

# FULL SPECTRUM RESISTANCE



Quick  
Reference  
Guide

**ARIC McBAY**

**SEVEN STORIES PRESS**  
New York • Oakland • London

**Resistance movements are more alike than they are different.** From the Montgomery Bus Boycott to anti-colonial insurgencies, all movements need to develop critical capacities like recruitment, intelligence, and strategy.

In *Full Spectrum Resistance*, I show how resistance movements form and organize in practical terms. I explore why we need resistance movements, what makes them effective, and how they win.

This guide can be used both before and after reading the *Full Spectrum Resistance* book. This guide will be a handy tool whether you just want to get a better sense of what the book is all about, or after you read the book to refresh your memory and find key sections for reference during a campaign.



*Look for this icon to find  
**checklists and practical sections**  
on particular resistance tasks or skills.*

# Full Spectrum Resistance Chapters

## Volume 1



1. Why We Fight



2. Fighting to Win



3. Full Spectrum Resistance



4. Recruitment & Training



5. Groups & Organization



6. Security & Safety

## Volume 2



7. Communications



8. Intelligence & Recon



9. Counterintelligence & Repression



10. Logistics & Fundraising



11. Actions & Tactics



12. Campaigns & Strategy



# 1. Why We Fight

*Why do we need resistance movements?*

**In a nutshell:** An introduction to the entire book and its purpose: we live in a world beset by serious crises of justice and ecology, but the traditional left and progressive movements have been whittled down to a few ineffective tactics; we need a resistance movement if we want to achieve any lasting justice and to save our planet.

---

## **Excerpt:**

I WROTE THIS BOOK BECAUSE WE ARE LOSING. The global exploitation of the poor is accelerating even as the rich grow wealthier than at any point in history. The fertile planet that keeps us all alive is being poisoned, baked, and stripped bare. Remaining Indigenous and traditional people continue to be attacked and pushed off their lands so that the rich can exploit resources that will be exhausted in a few decades anyway. We are losing and we need to learn how to win, fast.

I've been a social and ecological justice activist for two decades. In that time, I've worked on waste reduction and recycling projects, organized with anti-poverty community groups, and marched (or sat in jail) at summit protests. I've helped start a ... *[read the rest]*

---

*You can read the full first chapter right now at*  
**FullSpectrumResistance.org.**



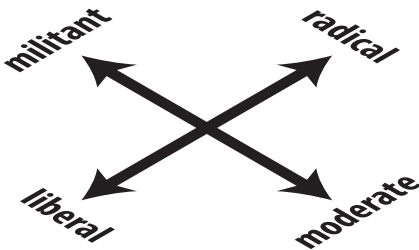
## 2. Fighting to Win

*How do movements fight when they want to win, and what holds us back?*

**In a nutshell:** Much of the left has forgotten, mythologized, or sanitized social movements of the past and does not understand how those struggles were actually won; movements win by developing political force, by developing cultures of resistance, and by taking action.

**Chapter Sections**

Elaho Valley .....	35
Victory and Defeat .....	44
The Iron Law of Involution .....	50
The Liberal Class .....	53
The Myth of Pacifist Persuasion .....	56
The Deacons for Defense .....	65
<b>Cultures of Resistance .....</b>	<b>77</b>



*Militants and moderates,  
liberals and radicals, p. 41*



**Culture of  
Resistance**  
*(p. 77)*



# 3. Full Spectrum Resistance

*What shared factors make movements effective?*

**In a nutshell:** Those in power rule by divide and conquer; resistance movements can win by building shared understanding and solidarity, and by using a diversity of tactics and approaches to build powerful movements that can use disruption and militancy.

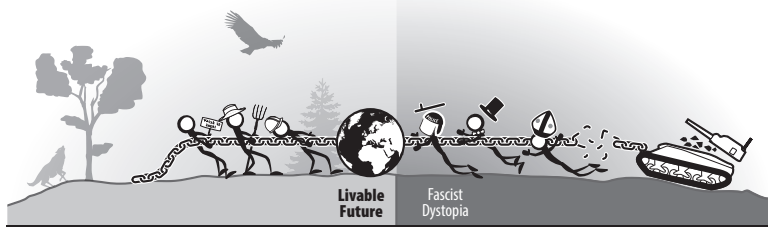
**Chapter Sections**

Wimmin’s Fire Brigade .....	81
The Overton Window and Radical Flanking .....	84
Diversity of Tactics .....	98
Disruption and Poor People’s Movements .....	108
Movement Building .....	112
A Tug-of-war .....	124
<b>Practicalities of Full Spectrum Resistance .....</b>	<b>127</b>



**Figure 3-7: Solidarity and Cooperation**

*Tug of War, p. 124*





# 4. Recruitment & Training

*How and why do people join movements, and how can we encourage them?*

**In a nutshell:** Resistance movements are made out of people; to win they must constantly recruit new people, while strengthening communities of resistance and developing the skills of existing members.

**Chapter Sections**

Coalition for a Free South Africa .....	137
The Making of a Radical .....	140
<b>Effective Recruitment</b> .....	153
The Freedom Summer .....	165
The PAIGC and Amílcar Cabral .....	167
<b>Train &amp; Retain</b> .....	173



**Attainable Objective**  
*(p. 140)*



**Radical Triad**  
*(p. 143)*



**Radicalizing Trajectory**  
*(p. 153)*



**Biographical Availability**  
*(p. 151)*



**Bandwagon Effect**  
*(p. 159)*



**Engagement Circles**  
*(p. 157)*



**Community / Strong Ties**  
*(p. 162)*



**Train & Retain**  
*(p. 173)*



**Shared Culture**  
*(p. 175)*



**Polarization**  
*(p. 181)*



# 5. Groups & Organization

*How do groups form and organize themselves to be as effective as possible?*

**In a nutshell:** There is no one right way to organize, but a group's structure must match their strategy; the most effective movements aren't militant *or* well-organized, but are militant *and* organized.

Chapter Sections

Stonewall .....	187
Institutionalizing the Riot .....	190
The Tyranny of Structurelessness .....	194
Organizational Tensions .....	197
1. Small vs. Big .....	201
2. Decentralized vs. Centralized .....	205
3. Informal vs. Formal .....	211
4. Consensus vs. Hierarchy .....	221
5. Open vs. Clandestine .....	226
6. Moderate vs. Militant .....	230
Other organizational factors .....	233
Organizational Snapshots .....	235
ACT UP .....	241







# 6. Security & Safety

*What rules and practices do groups use to stay secure, to protect themselves, and to limit infiltration and destructive people?*

**In a nutshell:** Resistance movements are a threat to power and must consciously protect themselves from external repression and infiltration; they also have to keep their members safe from internally damaging or disruptive people; history shows us many tools for accomplishing this, and also demonstrates what happens when we fail to use those tools properly.

## Chapter Sections

Brandon Darby .....	245	
<b>Tools for Security .....</b>	<b>248</b>	
The African National Congress .....	261	
The Black Panther Party .....	272	
The Weather Underground .....	277	
Security and the Green Scare .....	282	
<b>Safety and Difficult People .....</b>	<b>293</b>	

Tools for Security, p. 248



Firewalls



Security Culture



Low Profile



Careful Comm.



Screening



Compartmentalization



Operational Security



Active Counterintel



Safety & Care



Safety in Numbers



# 7. Communications

*How do people and groups communicate and stay connected so that they can spread their message, coordinate with allies, and navigate their relationship with the mass media?*

**In a nutshell:** Resistance groups which can't communicate effectively might as well not exist; the mass media can distort our movements in predictable ways; there are many options for effective communication both aboveground and underground.

Chapter Sections

Greek Television Takeover .....	353	
<b>Resistance and the Mass Media</b> .....	<b>357</b>	◀
<b>Communication for Radicals</b> .....	<b>369</b>	◀
Practical Outreach and the Media .....	381	
Lusseyran & Défense de la France .....	390	
<b>How Underground Groups Communicate</b> .....	<b>397</b>	◀

*Communications methods, p. 386.*



Emotional Impact



Informative



Friendly Framing



Audience Size



Timeliness



Resource Cost



Community Building



# 8. Intelligence & Recon

*How do organizations gather the intelligence and information they need to make smart decisions and understand their adversary's weak points?*

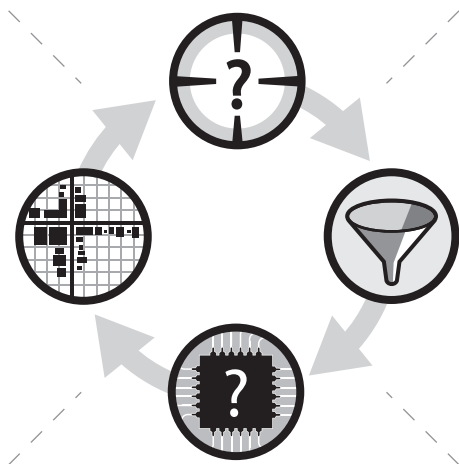
**In a nutshell:** Good intelligence allows small groups with few resources to defeat larger opponents; resistance movements have specific intelligence needs and ample sources for good information.

**Chapter Sections**

IRA & Bloody Sunday .....	405	
The Intelligence Cycle .....	409	
Direction and Goals .....	414	
<b>Collection and Intelligence Sources .....</b>	<b>415</b>	
Analyzing Intelligence .....	428	
<b>Intelligence Packaging and Products .....</b>	<b>430</b>	
The Man Who Volunteered for Auschwitz .....	435	



**Intelligence Cycle**  
(p. 409)





# 9. Counterintel & Repression

*How do resistance movements hamper their opponent’s attempts to gather information about them, and how they cope with attacks on their movement through secret disruption or overt repression?*

**In a nutshell:** Every effective movement will face repression—often concealed—and if we understand that repression we can withstand or counter it.

Chapter Sections

Citizens’ Commission to Investigate the FBI ..... 439



1. Surveillance ..... 445



2. Psychological Warfare and Propaganda ... 447



3. Infiltration and Informers ..... 451



4. The Legal System ..... 465



5. Illegal Violence ..... 468



6. Martial Law and Population Control ..... 473



7. Selective Concessions and Co-optation ... 476



# 10. Fundraising & Logistics

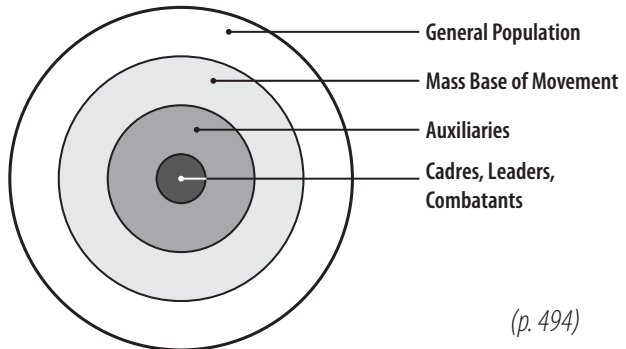
*How do groups raise money, how do they support themselves, and how do they organize the fundamental logistics that underpin any long-term struggle?*

**In a nutshell:** “Amateurs study strategy, professionals study logistics”; we must ensure our movements are adequately supplied and funded if our tactics and strategy are to accomplish anything; some movements ignore logistics in favour of flashy action and suffer the consequences.

## Chapter Sections

Vietnamese Logistics .....	483
The Nonprofit Industrial Complex .....	489
<b>Funding Resistance Groups .....</b>	<b>494</b> 
The Blockade of the Thorscape .....	510
Logistics for Revolutionaries .....	512

Figure 10-1: Resistance movement parts as concentric circles



(p. 494)



**Fundraising Pyramid** (p. 495)



# 11. Actions & Tactics

*How do movements take effective action and choose tactics?*

**In a nutshell:** Action is the ultimate purpose of a resistance movement; effective action requires the supporting capacities described in previous chapters, combined with good strategy, planning, and target selection.

Chapter Sections

Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty .....	527	
<b>Strategic and Tactical Principles .....</b>	<b>530</b>	
Operation Bite Back .....	553	
<b>Planning an Action .....</b>	<b>555</b>	
Peasant Resistance Tactics .....	559	
The North-West Rebellion .....	561	



**Clear Objective**  
(p. 531)



**Offensive / Initiative**  
(p. 537)



**Concentration**  
(p. 539)



**Mobility / Flexibility**  
(p. 542)



**Coordination**  
(p. 545)



**Surprise**  
(p. 546)



**Simplicity**  
(p. 547)



**Careful Planning**  
(p. 548)



**Decentralized Execution**  
(p. 549)



**Short Duration Action**  
(p. 550)



**Multiple Actions**  
(p. 551)



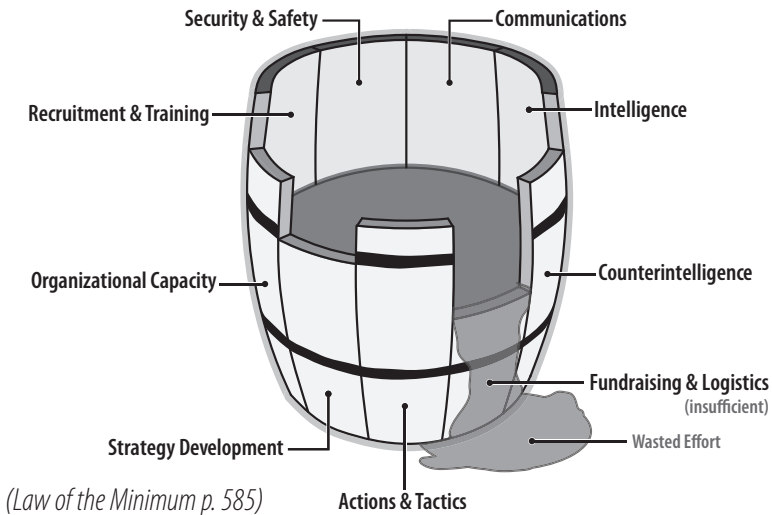
# 12. Campaigns & Strategy

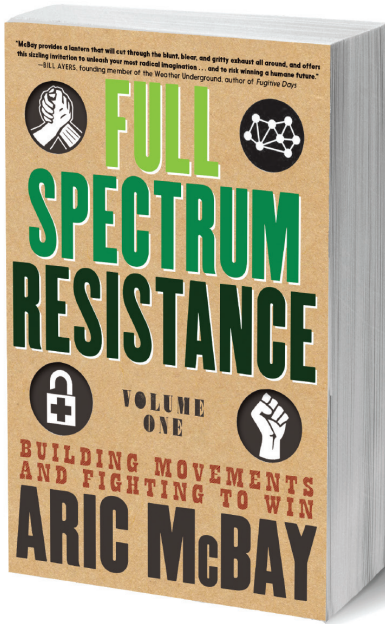
*What principles guide successful strategy and allow movements to integrate the different capacities in this book?*

**In a nutshell:** Strategy is how movements use what they have to get what they want; to succeed they must build winning campaigns, find allies, develop capacity, and learn how to devise and improvise strategy.

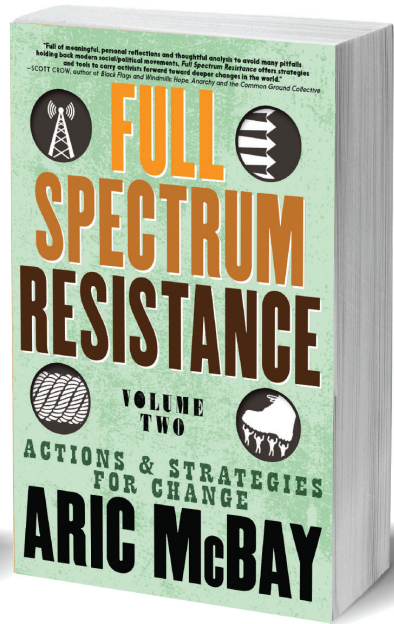
## Chapter Sections

Site 41 .....	579	
Anatomy of a Campaign .....	583	
Strategic Trajectories .....	585	
American Temperance Movements .....	592	
Mid-Nineteenth-Century Chinese Rebellions ....	598	
<b>Alliances and Coalitions .....</b>	<b>611</b>	📋
Strategic Capacity and the UFW .....	616	
<b>Devising Strategy .....</b>	<b>629</b>	📋





Vol. 1



Vol. 2

Get the book,  
find resources,  
and learn more at

[FullSpectrumResistance.org](https://FullSpectrumResistance.org)