

## STANDING ROCK INTERVIEW

*The persecution and imprisonment of land defenders at Standing Rock continues to this day. This interview provides some background for this struggle and updates about how to support the prisoners.*

### What is Standing Rock and what led to people's incarceration?

Standing Rock is the Hunkpapa and Yankton Lakota sovereign Nation's reservation in North Dakota, where Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) planned to illegally construct an oil pipeline underneath the Missouri River (Oahe) water supply of the Standing Rock rez, destroying sacred ancestral and burial sites. The NoDAPL resistance camps began in the spring of 2016 and by summer was in solidarity with over 700 indigenous tribes, and allies. On Oct. 27, 2016, when 1851 Treaty Camp gained increasing numbers of Water Protectors on highway 1806 to block the pathway of the the pipeline, multiple states sent militarized police to illegally raid our camp. The temporary fires that were built as barricades on HW 1806 and the 134 bridge to stop the influx of police resulted in political imprisonment for five Water Protectors: James 'Angry Bird' White, Michael 'Rattler' Markus, Michael 'Little Feather' Giron, and Dion Ortiz. RedFawn Fallis received charges from the raid due to being targeted by an FBI informant. Only RedFawn and Little Feather were arrested during the raid. Most federal charges were given early winter of 2017.

### Standing Rock seemed rooted in indigenous networks and land-based struggle; how did that influence people's approach to struggle and repression?

*Rattler:* It was something that has been part of my people since before the guy we found lost at sea...Decolonization for me takes place when I learn that my people are not just savages, so when I get back to my roots and learn to protect the people even the ones without a voice, like the 4-legged and winged and many others, I learn that we are all related and try to treat everyone like we are family.

*Olive:* It's undeniable to me that this is a continuum of 500+ years of colonization and displacement of sovereign indigenous Nations. The country was founded on literal PRISON CAMPS now called reservations; active resistance to genocide has always resulted in imprisonment and death of indigenous people; ecocide is a facet of genocide, with the "USA" being formed by desecrat-

ing ancestral sites and destroying the ecosystem for resource extraction in part to wipe out native Nations. Now, some indigenous people not only live on reservations (prison camps) but are incarcerated in federal/state prisons for demanding their sovereignty, ceremonies, and ancestral sites, but ANY indigenous person in lock up has ancestral trauma regarding imprisonment that other prisoners do not. Active resistance to the continuum of genocide and state sanctioned violence resulted in political imprisonment of my family, who are all Native people. Corporate impunity has become state sanctioned violence in and of itself, continuing to destroy land and water to further the state's agenda of resource extraction. It influenced our struggle because we knew ancestors were with us, prayer could be proactive resistance (not mere sentiment), and traditional knowledge of Native Nations knew it was a continuum of resistance to settler colonialism.

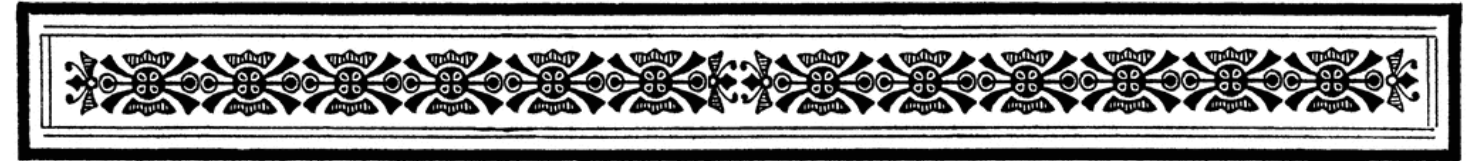
### Can you talk about overlaps between prison abolition, decolonization, and indigenous perspectives on conflict resolution?

*Rattler:* Conflict resolution is way different to Native people because before we were colonized, if we had a problem we found that it is our honor, not pride, that makes us who we are. I am trying to live my life so that my ancestors will be proud of me...These people (government) have no compassion for other human beings. They like to brag that the justice system has a 98% conviction rate. But what they don't tell you is that 97% of them convictions are plea bargains. We feel FORCED to take the non-cooperating deal because as in my case I was looking at minimum of 15 years, and the judge already made it clear that he was not going to give any of us Water Protectors a fair trial. I signed my papers under duress, because no one was physically holding a gun to my head, but they were threatening to take away 15 years of my life for exercising my 1st ammendment right to peaceful protest. But the government calls people like us that value life over money "terrorists." "

*Olive:* My family in lock up actively has to endure Bureau of Prison's (BOP) conditioning of institutionalization, toxic race politics, and ancestral trauma surrounding the criminalization of indigenous people. Even Native ceremonies in prison are treated as a "security risk" by the prisons. The fact Water Protectors are held as political prisoners gives them the chance to help others in lock up see the bigger picture of incarceration attempting to make people pawns, collateral damage, or direct targets of the state. In many parts of the NoDAPL camps, we worked as Akicita and Ikce Wicasa, adhering as much as we could to tradition-

*Continued on page 10*

# ANATHEMA



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## NEW TRENDS IN ANTI-DEVELOPMENT

For around half a decade, a lot of anti-gentrification struggle took the form of targeted vandalism; developers, new businesses, luxury housing, private security, and construction sites have all seen their share of shattered glass and spattered paint. While this vandalism continues, today in Philadelphia new occurrences of anti-gentrification activity are diversifying the struggle. West Philadelphia specifically has seen a recent uptick in people contesting how developers and the wealthy use space.

Clarkville and Local 44, two restaurants on the  
*Continued on page 2*

## ANTI-SOCIAL ANARCHISM OR LIFESTYLE ANARCHISM

When to be "social" is interchangeable with a social movement—that is following the leadership or customs of the crowd—it was only inevitable that we would become anti-social. In fact, we could claim that this anti-social attitude is what kept us going when the social movements receded, giving us a point of reference outside of them as they pulled back. Lately though, we have had the urge to break out of our isolation, to make new friends, rediscover subculture, and be more social. But we don't need to return to the social movements-in-retreat to be "social."

*Continued on page 4*

## TERRORIST OR FREEDOM FIGHTER?

The disparate associations known as Antifa should hardly be categorized as terrorists. They've never been on that level – certainly not in this country – and could hardly be categorized as a group at all. Some Texan douchebag may have introduced legislation to criminalize "antifa" and designate them as terrorists, but their defenders are also wrong to take up a narrative that justifies non-violent self-defense and dissent.

We've seen it before – attempts to criminalize certain types of protest or political association, particularly of those on or associated with the left.

*Continued on page 3*

## (DIS) CONTENTS

**ANTI-DEVELOPMENT (1)**  
**TERRORIST OR FREEDOM (1)**  
**ANTI-SOCIAL LIFESTYLE (1)**  
**WHAT WENT DOWN (2)**  
**PROPERTY DESTRUCTION IS NOT ENOUGH (6)**  
**VAUGHN 17 BIRTHDAYS (7)**  
**WORLD NEWS (7)**  
**SOLIDARITY WITH "EL TRIPA" (9)**  
**NAZI SCUM GOT RUN (10)**  
**STANDING ROCK INTERVIEW (12)**



## WHAT WENT DOWN

July 24 - PPD officers kill Bryant “BJ” Henry in Olney Transportation Center. Bryant Henry was chased into the station where he fled down the tracks, police then tased him, causing him to fall into the third rail and die from electrocution. Police destroyed the phone of a nearby woman who had recorded the killing.

July 25 - Owner of OCF Realty Ori Feibush has bricks thrown through the windows and paint splashed on the walls of his home in Point Breeze. “enjoy your luncheon, Ori xoxo (A)” Feibush said there have been “42 major incidents” of vandalism at his properties over the past year.

July - At least 11 prisoners at SCI Fayette go on hunger strike to protest abuses they experienced while in solitary confinement.

July 31 - Protestors demonstrate against gentrification outside The Irvine, an expensive new apartment building on 52nd St in West Philly, while it holds a “Grand Opening” party.

August 3 - Protesters counter-demonstrate against a “Patriot Pride” march in Center City.

August 5 - “Last night an OCF car tire got slashed.”

August 14 - Narcotics officers find themselves in a gun fight after serving a warrant to the wrong house in North Philly, an hours long stand off ensues. Six officers are shot, none are seriously injured. A crowd of bystanders insults and harasses the police during the shootout and stand off.

August 18 - 27 prisoners at SCI Houtzdale go on hunger strike to push back against abuse by guards and the prison taking away their access to filing grievances and seeking legal recourse.

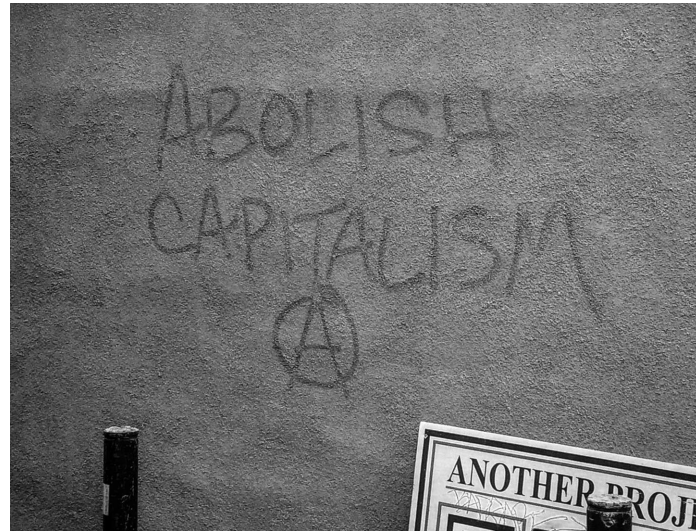
August - Posters are put up in solidarity with anarchist prisoners around the world.

August 25 - An Xfinity store in South Philly was looted by a small group of youth who smashed out a glass door.

September 2 - Prisoners at George W. Hill prison in Delaware County rioted; two housing units refused to lock in, and from there began harassing and preparing to fight the guards, and disobeying orders from staff.

The riot was put down by an anti-riot police unit shooting inmates with pepper balls. George W. Hill prison is a privately owned, for-profit prison run by Geo Group. The prison population recently suffered from a couple non-fatal ODs and an apparent suicide.

September 7 - Around 65 people participated in Philly ABC’s Running Down the Walls, sharing food and literature and raising money for political prisoners. ★



### ANTI-DEVELOPMENT CONTINUED

fancier side of things, were temporarily closed down over allegations of homophobia and racism. The firing of a black worker caused many workers to quit and picket silently on Baltimore Ave. Not having anyone working for the boss is a great way to put a stick in the wheels of business as usual. Clarkville had already been targeted by vandals multiple times for its role in gentrification, and the discourse around the establishment’s racism and homophobia carries a tinge of anti-gentrification sentiment.

The Irvine, the formerly vacant Apple Storage building being converted to luxury housing, saw opposition during its grand opening. A protest organized by the Philadelphia Tenant’s Union made noise outside the building.

People’s Park, formerly Squirrel Hill Falls, is another new sign of resistance to the notion of private property. Locked and empty for years, People’s Park is now open to everyone who would like a space to sit, perform, or just exist without having to pay for something, thanks to some courage and a pair of bolt cutters. The reclamation of space in the neighborhood in an open and confrontational way is an interesting step in the struggle to take back from those who would lock or price out those they don’t feel deserve to be around.

has to be an act of willingness, not sentiment.

**What were prevailing sentiments at Standing Rock around repression, criminalized actions, and the relation of the struggle to the state? How did tensions play out between different attitudes about these things?**

*Rattler:* Sometimes the tension that happened in the camp was because of not being able to stand up for their right to clean water. When everyone was not doing [actions during winter] that anger that was in them tended to come out towards other people at camp, and it was not good for morale. Like so many of our treaties the money people see nothing but profits for themselves and they pay the government to look the other way as they do what they want. Be building a damn to flood our lands to putting a pipeline in thru our water way. just like the Dakota access pipeline, they didn’t want to put the people of Bismarck and Mandan in harms way. our people have been fighting this kind of oppression since we signed their treaties. and the only ones that break the treaties is the government. The youth wanted it peaceful and prayerful. there were other societies that honored their desire and held our place in a peaceful way [in camp]. i think that is what scared the feds the most, that we can remain calm in the face of bodily harm. Being a vet myself and a Sundancer, my responsibility is the the people, not to some government hack. Many vets showed up to take us to the drill pad and at the last minute we were pulled away by disagreements in camp. Will veterans stand up again? I don’t know. But if they’re our allies I would hope that they will continue to keep their oath.

*Olive:* At times it was frustrating, because a prevailing question was “Is property damage violence?” I can never accept it as violence; the violence was the construction of the pipeline that desecrated sacred sites, burial sites, water ways, trafficking from the pipeline workers’ man camps, violent arrests and inhumane jails, enforced by militarized police, armed mercenaries, and federal infiltration. Property damage is so broad, it’s naive to assume it means firebombing or harming people or anything reactionary, but picking and choosing battles for the sake of safety and longevity of the camps made us rely more heavily on nonviolent direct action through lockdowns, soft blockades and occupation of construction sites, which was very successful in many ways. I honestly believe some people were more prepared to die as a result of stopping pipeline construction than they were to do serious time behind bars, when anyone that protects the needs of Land, Water, and People must realize the inevitable criminalization

we must endure to be effective, and they must realize this BEFORE engaging in this kind of struggle so they aren’t in over their heads. Court and prison are their own frontline fight.

**How can people on the outside support those who are still incarcerated?**

We are part of the NoDAPL Federal Prisoner Support Committee made up of imprisoned Water Protectors, our families, and some of our legal aids. Writing letters to defy the state’s attempt of silencing those in lock up and on probation, offering donations for their prison commissary and financial aid under federal surveillance on probation, wearing their shirts or pins to spread awareness, and offering the Support Committee outreach to share our stories of what the state has done to us is all necessary advocacy. The battle against DAPL has continued in prison and court. Official website: [www.nodaplpoliticalprisoners.org](http://www.nodaplpoliticalprisoners.org)

Rattler:  
Michael Markus 06280-073  
FCI Sandstone  
Federal Correctional Institution  
PO Box 1000  
Sandstone, MN 55072

RedFawn Fallis 16358-059  
Federal Correctional Institution  
5701 8th St.  
Dublin, CA 94568

James ‘Angry Bird’ White  
PO Box 755  
Ft. Yates, ND 58538

Little Feather is on probation in North Dakota.  
Little Feather  
Michael Giron  
Center Inc.  
100 6th Ave. SE  
Mandan, ND 58554

Dion Ortiz is currently in a halfway house awaiting transition to probation. His family is waiting to release public mailing info. ★





## NAZI SCUM GOT RUN

Word has it a local nazi just got fired from his top secret clearance job down at the Philly Navy Yard. His social media name goes by “John Mosby” but his real identity is as a member of the neo-fascist-nazi white supremacist group Vanguard America. He was with Alex Fields in Charlottesville before the despicable attack where he murdered Heather Heyer and attempted to kill countless other anti-fascist protestors. “John” boy hasn’t quit his bigoted ways either, trying to recruit coworkers and pal-ing around with Atlantic City Skinheads terrorizing every non-white, non-cishet man they encounter.

Laughably, he thinks the deep state is behind it. Oh, you nazis and your conspiracies. Don’t you think maybe people passed word onto some coworkers or your bosses? This is Philly after all, people here doxx nazis on the regular and throw their statues into the Schuylkill, you aren’t exactly popular around these parts. But sure, go ahead with your silly little thoughts that the state isn’t totally on your team (LOL).

Poor, pathetic “John”. I’m sure your buds in ACS will hook you up with a gig selling meth and filing serial numbers off their shotguns any day now. Hey - while your out that way why not throw yourself into the fucking ocean and swim east. ★



## STANDING ROCK CONTINUED

al Lakota roles/responsibilities so we could have our own accountability process among Water Protectors, while some acted as first responders to support Water Protectors engaging in nonviolent direct action, or as scouts to gather intel against DAPL mercenaries working for the pipeline. It’s decolonizing by having an alternative to police and colonial law through traditional knowledge such as Akicita. This also meant we had to work in solidarity with other Native people’s traditional knowledge, with several councils before decisions were made, acknowledging we don’t need hierarchy to have structure but have councils and clear commitments/roles through whatever skill sets we had to offer. The fact Little Feather, Rattler, and Angry Bird worked as Akicita and received federal charges is not a coincidence.

**Spirituality and prayer seemed to play a big role in this struggle — can you tell us about that? Has that been relevant to how people have dealt with their incarceration?**

*Rattler:* When I was at Standing Rock, I ran many inipis (Lakota sweatlodge) for people. It was and is a major part of this revolution. I carried that prayer in here (prison). At camp it was a healing camp, and that healing has never stopped. I brought that healing to the people that need it (in prison). I didn’t leave it out there in the camp.”

Olive: The NoDAPL camps had ceremony from countless nations of Native people all day everyday, as well as actively becoming part of strategies involving non-violent direct action to stop construction of DAPL. We would literally be arrested in camp for engaging in ceremony, while historically Native ceremonies were blatantly outlawed in the “USA” until 1978. As a Sundancer (Wi Wanyang Wacipi), we give flesh offerings for the Land and People. I always felt nonviolent direct action was another flesh offering, and our prayers at Sundance ceremony along with so many other ceremonies from so many nations of people over the years is partly why the NoDAPL camps ever formed. I feel incarceration is another type of flesh offering, as flesh is being industrialized by the state. But Rattler, who also Sundances, always tells me that “Sundancers make sacrifices for the People; that’s why we’ve been asked to do this. I’m honored to be in prison for what I’ve done.” Even though he’s in lock up, he fasts four days just as we do for Sundance every year, no food or water, and has even had BOP risk retaliation for daring to pray in lock up on his own terms. The point is that true prayer

Ori Feibush, the notorious owner of OCF Realty told mainstream media that “42 major incidents” of vandalism against his properties took place over the last year. So far there have been no arrests, let alone convictions, for any of these. Ori’s own home had its windows smashed and paint throw at it in late July.

This mix of protest and vandalism has the potential to refresh and further a struggle against those who want to control and gentrify the neighborhoods we live in. How can people struggling against the gentrifiers in different ways avoid condemning and selling each other out? This is worth asking because, unfortunately, it’s happened before; in Point Breeze, activists marching against OCF Realty’s gentrification condemned a vandal who broke the windows of an OCF cafe and encouraged police to investigate the incident. Instead, we can imagine how protest and aboveground organizing can exist alongside and even compliment vandalism and underground efforts. We can ask ourselves what subversive and liberatory experiments we can try in the spaces we are able to take back from gentrification and capital.

We know that fighting gentrification to the end will inevitably bring us into conflict with the bosses, racists, and homophobes who benefit from it. Gentrification is just one more aspect of the social war, and when confronted at the root the enemy is always those who would dominate others. What would it mean to struggle against gentrification goes beyond demanding lower rent and more space for the exploited? Can we confront gentrification in a way that also attacks the society that creates it? ★

## TERRORIST CONTINUED

Multiple immigration acts in the early 20th century lead to the deportation of anarchists and radicals, culminating in the first Red Scare and then the blacklisting of various professionals during the second red scare (increasingly focused on communists). This was followed by the Green Scare in the early 2000s, which criminalized certain kinds of environmental and animal rights protests through such legislation as the Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act (AETA), and which finalized punitive punishments through terrorist enhancements that elongated the sentences of many Earth Liberation Front (ELF) activists/arsonists.

Today’s american anti-fascists are not bombing and assassinating like the anarchists the state sought to deport 100 years ago, nor are they even committing property damage on the level of the ELF. But many an an-

tifa associate has committed violence against far-right opponents, both fascist and not. Certainly the state betrays its proclivities in focusing on such anti-fascists over, say, literal fascists who are actually murdering people fairly regularly. But that is the prerogative of the state – this and so many other nation-states have always been settler-colonial white-supremacists to their very core.

*“No government in the world fights Fascism to the death. When the bourgeoisie sees power slipping from its grasp, it has recourse to Fascism to maintain itself. The liberal government of Spain could have rendered Fascist elements powerless long ago. Instead it temporized and compromised and dallied.”*

– Durruti speaking against moderate measures on July 24, 1936, in revolutionary Spain

It is certainly true that violence visited on any of those oppressive institutions that attempt to govern our realities (and their adherents) can be framed as self-defense, as they violently exert themselves upon us each and every day, but it will primarily fall on deaf ears. Such a defense not only requires the admittance of such institutions’ continued existence, but also that their existence is reprehensible – and therefore admitting the possibility that the very existence of the United States was, is, and always will be reprehensible. “Stand your ground” laws can provide exceptions in legalizing violence going up the hierarchy (oppressed against oppressor), but only in those moments when an attacker is coming right for you and you can prove you had done nothing wrong in a court of law – yes, the same courts that are themselves governed by those oppressive institutions.

The attempt to paint a picture of criminalized dissent also misses the mark. Part of this lies in the miscategorization of antifa as a protest group (primarily in the form of a bloc) and mutual aid organization that became popular since the 2016 election among their very supporters. The sole goal of any antifa crew, as implied by their name, can and should be to crush fascism – which requires more than the difference of opinion implied by “dissent.” The outcome of this could be seen as mutual aid in that it can remove proponents of violent oppression from our streets, but that is more of a side effect, unlike a direct sharing of resources.

The irony here is that to actually win such a war we would have to abolish states in their entirety. In this way it’s not surprising that there is so much crossover between anarchism and antifascism, but the irony re



mains in that anarchist notions are inherently alegal and therefore often operate outside the confines of law. Even other anarchists have tried to dismiss the more immediatist and insurrectionary among us as illegalist, but that is their own failing to recognize that as “anarchists, from the moment we begin to assume ourselves as such...we are locating ourselves outside the law.”

This sentiment, expressed by Mexican comrade Gustavo Rodriguez, goes further by saying that “from the moment we appeal to legality we are denying anarchism.”

As such, this tendency to focus on our legal defense before legislatures and courts could rightfully be termed a distraction from anarchist action. It may be a useful distraction in potentially keeping us out of prison – but too often the public defenses focus on watering down our positions to make us seem — and often contribute to the larger tendency being — less of a threat. There are ways around this, but as the fallout among J20 defendants illustrates, it is all-too-common to adhere to the farcical concept of innocence.

As an aside, we might recognize that there are Communists and other authoritarians that act out anti-fascism too, but history has shown their pogroms and gulags to fall short of our vision of liberation. There was even, reportedly, significant opposition among the “leftcoms” within the current Industrial Workers of the World about supporting J20 defendants and forming a General Defense Committee along anti-fascist lines. Some of that may have come from a valid criticism of the misguided “antifa as protest group” being called “liberal” by one part of that opposition; but as the IWW at large disavowed Marius Mason during his trial, and just last year a local chapter apologized for calling out the AFSCME for organizing prison guards so the Wobblies could once more attend a march in Wisconsin, this sort of inconsistency-for-the-sake-of-appearances among its membership might not be that surprising.

Ultimately, if fascism is the threat we make it out to be, it will require a great deal more violence from us to render it and its state null.

*“Use every means possible. Do not wait for the end of this speech, leave your houses, burn, destroy, crush fascism.”*

– Garcia Oliver July 23, 1936 (Aragon, Spain) ★



**ANTI-SOCIAL OR LIFESTYLE CONT.**

We need to remember our choices aren’t between anti-social and social anarchism. We don’t need to look to the social anarchists for a model for socializing; it should be obvious that the long meetings and drudgery (“doing the work”) that pass for social with them are actually its antithesis. But in our haste to get away, we ceded the ground of the social to their terms, neglecting the ways of life we were already practicing. Our social world has always been living together or near each other, making (and of course breaking) things together, and just finding ways to be together. Like, fuck their Party (or Org or whatever they call it now), we already have parties. We realize now we could have more of them, and shared dinners, and shows where we listen to friends rather than leaders or celebrities. After, we can write things, read each other’s writing, or even have another reading group. We have time or we will make time, make food, make rent, do what it takes to, as much as possible, get each other out of work—to hang out, to travel, or just wander until we know each and every backstreet we will need to know to escape, ambush or outmaneuver our enemies.

It would be absurd to say as anarchists that we gave up the practice of socializing, even though we are trying to destroy its alienated form: society. We socialize even as we identify and attack the miniature society in our midst by “destroying the scene.” The scene is an excuse to privilege unity over action, against our desires, protecting the subcultural community at the expense of our freedom. But, at some point, we forgot about the alternative to social anarchism—namely, we forgot the primordial opposition of “lifestyle anarchism” and “social anarchism.”

It’s easy to forget that what went under the name of lifestyle anarchism offered an alternative social life to

ing that Willem’s actions were not a one-off occurrence – and that the dousing of police with water, and resistance to their macing of a celebration in Brooklyn, are acts of a similar caliber. Certainly, the recent riot at a Manhattan prison should be counted too. And when one of Philadelphia’s own defended a home while police raided it, shooting six of them, we’re told that this is a sign that should also give us hope.

When we read the heart-wrenching headline that “indigenous people in Brazil swear to fight for Amazon to last drop of blood,” we should recognize the intertwining of our struggles too. Our liberation is wrapped up together; our destruction is tied together. So long as the sprawl of civilization continues, regardless of possibly well-intentioned green initiatives, it requires such colonizations and forest fires to expand agriculture and other extractive industries that can’t be hosted in the cities that require them. This is the reality that indigenous peoples across the Americas have long faced at an unprecedented genocidal pace. This is the logic of economic growth that not only prevents our freedom, but threatens all of our very lives.

It is worth remembering that we are not alone when we act in concert with our comrades – whatever the distance, regardless of borders. International solidarity (i.e. acting in kind against common enemies made more palpable by a globalized economy) broadens and deepens the dimensions of our struggle. The list of actions (albeit incomplete) is dizzying when taken in all at once, but in reminding us of how many targets are available to us, we should realize how easy it can be to begin. ★

**Solidaridad  
MARIO LÓPEZ  
"El Tripa"**



SECUESTRADO POR EL ESTADO MEXICANO EL DIA 2 DE SEPTIEMBRE DE 2019

**¡NI CULPABLES NI INOCENTES!**



¡ABAJO LOS MUROS DE TODAS  
LAS PRISIONES!

¡FUEGO AL ESTADO!

¡LIBERTAD TOTAL!

[solidaridadmariolopez.noblogs.org](http://solidaridadmariolopez.noblogs.org)

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Mario “El Tripa” Lopez has been imprisoned, isolated, and kept incommunicado by the Mexican State since September 2nd. His supporters believe this to be a persecution that has focused on people like him since 2012, after an increase in insurrectionary and guerrilla activity by anarchists there — particularly after he was injured carrying an explosive device around that time and discovered by the police. ★





Telekom vehicles, and elsewhere an antenna, were torched in solidarity with the Park Bench 3 in Germany. A wave of arson attacks in memory of murdered Mapuche (indigenous to so-called Chile) fighter Lemuel Fernández Toledo. Comrades erected flaming barricades, again in Chile, in protest and in memory of anarchist Carlo Giuliani who was shot dead by police on July 20, 2001, during the anti-G8 protests in Genoa, Italy.

But, as the *CARI-PGG* of Mexico said in 2010, the very appearance of a cop is a provocation. Certainly, they would agree the very existence of this civilization is as well. So when a vehicle of multinational Oil and Gas company Eni is torched in Genoa, Italy; an incendiary attack against a Prosegur Security company vehicle in Buenos Aires, Argentina; responsibility is taken for a parcel-bomb that was sent to the former minister of the Chilean interior and Major Manuel Guzmán in Santiago; another explosion occurred in Santiago, Chile at a police station in the Huechuraba neighborhood; there's an announcement of a new anarchist guerilla force (*FAI/IRF* affiliated) in Chile that took part in armed attacks against paramilitary law enforcement there; and a timber vehicle is burned in Sweden; it is not hard to imagine why it must come to this.

Much as *Bratach Dubh* editions chronicled armed actions by groups whose politics they opposed, for the sake of edification during the particularly volatile 1970s in Italy, we share the work of a communist and revolutionary socialist alliance group seeking to overthrow the government of Turkey. *HBDH* Guerillas attacked luxury yachts in Istanbul and Izmir, Turkey (ironically, following an article and many memes speaking in mockery of how woke today's wealthy yacht-owners are). Then again in Izmir, they attacked two factories that supply the Turkish armed forces, destroying containers in the storage areas. There was also an armed attack against the Amed, Turkey police headquarters by Martyr Hogir Amed Vengeance Unit.

Hong Kong protesters continue to advance and reintroduce protest tactics in their uprising against the state – from dousing tear gas pucks in water in order to extinguish them, to using powerful lasers (primarily only available in China) to blind cops and their cameras. The mix of participants, from pro-democracy initiatives to anarchists, is often inherent in any mass upheaval. But the more conflictual reports continue to grab our attention as participants fight cops, de-arrest comrades, and destroy facial recognition cameras.

Protesters in Papua New Guinea have similarly come

out in mass after a racist raid and imprisonment of Papuan students by colonial Indonesian forces. What began as opposition to the student detentions has resulted in the torching of many buildings and cars, including a parliamentary/town hall, and the liberation of more than 250 prisoners during a mass breakout. From a distance, the struggle there is now reminiscent of many other revolutionary decolonial struggles.

After police in Mexico City raped two teenage girls, mass feminist demonstrations erupted. A metrobus station was attacked. Then a police station was set afire and firefighters were prevented from attending to the flames by the concentrated mass.

The International Week of Solidarity with Anarchist Prisoners is sure to have elicited more ferocious acts of solidarity, but in the meantime we'll just touch on some prisoner updates. Eric King may have had a stroke after the state subjected him to many transfers, isolation, and other stresses, and is facing up to 20 more years in Colorado for previously defending himself. The health of imprisoned Italian anarchist comrade Alfredo Cospito has also been in question, with reports of a ruptured gallbladder followed by a spreading cyst affecting his pancreas, while he also faces new convictions. Political prisoner Sepideh Gholian has been on hunger strike in Iran. More comrades in Italy are facing repression in various police operations, accused of mailing package bombs, injuring a cop when a bomb exploded outside a fascist book store, and in one case, for simply being a foreigner. Revolutionary prisoner of war Tom Manning died in an American prison.

Anarchist comrades Christos and Gerasimos Tsakalos were released from a Greek Prison. In a Spanish detention center for migrants, a revolt occurred that created the opportunity for 20 prisoners to escape in early August; the latest reports say that 13 remain free. Mid month, three escaped from a migrant detention center in France, two of whom remain free – police report that this is the seventh escape this year. Other revolts at similar detention centers in Italy were shared during a gathering outside a detention center in Rome in late July.

An *AMW* commentator reminds us that after an upsurge in white supremacist activity domestically, independent of (though influenced by) the US Government, there are notable acts of resistance not so far away. We all know of Willem Van Spronsen's sacrifice outside the ICE facility in Tacoma, but the commentator tells us that the person who fired upon the ICE facility in San Antonio, Texas did so exactly one month later – insist

social anarchism. When Murray Bookchin identified the differences between social and lifestyle anarchism, his intent was to attack lifestylists, a perspective that many adopted. He accused lifestylists of having nothing to offer because he wanted to monopolize social life for a normative social movement. These days, what Bookchin was advocating would look a lot like the “normie socialism” found in the DSA or Philly Socialists. Remember that Philly Socialist “cool kids vs organizers” meme from a year ago? The one that emphasized organizers fitting in, being approachable, and compromising in order to beguile the “workers” into joining them? Remember how it contrasted these good organizers with “cool kids” being weird, having unusual hair, or, Lenin forbid, excluding anyone? Well, if Bookchin could meme, the organizer would be called social anarchist and the “cool kid” a lifestylist.

The fact that Bookchin called for his version of respectable socialism in the name of anarchist revolution is only further proof that revolution, in some hands, can be a form of repression. In Bookchin's hands, lifestyle anarchism became a catchall for any activity that seemed too weird or outside the direct goals of respectable organizing. Lifestyle anarchism was not a specific subculture, like punk, but a diverse array of anarchist practices—diverse by default because it named anything not adhering to social norms. Although Bookchin intended to cast any and all deviance into an identifiable mold to better discard it, he inadvertently created a flexible category to describe an anarchist sociality that evolves through its revolt against norms.

Lifestyle anarchism, at its best, is a way for us to live together as we struggle for what we want. Of course, we can conceivably focus all of our energy on attack until capitalism and the State crumble, but it seems more likely that anarchists will find ways to live and survive together in the intervals between attacks. We can learn from lifestyle anarchists by looking at their projects and practices that connect anarchists and nourish rebellion. In Philly, you can go to one of three Food Not Bombs (or all three), the gardens in vacant lots irregularly cropping up, and a bevy of unnamed/less public mutual aid networks to get some of the things you need. There are a growing number of anarchist projects/events: zine distros (like Here & Now), get-togethers like monthly dinners (or anti-social socials), movie nights under bridges or in homes, and more public gatherings (open hours at A-space, anarchist assemblies). Beyond what other anarchists are already doing, the lifestylist DIY ethos still provides a better model for “getting involved” than any formal organization. We know this. The problem

with lifestyle anarchism isn't that we don't know these things— it's that it all seems too banal to consider. As a result, the word “lifestyle” can seem adolescent, overly recuperated, or outdated.

But the name is not the problem. Once we accept that a form of sociality is inevitable, we can probably call it whatever we want, lifestylism or just living. And, despite the misleading title of this article, it is not a choice between anti-social and lifestylist since they can co-exist (sometimes lifestylist, always anti-social). Lifestyle anarchism is just a name for sociality that is informal, non-normative, and flexible. The problem is how to keep it that way and prevent our social worlds from becoming hierarchical, normative, or stagnant. We can learn from the lifestylists here too and their shortcomings. We still need to figure out how to make our social worlds inclusive to people that we want involved, people who are left out for the wrong reasons, such as their gender or racial identity or age. We need a social life that is resistant to social hierarchies and cooptation. In the past, lifestylists left themselves vulnerable to cooptation by confusing rebellion with (now obsolete) notions of what is “shocking” or mistaking “prefigurative” cultural production for struggling for freedom. Past lifestylists learned the hard way that it is far too easy for our social lives to be popularized and recuperated as trends for Capital and used against us.

This accounting of problems is not necessary because these are novel ideas but, again, precisely because they are ordinary. Now that we have gained some distance from the spectacle of Leftist movements, we are at a juncture where once again it seems necessary to consider mundane problems. They are mundane because they are the problems of how to live our everyday lives. In our daily lives, the objective of lifestylism is still limited: lifestylism will not revolutionize our life; if anything, it makes our everyday life bearable by bringing us together, connecting us to resources, and the experiences we need to continue our revolt. What else is worth living for? ★





PROPERTY DESTRUCTION IS NOT ENOUGH

After Ori Feibush’s house was vandalized in late July, conversations sparked again in Philly about whether the attack constituted violence and whether it was justified. Feibush — the widely-hated founder of OCF Realty, who for many years has been shamelessly spearheading the gentrification of Point Breeze — has few defenders, which presents the opportunity for one of the better dialogues communicating why targeted property destruction might be happening and why it might be effective.

The conversation about this latest OCF vandalism — in which most people commenting online reacted positively to the news — was heartening. It suggested that something has qualitatively changed in how people are understanding property destruction and why it makes sense. In the long battle over this topic in this country, which from my vantage point has been raging since Occupy Wall Street, perhaps we have finally gained some ground.

But if we’re gaining ground in one battle, it’s probably because we’re quietly losing in another, more important one. If we’re finally winning the conversation about property destruction, maybe it’s partly because it is no longer as relevant.

Before the Trump era — especially during the Clinton and Bush years, when the world seemed to have reached a global consensus that capitalism and the nation state were awesome — property destruction was especially dangerous to power in that it disturbed the social peace, serving as a reminder that things were not in fact awesome at all. As Trump took hold of the state, grassroots white supremacists also gained power, and anti-authoritarian struggles became focused on countering their presence in the streets. This has made discussions of physical violence relevant again for the first time in decades. Yet given the opportunities this has presented for us to put forth various ideas about violence, it seems like we’ve accomplished disappointingly little regarding this important topic.

Instead, we’ve arguably lost some ground by ceding the conversation to “self-defense” justifications of physical violence and by discussing violence almost exclusively with regard to people whom internet leftists like to call “Actual Nazis.” It is not a radical position to think punching a Nazi is okay, and it is not a victory that after much internet discussion we’ve gotten many people to take up this non-radical position. While conversations about why and how we’ve fighting white supremacists are important, the exclusive focus on discussing violence

against grassroots racists is conveniently derailing us from talking about what kind of violence might be necessary and appropriate against the people who are actually in power.

Today power is in a state of crisis that I have not seen before in my lifetime. Global capitalism is in search of a lifeline it may not find; the climate is already spiraling out of human control, with genocidal consequences. We have a president who is unprecedentedly unpopular with at least half of the population, which in turn reflects the increasing polarization of the country between left and right as capitalism and the state increasingly fail us all. As things become more extreme, this means we and other people who lean anti-authoritarian will be up against racist militias, who are often military-trained and organized to respond to crisis scenarios. Right now it’s hard to imagine our side winning such fights, and we need to talk about how to do more to move towards not being immediately crushed by white supremacists in a crisis or collapse scenario.

And what about the kind of violence, death, and destruction that will likely happen in the course of liberation? It seems like many people genuinely think that radical electoral politics will gradually move us closer to revolutionary transformation. Others — maybe some of the same people — believe that mass social movements will develop to such an extent that physical violence will be negligible in the revolution they will eventually produce. These outcomes seem highly unlikely, if only because the state seems willing to do almost anything rather than lose power. But those of us who want to get rid of the state — and all kinds of power over others — rarely discuss, whether ethically or practically, how we imagine dealing with the kind of violence that will be necessary for an insurrection or revolution to spread or succeed.

It is especially rare that this conversation leaves the realm of ethics and enters into practicalities. Anarchist attempts to take up physical violence against power have a long history, including in this country — from assassinating presidents to shooting up corporate bosses. What can we learn from the strategies and tactics of the past? And what about other people who get caught in the crossfire of insurrectionary violence? Avoiding such conversations about violence in order to appeal to liberals and leftists isn’t doing us any favors — it just adds to the impression that many of us do not really want to deal with the problems involved with enacting violence.

As anti-authoritarians, we often get stuck in dialogues

with others that keep us stuck in a limited, reactive mode — for example, all the conversations in which we are asked to defend our vast and unrealistic critiques of the system. How can we be more intentional about what we want to be talking about and what ideas we want to be spreading? Let’s not be afraid to challenge the questions themselves and change the terms of the conversation — which, like everything else, tend to be presented in ways that are convenient for power.

Let’s also consider what we’re capable of and what we can each contribute to stopping this system of power — or at least parts of it — before its genocidal effects make these hypothetical questions about violence posed to anarchists completely irrelevant. Some of us might focus on attack; some of us might focus on developing skills and infrastructure that will keep each other safer and healthier as attack succeeds and/or the system we’re fighting deteriorates. Let’s point our skills and passions towards liberation.

Responses to any of the questions or ideas brought up in this opinion piece are welcome! write to [anathemaphl@riseup.net](mailto:anathemaphl@riseup.net) ★

WORLD NEWS

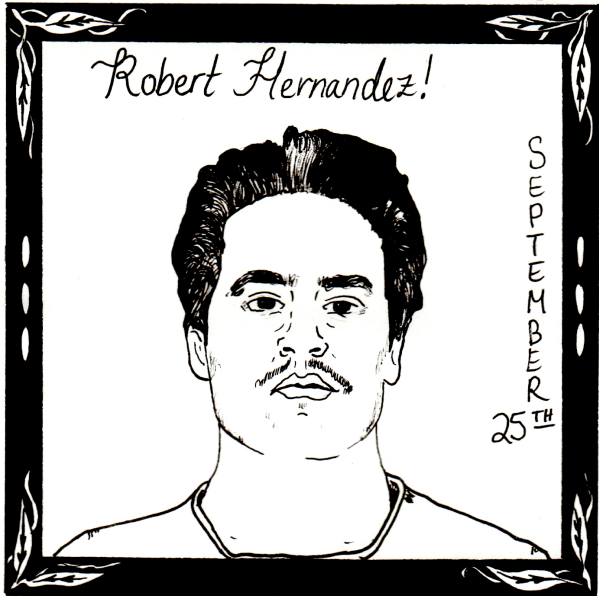
Since our last issue came out, I felt that familiar, simultaneous exhilaration and pang of distance as it seems like so much is happening elsewhere. To some degree the limits of what is achieved at home are self-imposed, of course, and a familiar cure for the uninspired commonalities of the civility found here can be found in such reports from elsewhere — which is why we share them.

Some of these acts were clear responses. Heavy clashes were reported in Athens, Greece over several days when the cop who murdered Alexis in December 2008 was released from prison. Similarly, there were four consecutive nights of violent clashes in Bahrain in late July after two activists were executed by the Khalifa regime.

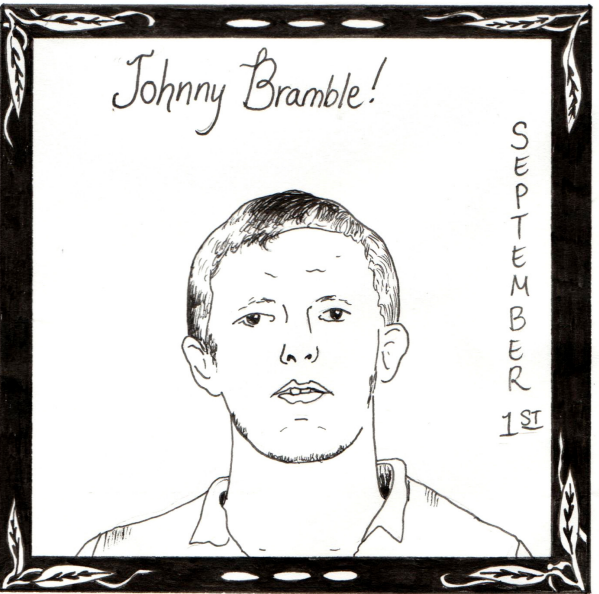
Back in Greece, the autonomous neighborhood of Exarcheia has come under attack from the newly established government there, as they try to evict the anarchist and migrant squats that so characterize the neighborhood. Calls for solidarity abound as several squats have already been evicted, but fiery resistance to their rule continues on — including ambushing riot cops from two sides with a barrage of molotov cocktails.

Solidarity  
WITH THE  
VAUGHN 17

HAPPY BIRTHDAY



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