HUNGER STRIKES: REFORMIST OR ABOLITIONIST?

Submission in collaboration with members of the Vaughn 17

This summer saw a large number of prisoner hunger strikes locally and across the world. While hunger strikes in many cases are merely peaceful protests that ask authorities for what we want, rather than making those changes ourselves, the wide range of aims and contexts of the ones we’ve seen recently has us asking questions about the potential of this tactic. In what ways might hunger strikes move us towards the physical destruction of prisons, instead of just their improvement?

Hunger strikes are a form of resistance that are usually used by, but not limited to, activists, prisoners, revolutionaries and insurrectionists alike, usually to peacefully push back against some kind of oppressive state or system and/or to stand in solidarity with other oppressed people. Hunger strikes typically make demands concerning particular conditions in a specific prison. The recent hunger strike at SCI Phoenix in Pennsylvania, in which the authors of this article participated from the inside and outside, was an example of this. The strikers sought to expose the new “program” in which they’d been placed at SCI Phoenix. The prison claimed it was a step-down program, but in reality it was just another solitary confinement unit that was intended in part to retaliate against individuals who had taken physical action against the prison system.

When coordinated more widely, hunger strikes can also make demands about policies across a state prison system, as prisoners in California did successfully in 2013. Palestinian prisoner Ghadanfar Abu Atwan recently went on a 64-day hunger strike that contested his imprisonment itself. The strike was successful in that Israel released him when he was at risk of complete organ failure. In a one-day hunger strike in Canada on July 1st, the national holiday, prisoners in seven different facilities fasted in solidarity with First Nations children killed at Canada’s residential schools. Many of the people involved with the strike were themselves survivors or otherwise impacted by these schools.

The limit of the hunger strike is that we’re not going to destroy a branch of this system peacefully. Among the peaceful tactics available to us, moreover, hunger strikes are limited in that they don’t significantly affect the prison economy. This is a business, so work stoppages and commissary boycotts are more viable methods to employ, as well as going after companies and individuals who benefit financially from this industry.

The end agenda will not be accomplished by a hunger strike, but a hunger strike can aid in the agenda. Hunger strikes give their participants experience with working with each other and against the police. In our case, it also brought up productive debates about whether we need prisons and what we can do to get rid of or reform them. Through all

WHAT WENT DOWN

June 9 - CROH Lehigh Valley identify Matthew Robert Guse and Gregory Anthony Cristiano, two neo-Nazis who attended a neo-Nazi meetup in Bucks County late last summer.

June 11-13 - The second annual Philly skill-share convergence takes place, hosting workshops, discussions, and a movie screening.

June 16 - MOVE member Consuewella Africa passes away.

July 4 - After a ten day hunger strike prisoners (including some of the Vaughn 17) at SCI Phoenix receive some concessions from the PADOC. Concessions included showers, phone calls, and the release of some prisoners from restricted release.

July 4 - Patriot Front, a white supremacist group, march unannounced through Center City and Old City. Passersby harass and attacked the marchers, chasing them back to their trucks.

July 9 - Windows are broken and anti-fascist graffiti is written on a home in reaction to Patriot Front’s flash march the previous week. There are opposing claims as to whether Patriot Front member Jackson Bradley lives in the house that was attacked.

July 27 - ACT UP protesters are attacked and two arrested by police while protesting housing insecurity and evictions outside Mayor Kenney’s house. A police officer’s finger broke during the attack.

August 6 - Amazon signs a lease for the former General Electric plant at 6901 Elmwood Avenue in Southwest Philadelphia, the fifth location in the area set to become one of its “last mile” delivery warehouses. Construction is expected to begin this summer and finish by August 2022.

“This Corona virus is just a first wave – a harbinger of things to come. We know there are all kinds of underlying conditions in this society – existential threats – before this Corona virus came. And now that it’s here it’s revealing a lot of that. I think that’s a good thing. This modern way we live is so taxing on life – it’s not “sustainable,” as they say. When you understand that all of life is related, nothing is irredeemable, bad thing become good. What we thought was good is revealed as bad. So we’re seeing the way of life that we have – international travel, freedom of movement – is a really harmful thing to the environment, to other human beings, and when we see how quickly Mother Earth heals without so much air traffic and vehicle traffic, that gives me a lot of hope. It may not seem like there’s not anything to be grateful for anymore, with all these existential threats looming. But life is still beautiful, life is still wonderful. We’re here to live it, to learn to love it. It’s not against us, it’s not out to get us. Life is very loving, compassionate, caring...”

Wanbli Máyašleča, Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe
this, we move a little closer towards the abandonment of prisons and their world. Strikes also demonstrate the power of collective action as the strongest method with which we can move towards destroying prisons.

While they don’t necessarily take on the prison economy itself, hunger strikes do show that prisoners can collectively disrupt the daily operations of a system. Once an imbalance affects the natural order of a thing, it no longer performs at its highest proficiency. This specific action burdens the administration, overpowers the medical staff and ties up the guards. There are policies in place after nine consecutive meals missed; central office must be notified, prisoners have to be constantly observed and their vitals taken every day. After 24 meals, the prison is required to get a court order to begin force feeding. At this stage the prisoners will have a chance to air their grievances to a judge. Sometimes negotiators will intervene on the prison’s behalf.

Force feedings consist of the guards dressing in riot gear and escorting the prisoner to the infirmary or triage for every meal. All movement ceases while this process is being conducted.

One of the most important aspects of a hunger strike is the looming threat of something tragic happening. Prisons don’t want the type of attention that leads to independent review by outside investigators. Therefore the administration will be more inclined to put pressure on their personnel to rectify the situation. The chances are less than likely that a hunger strike will dismantle the prison industrial complex, but it will always provoke questions regarding the circumstances and conditions under which the action was taken.

Hunger striking as a prisoner presents obstacles that the average person may not face and that may not be apparent to people on the outside. These institutions systematically brainwash the people into believing they’re powerless and defenseless over their circumstances and captors. This in turn makes a very large portion of the prison population dependent on their captors, so when they see someone or people taking a stand against what they’ve become dependent on, they view it as a negative or even as an attack against themselves. So they do what anyone would do when they feel threatened or in danger, and that’s fight back.

In most cases they just fight back by trying to sabotage the strike in one way or another, but there are times when one could become a target of both the prisoners and the captors. This is another problem and risk that we face when standing against this system. Prisoners are used, through manipulation and dependence, to maintain control and power.

The most common obstacle we face as prisoners when hunger striking comes from the many levels of the Department of Corrections administration. Whether it’s at the top or the bottom, every level partakes in some way whenever someone or a group of people show resistance towards the functioning of these institutions. Despite what policy says, it’s actually pretty normal for someone to actively be striking for a good 3-4 days before the DOC even acknowledges it as a strike. So by the time they’ve acknowledged that there’s an active strike, that person has gone days without eating.

This speaks volumes to the state of mind and dedication of the striker/strikers. We as prisoners not only have to come to grips with the reality that what we’re doing by hunger striking could have real long-term negative effects on our bodies, but we also have to come to grips with the reality that our captors would love nothing more than for something like that to happen, and that a lot of them would even go the extra mile to ensure that it happens.

That’s why its so important that when we on the inside take a stand, we have the support from our comrades on the outside. Without that push, the Department of Corrections will do their best to ignore the situation as long as possible, regardless of the risks or dangers. Unfortunately, though, sabotage is not the only obstacle we face; retaliation is something that the Department of Corrections is very familiar with. Just like how the Europeans perfected colonization, the Department of Corrections perfected retaliation, and since the good old US of A’s constitution says that we’re legally their property, there’s not much they can’t do and get away with.

In our opinion, supporting hunger strikes from the outside can be part of moving towards the abandonment of prisons (rather than their reform) in a few different ways. One is when the people being supported are people who have already engaged in physical resistance against prisons. This type of prisoner support includes trying to get jailed insurgents better conditions (like getting out of solitary confinement) and helping defend against other forms of retaliation. This often means playing the game to a certain extent — for example, organizing call-ins or demos in solidarity with a hunger strike — but doesn’t need to include lobbying politicians or watering down our ideas.

If people try physical struggle against oppression and all they get is retaliation and repression, then that teaches them (and everyone else around them) that daring to act gets you nothing. If, instead, we support insurgents when they face state repression, it shows everyone that they will be supported if they take action. In that way it encourages more people to take physical action against the system, using other methods that have more potential to lead to its total destruction.

Outside of that, the vision of the world we reimagine has to be promoted and spread to the point it becomes a demand, not just by isolated pockets of people but the vast majority. Most people have to witness a working model of a thing (or at least know of its previous existence) to consider it fathomable. The U.S. strategically keeps other possibilities for how we could live out of sight and away from minds. Blinding the masses with fear is their mechanism to discourage thoughts of a world without prisons. We’re trying to get people to imagine a completely different way of life, one
where conflict and harm are handled by the people affected by it. How can we disseminate visions of a new way to the imagination of the people, against this current of counter-intelligence?

**CHILEAN MODELS**

The economic system of neoliberalism was born in Chile. Former dictator Pinochet appointed many of Milton Friedman’s students (the “Chicago Boys”) into top advisory positions after his U.S.-backed coup d’etat on September 11, 1973. Despite stepping down from power in the 90’s, many of the oppressive institutions his administration established remain, including the military-drafted constitution.

Students, feminists, anarchists, the indigenous Mapuche, and many others have maintained intense waves of conflict with the Chilean state. A huge wave began again under the banner of the student-led fare-evasion movement in 2019, before its scope of critique expanded to the whole of society. Much of the transit infrastructure was torched, along with the offices of a major Italian energy corporation, and several Walmarts (after their looting). An ever-chilling protest chant, condemning of patriarchal institutions and its culture of rape, became popularized at this time under the title, “Un Violador en Tu Camino (A Rapist in Your Path).” The COP 25 climate summit was summarily canceled, and later rescheduled for Spain – the first time a high-level international meeting had been shut down since the 1999 WTO meeting in Seattle.

The pandemic halted much of the revolt for a time, but it resurfaced with a vengeance – going so far as to burn down churches immediately upon its return in 2020. The commonality of struggles against capital, the state, patriarchy, and the notoriously patriarchal and colonial forces of religion are apparent, along with the sharing of tactical considerations beyond borders. We’re reminded of the time when the Mexican Conspiracy Cells of Fire burned down a Walmart in the Aztec capitol in 2011 (the CCF being a group of nihilist anarchists with a well-known contingent in Greece, and which has also been active in Chile and elsewhere). The recent revelation of yet another old, unmarked mass grave of murdered indigenous people on church property in Canada has even more recently led to a wave of burned and vandalized churches across the country (at least 45 so far this year) – which in turn calls to mind the old Spanish anarchist adage that “the only church that illuminates is a burning one.”

We all stand to learn from each other, and much as Chile has been a testing ground for neoliberal capitalism it continues to be a testing ground for revolt, too. They continue to fight despite more than five thousand documented cases of human rights abuses since protests erupted in 2019 – as protesters lose eyes to rubber bullets, get abducted, are raped and tortured, and arrests register in the tens of thousands. The further criminalization of dissent and extended/draconian sentences for political prisoners has led to much revolt within the prison walls too, including many hunger strikes of anarchist, subversive, and Mapuche prisoners.

We continue to be reminded of the internationalism of our oppression and our struggle against it. June communiques from anarchist prisoner Monica Caballero Sepúlveda spoke of a hunger strike against and then transfer from the Cárceel de Alta Seguridad, calling it “the prison of Democracy. This was devised using the German and Irish model in the fight against revolutionary organizations.” Arson attacks by the Direct Action Cells in Greece this year invoked the names of fallen Chilean anarchists Mauricio Morales and Sebastián Oversluij (in addition to Lambros Fountas and Mikhail Zhlobitsky). Indigenous Mapuche associate Pablo Marchant was also recently commemorated after being killed by special police forces during an attack where he successfully contributed to the torching of several timber company vehicles. While the forestry company is Chilean, it uses resources like the Timberter technology that is based out of Estonia and has contacts in the United States.

“Far from seeking justice from the murderous state, various radical Mapuche groups from different regions (Biobío, La Araucanía and Los Ríos) immediately set out to keep the ideas of ‘Toño’ alive by attacking companies that exploit water or the forest. In less than a week, the authorities had already counted 44 road blockades, 22 gun attacks on carabinieri patrols or security guards, and 11 arson attacks that had destroyed 39 vehicles (trucks and forestry construction equipment).” – via Act For Freedom Now!

To illustrate the tangled web more so, a cursory search shows that Compañía de Petroleos de Chile (COPEC) acquired Tennessee-based MAPCO in 2016. Empresa Nacional de Energia Enex S.A. (Enex), also based in Santiago, Chile, acquired Illinois-based Road Ranger in 2018. The Chilean consulate on the seventh floor of the Bourse building, on 5th Street in Philly (between Chestnut and Market), has been mentioned here before; as have Spanish-based bankers Santander for the role in financing deforestation in throughout South America and securing Pinochet’s funds, since they have branches and offices from Philly to Boston and beyond. Last year a communique from Madrid, featured in the recent zine *Targets that Exist Everywhere*, claimed responsibility for torching a Santander company vehicle:

“Because we don’t forget the role of Santander Bank in the repression against the revolt in Chile, because we don’t forget their dirty business in prisons, because their capitalist greed is evident in every eviction, because the banks are a key part in the cog wheels that exploit us, like the businessmen, like the ministers, like the mayors, like the parliamentarians, like the councilmen, like the politicians, like the judges, and in short, like the state.”

The ever-unpopular Chilean government hoped to recuperate energies into redrafting the constitution through the usual electoral farce, while many continue to regularly clash with state forces in the street. This daily struggle is an increase, but not necessarily a strange sight in Chile, which has largely conflictual “holidays” like “Days of the Youth
 combatant,” International Women’s Day, and “black September” (in reference to the date of Pinochet’s coup); a consistent history of armed conflict across political tendencies and in the indigenous territory of Wallamapu against logging and mining operations; and consistent radical organizing throughout different neighborhoods. Anarchist collective Sub.Media recently featured much of this information in System Fail #9 and a corresponding podcast.

Anathema also previously pointed to some strategies of attack organized under the cover of rioting in the October 2019 coverage of Black September, which included ambushing police with molotovs and other improvised weapons. While there is no need to wait for a mass uprising in order to attack, it is useful to prepare for such possibilities so we may act decisively in pursuit of our own desires when opportunities arise – rather than chasing the energies of others. A more expansive analysis of possibility in the U.S. titled, Toward Insurrection: Anarchist Strategy in an Era of Popular Revolt was also posted on Philly Anti-Cap at the end of June, and is worth reading toward that end.

Capitalism, especially its neoliberal manifestation, is struggling to maintain itself. Those of us who find common struggle against these institutions should also recognize that solidarity knows no borders, and may begin to find elements of even Chilean institutions in our own back yards. As we intend to sound the death knell of this society in our own lifetimes, we recognize the many models we have to learn from and adapt to our context in the belly of the capitalist beast.

ON NOISE DEMOS

For about seven years new year’s eve has been marked by noisy demonstrations outside of the Federal Detention Center in Center City. Similar demonstrations have also taken place outside of the Juvenile Justice Center in West Philly, usually timed to take place during prisoner’s strikes or days of solidarity with prisoners. These loud protests against imprisonment are called noise demos and they serve a number of different purposes. In light of a heavily repressed new year’s eve and a relatively quiet May Day, now feels like a fine time to revisit these raucous gatherings.

A huge things prisons and jails do is isolate people, keeping them separated behind walls and locked doors. Phone and email use is strictly regulated and mail is slow, censored, and surveilled. A noise demonstration is a way to make contact and fight the isolation of being locked up (or locked out — people on the outside are also isolated from prisoners, limited to certain visiting times and methods of communicating). Using some of the crudest, simplest means available, noisy demonstrators are able to make contact despite the prison walls. Once the noise of a demonstration draws the attention of people inside, they are able to respond in turn, banging on windows, shining flashlights, yelling, and turning cell lights off and on. In other cities, people have come up with ways to create longer lasting contact with prisoners during noise demos, for example by carrying banners or signs with a mailing address or phone number to contact outside accomplices and supporters.

Showing solidarity is another function of a noise demo. When prisoners are revolting or facing especially harsh repression, a demonstration is a way of showing both the jailed and the jailers that there is outside support. Guards and prison administrators count on prisoner’s lives and struggles going largely unnoticed by the rest of the world, so outside support can go a long way. A show of solidarity, even a symbolic one, can be very encouraging to someone who feels all but forgotten by the world at large. When prisoners are in revolt, noise demos have served as a way to spread their struggle beyond the walls; fliers, chants, speeches, and graffiti can further circulate prisoners’ demands, conditions, and revolt.

Anarchists and a growing number of abolitionists also use noise demos as a way to express their desire to see a world without prisons. Breaking the social peace and coming into conflict with policing, surveillance, and other forms of control are ways that demonstrators attack imprisonment and the systems that make it possible. The extent and method used can reflect the goals of participants and also the context: prisoners’ own revolt or repression, general anti-police/anti-prison sentiment, a group’s capacity to handle repression or do damage, etc.

More recent noise demonstrations in Philly have tended toward the short and mobile, but this doesn’t always need to be the case. In other years and in other places, noise demos have lasted for hours. Short and long demonstrations have their benefits and downsides. A short and mobile demonstration has proven to be quite capable of making a lot of
noise quickly while leaving its mark on the area before dispersing. On the other hand a shorter demo leaves less space to stick around or communicate longer messages or simply hold space. Longer demos can be larger, less difficult to find for late arrivals, and are often more capable of holding space. Their large size and slower pace usually means that more conflictual or highly coordinated actions are more difficult to accomplish or prioritize. As with many actions the tactics can reflect desired goals. ★

THE BROOKLYN CENTER RIOT

AN INTERVIEW

This interview was conducted two months ago, which was already two months after the events this spring in Brooklyn Center, Minnesota. The riot in Brooklyn Center took place in the context of the Derek Chauvin trial, almost a year after he murdered George Floyd. This interview was an attempt to reflect on one participant’s experience of the events in Brooklyn Center and consider what they tell us about how things might unfold in the future. For many of us, the George Floyd uprising has weighed heavily on our minds as we try to imagine next steps to take. What became clear to me in this interview was that between the George Floyd uprising and the Brooklyn Center riot — despite the direct influence and geographic proximity — was an expanse.

Although the Brooklyn Center riot was an outgrowth of the George Floyd uprising, it was also a reminder that the previous summer’s events would not be repeated. Now, after a relatively quiet summer, it seems all the more important to be looking toward the future rather than fixating our gaze on last summer’s uprising. In this interview, we explore some of the developments and unique characteristics of uprisings in the aftermath of the George Floyd uprising.

You were in Brooklyn Center in April. Can you describe what happened?

Yes, there was a police murder: Daunte Wright, 20 years old. He was basically trying to flee the scene where he got stopped. There were two nights of rioting — I am going to say rioting. Some people want to say “it’s not a riot, it’s a rebellion.” I am just going to say it was a riot.

People were throwing stuff at the cops. There was looting by car in the Brooklyn Center area, also in Minneapolis and surrounding suburbs. The first night the neighboring police station got shot up; someone shot the front doors of it. Someone else shot at a cop — maybe 3 days after it started.

All throughout people were calling for the burning down of the police precinct (that was the focal point of the riot). They never succeeded. People tried. The police set up a gate. It was similar to what happened in Portland at the courthouse. But they didn’t actually breach the gate. After the first two days of looting, arson, street fighting, and property destruction, there was basically a week of confrontational protests in front of the police precinct.

From what you witnessed, what have been the most significant changes since last year?

What’s been happening since the fall of last year, the police have been really ready for riots. So, when people engage in riot tactics, they need to outmaneuver the police. It can’t be this kind of frontal assault the way it happened in Minneapolis at the 3rd precinct.

That started with the Breonna Taylor revolt of late September. There isn’t 1000s of people in the street fighting the cops. That’s not happening.

Also, in Brooklyn Center, you would see people in black bloc or this “frontliner” aesthetic trying to stop young, mostly Black kids from setting things on fire and building barricades.

“What needs to happen next is burning down every police precinct in the United States.”

Wait — what would motivate people to dress up in black bloc attire in order to stop riots?

I don’t know. I just think it’s become a popular aesthetic and people have adopted it that have never experienced revolts before. It’s weird, this group called Minnesota Freedom Fighters — it’s basically like a nonprofit. Their goal is to deescalate riots, but they all dress in black bloc and wear gas masks and have umbrellas. It’s a strange thing that’s been imported from Portland, and originally from Hong Kong and Chile. It made sense in Portland and Seattle, but then once it makes it to places like Philly and Brooklyn it gets isolated from the insurgent activities happening. It’s very bizarre.

In Brooklyn Center, it’s almost exclusively young, Black, poor and working class still out there willing to engage in insurgent tactics. And they are becoming isolated.

Brooklyn Center is 20 minutes outside of Minneapolis and it’s very suburban. That’s what made the terrain really hard for rioting to happen. It’s pretty much a residential neighborhood with apartment buildings. There were two gas stations and a strip mall — that all got fucked up.

You say it was difficult terrain. What was rioting like in the suburbs?

It made it harder to have a sustained riot that would breach the gates since there weren’t 1000s of people there.
There were isolated forms of struggle: shooting at cops, the national guard. Winston Smith is an example of this. It’s not something everyone can participate in — it’s dangerous. But it’s also what’s happening in the absence of mass uprising.

A dollar store got set on fire. That whole strip mall got fucked up and looted. There was a really interesting moment: the owner of a pizza shop was like: I will make you guys some pizza. He started making pizzas for the crowd of potential looters. And that’s how he avoided his store getting fucked up.

There were other people who didn’t have guns who tried to protect property and they just got beat up. The people who were rioting on the first two nights were still in the minority but they were able to do things.

What changed on the third night? Were the militias and peace police more successful at stopping rioters?

I think it was that in combination with police repression: the National Guard was out there; the FBI was out there. We got stopped by people who said they were working with the FBI.

We were just leaving an area where all the stuff was happening and got stopped by like 5 different squad cars. They took pictures of us, our tattoos, our injuries. We had all this stuff in our car (gas masks, body armor), but we didn’t have any-

thing illegal on us. So, they couldn’t actually do anything. They were gathering intelligence. They interrogated us.

Each of us got separated; there was 4 of us. We got put in a different car. They tried to scare the shit out of us saying “you are all getting booked, you are getting processed and fingerprinted, we are impounding the car.” They asked us questions about how we knew each other and how we were connected. Then they just let us go.

People like us got away with so much shit last summer that we got comfortable. The terrain has changed and we can’t get away with the same kind of stuff. We weren’t as aware of that as we should have been.

Last year, especially with the pandemic, the State was not ready. That changes what people can do. There will continue to be smaller localized uprisings with short duration, and there’s a limit they will reach very fast.

Beginning with the Breonna Taylor protests in September and confirmed by the Walter Wallace riots in October, the cops got a lot more violent. One result of it is the multi-racial dimension has diminished. Because of the repression. The first time I noticed that was when I was in Louisville in September and it was mainly young Black people out there.

Were there anarchists in the riot?

Out of any political tendency, the anarchists went the hardest, but they were still a small minority. And they weren’t relevant “as anarchists.” The starting point should be what the people in the street that are fucking shit up want to do. It hasn’t been anarchist politics that has pushed people to be confrontational with the State.

What needs to happen next is burning down every police precinct in the United States. So that’s what we push for. We don’t push for people to become anarchists.

Brooklyn Center riot was localized and several months ago. Is it relevant to people in Philly now?

There’s things to learn from it. Things are becoming more atomized, more dangerous and falling into a more general outlaw culture. The impasse experienced in Brooklyn Center is happening in Philly too. There is not a full-blown uprising; instead, you see these more diffuse forms of struggle. When the Chauvin trial concluded, in Philly there was groups of young people on dirt bikes throughout the whole city, with cops chasing after them. It was clearly a form of resistance.

Final thoughts?

People don’t care what you say you are about. It’s whether you are perceived to be part of the riot. It’s those who are loyal to the spirit of revolt and everyone else. That’s the divide. If you are just being a spectator, you might not be so welcome. More than anything, it’s what you communicate by your actions.
Struggles against Enbridge’s Line 3 tar sands pipeline expansion have grown dramatically in Anishinaabe territory in so-called northern Minnesota. There are protests, lockdowns, and other disruptions against the pipeline on a nearly daily basis. There have also been hundreds of arrests, with several felony charges against arrestees.

The Namewag camp, located in Hubbard County, was established in 2018 by the Gimiw Collective as a convergence point for Indigenous-led direction action against the pipeline. Other water protectors have established several other anti-pipeline camps along the pipeline’s route. For weeks this summer, police harassed the Gimiw Collective’s base camp, including barricading the driveway and routinely pulling over and citing people living there. A judge eventually granted a temporary restraining order preventing police from continuing these harassment tactics.

In early August, the Intercept broke a story about how Enbridge is reimbursing local law enforcement for expenses dealing with water protectors and how the corporation is otherwise funding a broad counterinsurgency campaign against Line 3 resistance. The Enbridge-sponsored astroturf group “Minnesotans for Line 3” spent $20,000 in Facebook ads, attesting to how friendly the pipeline workers are and how they’re boosting local business, in March and April 2021 alone.

Enbridge also bought land next to Namewag last year and since then drones have been regularly flying over the camp and above water protectors’ homes. Some of the drones were identified as belonging to Customs and Border Protection.

Most recently, dozens of tribal members and other water protectors stormed a drill pad on the Red Lake River during the night of July 29. They were met by police already stationed in the area. Cops maced, tear gassed and shot water protectors with rubber bullets, arresting 20 people.

Enbridge claims they are still on track to complete the pipeline and be in service by the end of this year.

**APPALACHIANS AGAINST PIPELINES**

In West Virginia, the lovable mountain hippies of Appalachians Against Pipelines are continuing to disrupt construction of the Mountain Valley Pipeline. Since the Yellow Finch treesits were taken down by police in March, there have been five different major lockdowns to pipeline equipment that each delayed or stopped work for somewhere between 4-15 hours.

In July, the pipeline company told investors that they would be stopping work again after September 1st until their final permits are granted. These permits involve the crossing of the pipeline over the Appalachian Trail in the Jefferson National Forest (on the border of West Virginia and Virginia) and hundreds of water crossings. The pipeline has been nearly completed except for these areas.

During the treesits, the state of Virginia granted an injunction against the tree sit that included supporters, naming them John and Jane Doe so that anyone involved or bringing food to the treesits could possibly be enjoined, with no distinction of involvement.

After being extracted, the two tree-sitters were given a no-bond hold on pretrial misdemeanor charges, according to campaign participants is “extremely rare and almost unheard of.” The two tree-sitters were sentenced to as many days in the jail as the judges estimated they spent in the trees. This ended up being 108 days and 79 days, respectively. A lawyer familiar with the campaign said it was a “disproportionate amount of time for the nature of the charges.”

More serious charges have not been pursued, however. The state has been trying to scare people in the campaign by charging arrestees with felonies and “threats of terrorism” charges. These were baseless and ended up getting dropped, but hung over people’s heads for a while.

Campaign participants have used their arrests to speak out about anti-Black violence, colonization and imprisonment in connection to the struggle against the pipeline. Part of a statement from a recent action on June 30 read: “It is time to return land back to Native stewards of the commons. We should behave like the guests we are.”

**DEFEND THE ATLANTA FOREST**

The autonomous campaign Defend the Atlanta Forest has been making impressive strides over the course of this summer. The campaign is combating two major development proposals. One is from the Atlanta Police Department, which seeks to spend $80 million to turn 300 acres of forest into a police megacomplex, a regional training compound featuring a mock city. Confidence in the Atlanta Police Department is at an all-time low, and the project is meant to entice new officers and restore morale by giving them new LARPing opportunities.

The other development threat is from major film production company Blackhall Studios, which has acquired a tract of land called Intrenchment Creek. Blackhall intends to clear cut 170 acres of forest in this area to develop into an airport and erect the largest sound stage in America. The campaign observes that this aspect of the project “would cement Atlanta as the new Hollywood, making the cost of living in our city outrageous.”

Defend Atlanta Forest’s website describes itself as a “broad, decentralized, autonomous movement.” The campaign has deployed an impressively wide range of tactics including le-
gal opposition, marches with graffiti and window-breaking, raves in the forest, call-ins, and community meetings. A week of action in late June featured around 100 events, incorporating a broad range of crowds and activities to participate in their own ways in the campaign against the cop forest.

The campaign’s messaging “No Cop City” takes up the police-related nature of this particular development proposal and broadens the scope of the campaign far past traditional environmentalist concerns. As an organizer with the campaign pointed out on the It’s Going Down podcast This is America #144, the slogan “is so appropriate because it not only decries that we will not let them build this police training facility in the forest, but also that there is a desire amongst millions of people in this country to not live under the regime of the police. It’s almost a double entendre ... do not build this cop city, but also we want a city with no cops.”

The campaign’s chosen name also broadens the struggle from not just protecting the particular tract of land that’s under threat, but forest in general. Not only does the campaign provide a model for what it might look like to bring together anti-policing, gentrification, and development concerns within an ecological struggle, it also proposes that people address climate change wherever they live by any means necessary. The slogan “Defend the Forest” can be repurposed anywhere, and the organizers interviewed on This is America said they hoped the campaign would inspire people everywhere “to defend whatever place they live ... wherever you are, the land needs defending, and the fate of your city, town, or place needs you to insist on autonomy.”

The campaign’s messaging takes care to clarify that legal tactics are not the only desirable ones and that people should do what they want to defend the forest. The campaign’s social media consistently proposes that people get involved informally by making plans with friends, and emphasizes that a multiplicity of approaches is necessary.

Multiple sabotages have been reported at the site this summer, along with flying the many homes of Blackhall Studios CEO Ryan Millsap. Major corporate and local donors (including Waffle House :( ) to the proposed Cop City are listed on the campaign’s Instagram page.

The campaign has called for a Worldwide Day of Action on August 18. According to their Instagram: “On this day we will demand that Corporation Service Company (CSC) drop their client Ryan Millsap, owner of Blackhall Studios, which is trying to raze down Intrenchment Creek Park, a portion of the Atlanta Forest.”

The call includes a list of offices around the world, including one in Pennsylvania (Harrisburg Corporation Service Company at 2595 Interstate Drive, Suite 103 Harrisburg, PA 17110) and one in New Jersey (Princeton South Corporate Ctr., Suite 160 100 Charles Ewing Blvd, Ewing, NJ 08628).

Western North America has once more been enveloped by record-setting high temperatures, massive drought encompassing at least 90% of the Western US, and incredible wildfires that have all but destroyed entire towns. The interdependencies and relations of this world mean the smoke from those fires has drifted all the way across the continent into Philadelphia and New York, posing significant health threats (particularly to those with pre-existing heart and lung conditions).

Because this is a symptom of the larger industrial-caused climate catastrophe, there are symptoms well beyond the North American context of 116 degree Fahrenheit days in Portland, Oregon; or 121 degree Fahrenheit days in Lytton, British Columbia that led to the town all but disappearing beneath waves of fire. Scandinavian towns in the arctic circle have experienced record highs as hot as Miami, Florida. “Everything is on fire in Siberia” too, where there is “unprecedented burning.” This of course speaks volumes for the feedback loops that these sort of occurrences feed into, helping increase the rate of climate catastrophe exponentially.

The silver lining of the smoky haze enveloping the skyline is that the industrial-enabled pandemic has caused many to acquire N95-rated masks that filter out some of the harmful particles from wildfire smoke. That’s still only as much solace as a band-aid for a broken bone, or that most of the forests will cease to exist as they are today in less than 40 years, anyway (again, due to climate change). The desertification and poisoning of our surroundings, and the rising sea levels and increasing influx of climate refugees, mean that this civilization and all the societies that make it up are running out of higher roads to take, or “first world” ground to stand on – and the only places promoting the possibility of sanctuary or freedom on this earth are those moving toward the primeval.
In an extremely predictable turn of events in June, Philadelphia’s City Council voted almost unanimously in favor of a new 2022 budget that gives cops more resources. While the budget technically keeps police funding the same — already a violation of council members’ promises to defund the police, a concession made during the riots of last year — in reality it includes new investments for police. As with many other cities, these have just been tucked into the budgets for other departments.

New allocations include $5.4 million to the Managing Director’s Office to enhance use of police forensics as well as a $6 million program that has behavioral health specialists accompany officers responding to mental health-related calls. This latter program comes the closest to meeting an actual demand of the defund campaign, but fails in that it still sends police to answer these calls. The city is also set to spend $68 million in “anti-violence spending,” which reportedly is more like a reclassification of already existing funds.

If a year of extremely violent rioting against police, massive non-violent demonstrations, and lobbying politicians failed to pressure local council members to even slightly defund the police, then what will?

Nothing, because politicians are the reason for the cops’ existence. The purpose of local politicians, such as city council members, is to keep the city intact. Reforms, when they do succeed in getting passed, happen in order to preserve the city government, not in order to move towards dismantling entire branches of it.

Police and prisons are currently the only thing holding this city — and the country — together. One sixth of Philly’s annual budget goes to the cops, and since 2016, that budget has increased by about $120 million. Cities can’t afford to implement basic welfare measures that might reduce rebellion and crime, so they enforce obedience through fear and violence.

Capitalism’s reliance on exploitation, moreover, makes it structurally impossible to organize life in this world in such a way that doesn’t involve the police, whose role is to enforce the inequality that capitalism necessitates. That governments are responding to the immense combination crisis of public health, economic and racial survival, and state legitimacy by increasing police resources might seem counterintuitive or treacherous, but as long as governance and capitalism remain intact, it is in most cases the only realistic outcome.

Most radicals can easily identify the long arc of recuperation when it manifests in national phenomena like the presidential elections, but it seems we tend to get spun more easily by citywide electoral cycles and the idea that we have more capacity to bring about change on a local (electoral) level. The past few years’ focus on police as the enemy seems for many people to have somehow obscured the fact that the police work for the government. Many radicals are approaching the matter of police abolition as though government — a small group of people holding fast to their power over the life and death of everyone else — could operate without force, i.e. policing.

For those of us drawn to radical projects that improve the lives of others as well as realizing our own desires, it’s understandable that we might end up turning to legislative reforms as an antidote to insurrectionary agitation and actions, the impact of which tends to be much more nebulous. But there are so many other types of projects (mutual aid, solidarity, self-defense, healing, etc) that help others while also building our autonomy and our collective capacity to fight the system that holds us captive. We should not fall for the idea that we are somehow obligated to work with or in any way support our oppressors for the sake of improving peoples’ lives.

Over the past year, redirecting radical anti-police energy towards reshaping local policing has led to a dead end across the country. Minneapolis’ city council, which pledged to disband its police force under the enormous pressure of the riots that started there last May, has failed to do so, nor has it made any significant changes to how the city handles violence. Austin appeared to cut $150 million from its police budget last year, but officials have said that almost $80 million of the cuts would separate certain functions (like the police’s forensics lab) from the police department, reshuffling the money around rather than creating alternatives to police.

In Oakland, radical organizations like the Anti Police-Terror Project recently celebrated an $18 million reallocation from the police department as a win for the defund campaign. In reality, the police budget increased by $9 million and the $18 million was reallocated to the Department of Violence Prevention. Officials from that department later spoke at an Oakland Police rally, helping police spread the “crime wave” narrative and stating that people need to come together and work with the police.

The new head of the Department of Violence Prevention made his career doing anti-gang work in Los Angeles, which he then received U.S. funding to personally import to Honduras and elsewhere in Central America. He has made it clear that the department is partnered with the Oakland police. The money that was reallocated to the DVP is reportedly going towards anti-gang events and is far from “putting money back into the community” or other alternatives that might materially improve peoples’ lives. As an anarchist organizer in Oakland noted, “any ‘reinvestment’ in a state that is part of the U.S. is not a win for us.”★
On July 1 at dawn in the area of Gyzi on Chaldari Street, we carried out an arson attack on the Ford dealership. As a result, at least two vehicles and the front of the company were burnt to the ground.

The choice of this particular target was not accidental. This is an American giant with branches throughout the world that has played a dominant role in the global capitalist scene. In particular, its founder Henry Ford in 1913 introduced a model of work organisation in which workers perform a set of identified movements, repeated over many hours. The work of the one cut off and alienated, as a stone of the production set, influences the work of the other in chains, raising the intensity and rhythm of production and work. Moreover, the possibility of refusals and resistances during work is reduced, since all the workers’ movements are dependent and form a chain. This has been a historical form of repression and surveillance of workers.

Fourth, Ford’s relationship with the US cops is widely known. It is one of the companies that has reinforced the repression carried out by the US state by providing equipment and vehicles. Even in Greece, in Laconia, Ford Motor Hellas has provided a vehicle worth 48,000 euros for the needs of the cops of the OPKE for the second time. The Mayor of Sparta has excellent relations with this company while the deputy mayor Thanasis Karlaitis former cop, he stressed: “hopefully other agencies will follow Ford’s example for the benefit of the citizens”.

A year before the lines of this text, George Floyd was abused to death and murdered by US cops. Savage conflicts break out across much of the USA with the main expression being the oppression of the African-American community and beyond. Protests break out internationally from country to country. In Greece diverse actions are taking place. For our part, one year later we keep the flame and the memory alive for the dead and the oppressed of our class. Wanting to bring back the energies of then with today.

In the Ford factories and in the sweatshops of America of the past centuries, blood was shed for workers’ demands (like the 8-hour day). Claims that, as obvious as they may seem, seemed all the more vulnerable in the clutches of the most apocalyptic neo-fascist government of the post-communist Southwest. The Hatzidakis bill is a despicable abomination that comes to destroy every trace of dignity in the world of the grassroots. Individual contracts, conversion of overtime into days off and its increase, reduction in the value of overtime, electronic filing, targeting and mapping of strikers, more intensification through the extension of teleworking, the abolition of Sunday holidays, ease of dismissals, etc.

It is obvious that in the unprecedented condition we are living in with the pandemic and the intensity of the crisis, the bosses want a social desert where the individual is controlled, working, controlled while working and increasingly isolated. At the same time, the commercial war of the pharmaceutical cartels is becoming ruthless, states are being militarised and societies are being turned into vast prisons. In the same context, capitalism is mutating into a more voracious attitude towards the environment and wildlife.

The more capitalism and terror gallop the more the puzzle becomes clearer for us: We are fire and life. We destroy this world of rot through attack. We call upon all the people who keep their eyes and wild senses alive to be alert. By the simplest means or complex to give the perspective of response and break the habit and alienation. The battle is in our hands.

PS: A year ago our comrade Vassilis Magos was murdered by the cops. This action is a reminder that he is by our side in our hottest moments. It is the least we can mention in the face of what happened. May memory crush oblivion and our hatred reverberate in the streets.

FIRE IN THE SOCIETY OF CONTROL
ANARCHY OR NOTHING

Thousands of Suns of the Night ★
RUNNING DOWN THE WALLS

Sunday, September 12, 2021
11am sharp (Yoga warm-up at 10am)
FDR Park

PHILADELPHIA
ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS