communities they are located in. In a January 2013 "community forum" held at Homeroom, a mac and cheese restaurant in North Oakland, mostly white residents talked about "cracking down on crime" in the neighborhood — a far cry from addressing the displacement of long-term residents. But during the current upsurge in popular anger, small business owners are coming out loudly in the media to assert that they support the fight for racial equality, but as they like to claim, rioting is just distracting from the message. As the executive chef of the wine bar mentioned above said after his windows were smashed: "I understand what you are protesting—what happened to [Eric Garner and Mike Brown] was wrong—but what's happening to us, that's fucked up."

In actuality, this class of small business owners can only survive through the employment of cheap labor, largely provided to them by undocumented immigrants and young people, criminalization of communities of color, and state intervention. They are not upset because rioting "distracts from the message," they never cared about the message in the first place. In fact, they are scared because those things which allows them to generate their wealth are finally being called into question and lots of people are listening.

AN INJUSTICE ANYWHERE

We cannot create exceptions or excuses for exploitation and injustice. As workers in the local service industry, it makes no difference to us whether our boss is a local resident who only owns one or two restaurants, or whether he's a billionaire CEO living in a mansion. The mere fact that the businesses we work for are built on the exploitation of our labor, racial hierarchies, state violence, and displacement of whole communities, makes them perfectly justifiable outlets for our anger and our movement organizing. We are not just talking about vandalism, but about a broader orientation that rejects the sanctity of small business and re-affirms a strategy based in dismantling white supremacy, police violence and the exploitation of labor.

While we know that merely forcing these businesses out of town would not lead to a more just situation for workers or residents, we also can't envision a democratic community alongside any space that caters to wealthy, mostly white people and survives through the exploitation of workers and preferential treatment from the state. When the riots inevitably die down, what can we do to continue to express our discontent?

Merely criticizing or vandalizing these upscale businesses will probably not bring us justice. We also need to organize amongst our coworkers, demand better conditions, form pockets of organized workers and take direct action, both in the streets and on the job. Joining our often-segregated workforces together with a strategy rooted in direct action, which at times will include mass rebellion, has the makings of a powerful movement. We've seen how much we can do in the streets in a short amount of time — shutting down multiple major routes of transportation for two weeks in a row is no small feat— imagine what

2014: A Year In The Streets

From the blockading of Google buses to the shutting down of major freeways, from riots against white supremacy and police in Oakland to anti-tech and gentrification battles in San Francisco, 2014 was an explosive year. Battles erupted in a variety of places and around various issues: against surveillance, against the eviction of squats and homeless camps, against Israeli attacks on Gaza at the Port of Oakland, and in workplaces and neighborhoods across the region. While the bay changed for the worse, thousands were evicted and displaced, the cost of living and rent soared, poverty, deportations, and cuts to basic services grew, and police across the region continued to go on the offensive, killing and brutalizing many; people fought back in new and heroic ways.

The struggle over gentrification heated up on both sides of the bay area. In San Francisco and Oakland, people blocked tech shuttles, protested outside of the homes of Google employees and technicians, held mass marches, and demonstrated outside of the homes of landlords in San Francisco. In Oakland, people marched and organized against the West Oakland Specific Plan (WOSP), which would provide easy access for businesses to come and further gentrify the area. People continued to fight against the eviction of the Albany Bulb, using a variety of tactics from campouts, to blockades, to marches. Throughout the year, people also carried out direct actions against condo buildings, gentrifying businesses, and development offices. This increased anger showed itself most strongly in the riots following the World Series win by the Giants, as everything from condos to Google buses were attacked. Closing out the year in December, people destroyed fences along San Pablo that had been erected to keep out the homeless in Oakland.

In the spring people took to the streets, disrupted Oakland city council meetings, and attacked surveillance cameras and rallied against a plan by the city to install a "Domain Awareness Center." This center would be used to monitor protests and social movements as well as monitor the entire city. The plug was partially pulled however and the city decided to keep the project relegated to the Port of Oakland.

People packed the courts in support of the Trayvon 2; young men who were arrested during the riots that flooded the streets of Oakland when Trayon Martin's killer was let free. All of the charges were ultimately dropped, and support flooded in from a variety of communities and political groups.

Strikes and labor actions happened across the bay. UAW workers at UC campuses went on strike, facing down police and large arrests. MUNI drivers staged a large sickout for several days, shutting down much of the system in San Francisco. SF ironworkers building condos also carried out a wildcat strike; against poverty wages and across racial lines. Oakland recycling workers successfully won a strike, and in SF, taxi, Uber, and Lyft drivers carried out various protests and actions. Workers at fast food restaurants continued to push for higher wages through strikes, shutdowns of

streets, and protests, and workers at Whole Foods with the anti-capitalist union the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) staged work actions and won higher wages.

At UC Berkeley, students occupied the campus and in SF, students fought with police against the proposed closure of City College. Later in the year UC Berkeley was again occupied against tuition raises, as high school students walked out and self-organized protests while the Ferguson rebellions spread across the region.

In the summer, actions at the Port of Oakland showed the power of disruptive action as thousands stopped the shipment of Israeli goods to protest the bombing of Gaza, forcing the company to leave the area as ILWU workers refused to unload the shipments under such heavy police presence.

Solidarity actions were carried out with a variety of struggles, from those in Kobane fighting ISIS to Mexican comrades struggling against State repression. Starting in August, people began taking to the streets along with comrades and rebel fighters in Ferguson, MO. While the actions in Oakland are detailed in the timeline adjacent to this article, many more actions took place. From shutting down Urban Shield in Oakland, to riots in Salinas, freeway blockades in Santa Rosa, protests in Vallejo, and marches in San Francisco against the murder of Alex Nieto and O'Shaine Evans. The California Highway Patrol also murdered numerous people in the wake of high speed chases, as police in Oakland, Richmond, and SF also added to the body count. This only added fuel to the fire, as people took to the streets in late November, December, and January - blocking freeways, looting stores, fighting police, and holding the streets for hours.

2014 was a historically explosive year. Riots raged, ports were blocked, workers walked off the job, free-ways were shut down, stores were looted, homes were squatted, and people took to the night in acts of destruction against systems of domination. The elites attacked poor and working people at all possible angles. Through cuts and the privatization of public housing, the massive buy-up and consolidation of foreclosed properties into fewer and fewer hands, in cuts to social programs such as food stamps, the closure of schools, raising of tuition, the move towards charters, and in attacks on wages, working conditions, and benefits. For more and more people the line is already drawn.

Against the backdrop of nihilism and despair that makes up the daily reality of modern life, people found joy in discovering the group and the individual in these rebellious constellations. That's why when people shut down trains and freeways, when they blocked the ports, when they broke through the windows of Smart and Final screaming, "This is for Oscar!" when they attacked police cars - there were smiles on everyone's faces. People found a common joy in attacking this world of misery and alienation; in shutting it down and making everything stop.

2014 was about people finding their power and the confidence to attack and refuse within that power. It was about the awakening of a generation of people told over and over again that they had no future. And while perhaps for now the riots have receded, we hope that this spirit carries itself back with you, dear reader. Into your workplace, into your groups of friends, into your neighborhoods, into your schools - everywhere.

SINCE THE LAST ISSUE

December 3: A New York grand jury fails to indict any officers in the choking death of Eric Garner. Crowds block Market Street in San Francisco. In Oakland, a march weaves through downtown; riot police prevent it from reaching OPD headquarters. Instead, participants march through the wealthy Piedmont neighborhood.

December 4: Another march weaves through Downtown Oakland, eventually heading east towards the Fruitvale district, where there is a showdown with Oakland police and a mass arrest. In San Francisco, a die-in blocks Market Street for a second night.

December 5: Hundreds march through downtown Oakland, holding a noise demo in front of the jail to support those arrested during the revolt. The crowd moves on to take over the 880 freeway before being pushed off by police. Next, the march surrounds the West Oakland BART station and destroys the gates protecting the riot police inside. The station is shut down for an hour before the march moves back downtown, where property destruction, clashes with police, and arrests occur.

December 6: A march originating near UC Berkeley campus eventually clashes with Berkeley police near their headquarters and proceeds to loot multiple stores, including a Trader Joe's and Radio Shack. The crowds grow as many students take to the streets. In response, police departments from across the region pour into central Berkeley, firing dozens of rounds of tear gas and physically attacking demonstrators and bystanders, inflicting serious injuries.

December 7: On Sunday night, another march starts in Berkeley and moves into North Oakland, clashing with police, destroying multiple California Highway Patrol (CHP) cruisers, and taking over Highway 24. CHP officers use tear gas and rubber bullets to push back the crowd. People respond with rocks and fireworks, then march back into downtown Berkeley, destroying bank façades and ATMs. They attack cell phone and electronics stores, culminating with the looting of Whole Foods. The night ends with hundreds of people gathering around bonfires in the middle of Telegraph,

popping bottles of expropriated Prosecco. Police are afraid to engage the crowd, but some participants are snatched in targeted arrests.

December 8: The third march from Berkeley is by far the largest. Over 2000 people take over Interstate 80, stopping all traffic for two hours, while another segment of the demonstration blocks the train tracks parallel to the freeway. The crowd attempts to march on the Bay Bridge but is pushed back into Emeryville where over 250 people are mass arrested.

December 9: The fourth march from Berkeley sets out once again down Telegraph Avenue into Oakland and shuts down another section of Highway 24 and the MacArthur BART station. Increasingly violent clashes ensue with CHP officers in full riot gear, who open fire with rubber bullets and beanbag rounds, causing numerous injuries and ultimately pushing the crowd off the freeway. The march then looped through downtown Oakland and made its way into Emeryville, where a Pak N Save grocery store was looted along with a CVS pharmacy and a 7 Eleven. The night ended with another round of arrests, scattering the crowd.

December 10: Hundreds of Berkeley High School students stage a walkout and rally at city hall. A smaller fifth march from Berkeley makes its way into Oakland where a T-Mobile store is looted and other corporate stores are attacked. People point out and attack undercover CHP officers in the crowd, who pull guns on the crowd as they make an arrest.

December 13: Thousands march through downtown as part of the nationwide "Millions March" protest against white supremacy. After nightfall, another march departs from 14th & Broadway and temporarily blocks the Webster Tunnel. A dispersal order is issued after a Whole Foods grocery store is attacked, but the march carries out several more attacks before being split up and kettled by police.

December 15: Protesters blockade the Police Administration Building in downtown for over four hours by locking themselves to the doors. Later that day, students from several high schools stage a walkout and rallied at Fruitvale BART station in East Oakland.

December 19: A sign on the 580 freeway that memorialized the four officers killed by Lovelle Mixon is torn down and vandalized.

December 20: People gather at St Andrews Plaza in West Oakland to remove the fence erected around the park just days before. St Andrews has been designated by the city and non-profits for renovation, which many residents, including homeless that sleep at the park, fear will bring more gentrification. Afterwards, they remove the fence at another park at the intersection of San Pablo Ave and Martin Luther King Jr Way.

