



# The Facts of Art

woven plaque basket with sunflower design, Hopi,  
Arizona, before 1935

from an American Indian basketry exhibit in  
Portsmouth, Virginia

The Arizona highway sailed across the desert—  
a gray battleship drawing a black wake,  
halting at the foot of the orange mesa,  
unwilling to go around.

Hopi men and women—brown, and small, and claylike  
—peered down from their tabletops at yellow tractors, water trucks,  
and white men blistered with sun—red as fire ants—towing  
sunscreen-slathered wives in glinting Airstream trailers  
in caravans behind them.

Elders knew these bia roads were bad medicine—knew too  
that young men listen less and less, and these young Hopi men  
needed work, hence set aside their tools, blocks of cottonwood root  
and half-finished Koshari the clown katsinas, then  
signed on with the Department of Transportation,

were hired to stab drills deep into the earth’s thick red flesh  
on First Mesa, drive giant sparking blades across the mesas’ faces,  
run the drill bits so deep they smoked, bearding all the Hopi men  
in white—*Bad spirits*, said the Elders—

The blades caught fire, burned out—*Ma’saw is angry*, the Elders said.  
New blades were flown in by helicopter. While Elders dreamed  
their arms and legs had been cleaved off and their torsos were flung  
over the edge of a dinner table, the young Hopi men went  
back to work cutting the land into large chunks of rust.

Nobody noticed at first—not the white workers,  
not the Indian workers—but in the mounds of dismantled mesa,  
among the clods and piles of sand,  
lay the small gray bowls of babies’ skulls.

Not until they climbed to the bottom did they see  
the silvered bones glinting from the freshly sliced dirt-and-rock wall—  
a mausoleum mosaic, a sick tapestry: the tiny remains  
roused from death’s dusty cradle, cut in half, cracked,  
wrapped in time-tattered scraps of blankets.

*Let’s call it a day*, the white foreman said.  
That night, all the Indian workers got sad-drunk—got sick  
—while Elders sank to their kivas in prayer. Next morning,  
as dawn festered on the horizon, state workers scaled the mesas,  
knocked at the doors of pueblos that had them, hollered  
into those without them,

demanding the Hopi men come back to work—then begging them—  
then buying them whiskey—begging again—finally sending their white  
wives up the dangerous trail etched into the steep sides  
to buy baskets from Hopi wives and grandmothers  
as a sign of treaty.

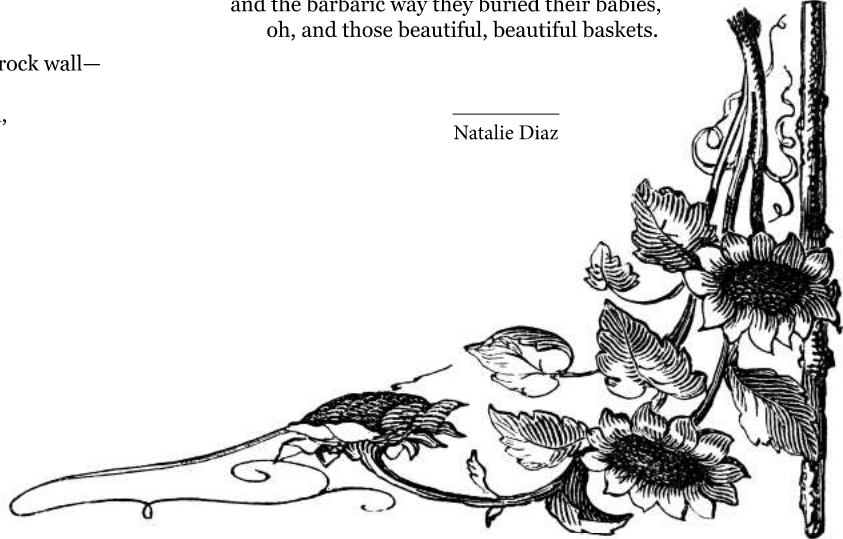
When that didn’t work, the state workers called the Indians lazy,  
sent their sunhat-wearing wives back up to buy more baskets—  
katsinas too—then called the Hopis *good-for-nothings*,  
before begging them back once more.

*We’ll try again in the morning*, the foreman said.  
But the Indian workers never returned—  
The bias and dots calls to work went unanswered,  
as the fevered Hopis stayed huddled inside.

The small bones half-buried in the crevices of mesa—  
in the once-holy darkness of silent earth and always-night—  
smiled or sighed beneath the moonlight, while white women  
in Airstream trailers wrote letters home

praising their husbands’ patience, describing the lazy savages:  
such squalor in their stone and plaster homes—cobs of corn stacked  
floor to ceiling against crumbling walls—their devilish ceremonies  
and the barbaric way they buried their babies,  
oh, and those beautiful, beautiful baskets.

Natalie Diaz



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FREE ANARCHIST PERIODICAL



## WHAT WENT DOWN

October 13 - Almost 90 incarcerated men broke out of their cells and took over a housing unit at Curran-Fromhold Correctional facility on State Road in Northeast Philadelphia.

October - At least 12 Philly cops were arrested in 2021 for aggravated assault, DUI, conspiracy, sexual assault of minors, child pornography, obstruction of justice, perjury, and tampering with records.

October 25 - A person on Overbrook Ave is shot and killed by police. One officer was shot by their partner in the altercation.

November 20 - In response to the not guilty verdict for racist killer Kyle Rittenhouse, an autonomous demonstration snakes through Center City, snaring traffic and frustrating police.

December 24 - Congresswoman Mary Gay Scanlon was carjacked at gunpoint at FDR Park in South Philly.

January 7 - The 18th District police station was evacuated after a mixture of mace and other substances is sprayed into the building. The irritants caused coughing and eye irritation in addition to the evacuation.

Valentine's Day - Three Proud Boy banners hung over I-95 are taken down and burned in a flaming toilet. "Long live anti-fascist vengeance, chaos & anarchy!"

February 21 - A banner is hung in solidarity with protesters shot in Portland.

March - Bank of America and Well Fargo ATMs are sabotaged in Center City in solidarity with anarchists defending the Atlanta forest. "As proponents of self-directed revolt we decided to target the banks contributing to building the cop city."

Late March - Anti-fascists identify Pennsylvania resident Nicholas Wolfgang Kaufman as a member of fascist group Patriot Front.

March 28 - Philly Proud Boy Rodrigo Gibson is doxxed and subsequently fired from Drexel University.

April 26 - A brick is thrown through the front door of gentrifying coffee shop The Gold Standard in West Philly.

Early May - "Be Gay, Fight Cops" graffiti seen in southwest Philly.

May 22 - A Proud Boys banner is taken down and burned. "YOUR FLAGS WILL NEVER FLY IN PHILLY!"

May 30 - Two prisoners at Clearfield County Jail in Pennsylvania escape from a work crew, taking off their prison uniforms and leaving the area wearing their t-shirts, boxers and

sneakers. Both were recaptured a month later due to "tips from the community."

June 3 - Officer Thomas Munz, one of the two Philadelphia Police officers who shot and killed Walter Wallace in 2020, dies in a motorcycle accident while off-duty.

June 11 - A vegan barbeque raises \$178 for prisoners as part of the international day of solidarity with long term anarchist prisoners.

Mid-June - Anti-Hope Brigade takes responsibility for smashing the windows of the Hope Pregnancy Center in solidarity with prisoners as part of June 11th, the international day of solidarity with long term anarchist prisoners. "This fake clinic spread lies and is part of a broader attempt to strip away body autonomy from hundreds of women and people."

June 17 - AGA ("Anti-Gentrification Action/Another Gay Anarchists") claims responsibility for vandalizing two construction sites. "We did this to fight gentrification and to contribute to the new wave of anarchist attack in the US."

Late June - Protests against the overturning of Roe v. Wade take place in Center City, leaving behind some graffiti on city hall.

Late June - Anti-court graffiti is written in response to the overturning of Roe v. Wade: "Abort every court."

July 6 - Jane's Revenge smashes the windows of Pro-Life Union of Greater Philadelphia, and releases addresses for two crisis pregnancy centers in the city. "Plan with a group of friends, wear a mask, and take action. Project your rage on your enemies. Disappear into the night."

July 22 - Workers at the Starbucks at 12th and Walnut streets in Center City refused to open the store during a 24-hour strike.

Late July - Graffiti is written in the FDR meadows in solidarity with forest defenders in Atlanta as part of a week of action: "From Welaunee forest to the meadows defend mother earth without compromise (A)"

Late July - Fascist publishing house Antelope Hill is revealed to be run by Pennsylvania residents Vincent and Sarah Cucchiara and Dmitri Anatolievich Loutsik.

August 7 - A rally held by trans-exclusionary radical feminists (TERFs) is disrupted and outnumbered by a loud dance party in support of trans people.

August 15 - Banner dropped over the Vine St Expressway reading "Abortion Forever, Dweebs!"

August 17 - Two Pennsylvania judges who orchestrated a scheme to send children to for-profit jails in exchange for kickbacks were ordered to pay more than \$200 million in damages. ★

town." How many people? Were they marching or eating lunch? What intersection or building? How were they dressed? At what time specifically were they spotted? Were they carrying any visible weapons, and if so what? Chiming in to say you have no information when someone asks a timely question, or cluttering certain threads with other impractical chatter only provides obstacles.

Once again, each of us already possesses these skills – we just stand a better chance of success when we prepare and improve upon them. Most of us will never appear as hard targets either – this mythical figure beyond contestation – and we needn't feel required to blend in all the time. We should express ourselves however we feel like it, but we should be aware of what may transpire when we do – and some already know that much better than others of us. Maintaining fitness relative to our bodies, and being proficient with whatever tools we carry goes a long way. This concept of preparedness, whether we're living our lives or carrying out an action, can go a long way to improving our outcomes. The basis of that, if one wants it, is in situational awareness. ★



*"Good time to remember that "rights" only exist insofar as the government allows them to. Freedom is something we must \*take\* for ourselves."* – Detritus Books

The Jane Collective was founded in Chicago in 1969 to provide safe abortions when that kind of medical procedure was illegal. It lasted until Roe v. Wade passed, excepting one apartment raid and seven arrests. The defense delayed proceedings in anticipation of the federal ruling, resulting in the charges against the collective members being dropped. The recent attacks by anarchists following the overturning of Roe recognize the connection between the Church and State powers that put lives at risk.

Abortion existed long before laws existed to outlaw it, or government permissions were constructed to restrict or control it. Abortion existed before the medical industry was manufactured to control people's bodies, when Witches, Midwives, and Nurses provided the means. Herbal "contraceptive on the hip" was the means to prevent unwanted pregnancy in hunter-gatherer societies, regularly carried by individuals who might need it, before sedentary societies were standardized.

Christianity was always a primary driver of colonization, treating landscapes and every living being upon them as subjects to be tamed. Its forces raped and pillaged, committing genocide of indigenous people on this continent. The fight to decolonize continues, as the relatively recent admissions of the Canadian government regarding murders within christian-run residential schools throughout the 20th Century coincided with a rash of burned churches across the continent. This energy was mirrored by cheering crowds before burning churches during anti-government protests in Chile in 2020, a smoldering steeple iconically crashing to the street below. The protests and the arson bear a fitting connection as the origins of capitalism and the state stem from Christianity also.

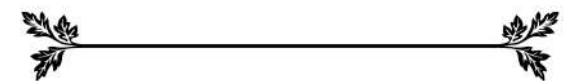
We often fondly remember the Spanish revolutionaries who burned so many churches in the 1930's in the quest for liberation, popularizing the adage: "the only church that illuminates is a burning one."

Back state-side, the current trend of far-right Christians interrupting drag and other LGBTQ+ events to falsely call people groomers and pedophiles is ironic when there are always ever-increasing accounts of those things happening beneath so many hallowed roofs at the very hands of priests. Now the overturning of Roe v. Wade by the Supreme Court this year has returned attention to churches once more.

What began with a molotov and a neatly scribbled message by Jane's Revenge in Wisconsin has spread to New York, North Carolina, Washington, Wisconsin, Ohio, Maryland, Minnesota, Michigan, Iowa, Florida, DC, Virginia, and beyond. The inanity of false flag accusations long pushed aside, and the recognition that our freedom will never be achieved by asking authority for it, segues into our next point.

Liberalism was well represented by a local editorial, arguing against the vandalism of the Greater Exodus Baptist Hope Pregnancy Center on North Broad Street in favor of voting, thus expressing its myopia and inadequacy. "Vandalizing church property is not the answer," Armstrong said, while also failing to recognize that the Anti Hope Brigade was a separate entity from the Philly Anti-Cap website that the communique was shared on. Their comparison of the Roe reversal to the decision by the US Government to continue treating black people as less than human in the Dred Scott case, in order for us to invest more energy in government, is also an apt summation of this.

Trying to reconvene power in hands that are still not our own will never be freedom. Conservatives still regain power in the constant oscillations of history, and liberals do us few favors in the meantime. The very existence of authority – religious, economic, governmental and otherwise – enables these exploitations to occur and continue. So let our attacks broaden, as we continue to resurrect Jane. ★



The thing is, despite our domestication, we all retain some awareness that carries through our daily lives. The very bases of this varies from person to person – self, cultural, third-party, and threat awareness – but are at least partially instinctual, and easily improvable. We know that the way we appear to others can affect how we’re perceived, the way we communicate (distance, gesticulations, eye contact, language) can ingratiate us, we can observe and imitate others, and we know not to stand in the middle of the street anytime a Philly driver is around.

The basis of how we react should form a loop: Sense your surroundings, Evaluate that information, Act on your evaluations, and then Learn from what has transpired so that you may be better informed of how to act in the future. I think this SEAL acronym is much clearer, circular, and easier to remember than others that are often used.

We most often think of seeing things transpire, but we can of course also take in information through smell, taste, touch, and hearing. The smell of gas, the souring of the water after a moratorium on fracking was lifted, a hot door knob, or the sound of police sirens can all convey potential threats. Learning to be sensitive to all kinds of stimuli, within reason, can be useful. Simple things like sitting quietly somewhere to observe, without a phone, will teach a lot – whether you’re observing people or other animals. I like thinking of tracking techniques that often begin with something like watching a bird take a dust bath, and then taking note of the marks they left there as a skill-building road map.

Going for a run, besides releasing anxiety and improving your fitness through exercise, can also expose us to information that we learn to process under some sort of duress. Meditating can better our focus and sorting of information. Practice estimating time and distance while observing others helps establish what patterns are typical in scenarios, and improve your ability to do so under pressure without external tools. Asking your friends what the stickers and license plate of a car that has passed can encourage better observation and memory. Getting adequate rest when you can and not being under the influence of substances that will dull or ultimately crash your senses while operating. Decompress and rest after an action, and check up on each other when possible. Practice tailing people without detection when there are no stakes. Getting in the habit of establishing at least two exits from any room will standardize the habit before you’re in a stressful situation. In fact, practicing all of these things will make them easier to perform when you are under threat. Graffiti may be my favorite manner to begin pressure testing most of these things.

*“Every skill we learned doing graffiti – situational awareness, learning to trust our gut, evading the cops and vigilantes, building an intimate knowledge and relationship with the land – has made our lives as anarchists much better.*

*Would highly recommend everyone get into graffiti.”*

– Salish Sea Black Autonomists

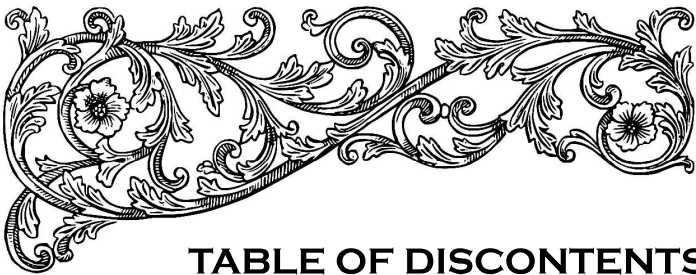
Short of certain high-stakes targets (i.e. passenger trains, billboards, etc.), consequences of graffiti exist but are not incredibly high if you’re not already particularly vulnerable (i.e. outstanding legal situations). Learning to blend in with whatever populace is out, repressing sketchy habits like looking all around you, evaluating passing cars or pedestrians, and having/executing exit plans to evade consequence develop some form of stress inoculation as you also get a message out. It can begin as simple as tagging a sign post with a white-out pen, and can develop into much more while simultaneously testing action-oriented relationships with friends. Stickers and wheatpaste are also potentially low-consequence entry points.

We like to call the act of blending in with other people gray bloc – not because we rock all-gray gear, but because we don’t stand out. Cops and wannabes like to rock their “gray man” high-end civilian tactical gear which can also out them as the concealed carry authorities they are, to familiar eyes. There is practicality to some of this gear, especially if you’re carrying, but self-awareness is of course the basis of our situational awareness.

Threat modeling is a topic unto itself, but for our purposes we’ll just mention anticipating and researching potential threats relative to where we are and what we’re doing, and making plans for each scenario. This is of course relative to the potential consequences, and not the promoting of paranoia or manufacturing unlikely threats. Making plans should ideally include not just visualizing, but practicing. The police are always a threat of course, so we might familiarize ourselves with shift changes, patrol habits, standards of practice in a given neighborhood. We can monitor their activity with our peripheral vision and through reflections on widows. In most scenarios, even after a crime was committed, it is not in one’s best interest to run at the mere presence of a cop.

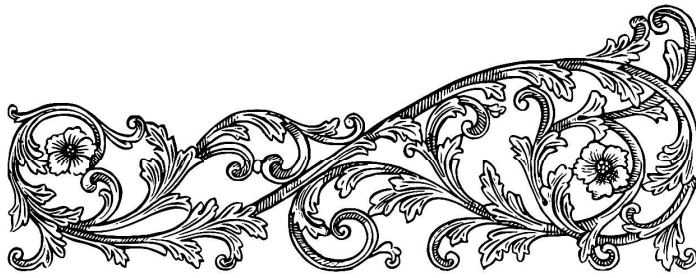
Our anarchist principles often result in each of our crew learning as many of the abilities that we each possess to avoid the hierarchy of specialization, but also better prepares us all for dealing with a wider variety of situations. We remain wary of experts, and know being proficient in many things is usually much better than being the best at any one task. That said, knowing your strengths and weaknesses and those of your crew is also in our best interest.

It is incredibly useful to establish standards of communication within our scene. In monitoring threats we like to use the acronym SALUTE, for lack of other decent options. Communicating the Size, Actions, Location, Uniform, Time, and Equipment of a group specifically and concisely will do much more for us than saying “there’s fash down-



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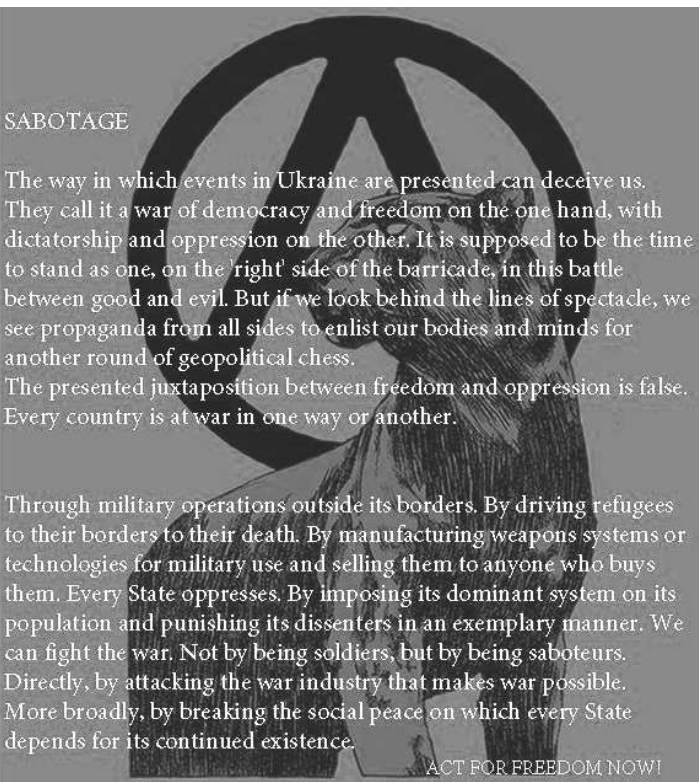


## LAND AND FREEDOM: PHILLY’S NEW ECO-WAVE?

After what felt like a really quiet 2021 and a slow start to 2022 in terms of anarchist struggles this summer seems to be picking up some speed, especially around land and ecological struggles. A couple golf courses here, a couple films there point toward the potential for a green tendency in Philadelphia.

On June 11th, a barbecue was held in Clark Park to raise money for prisoners, this event was part of an almost 20 year old tradition of supporting anarchist and environmentalist prisoners on June 11th. The roots of this solidarity day are in the anarchist and ecological movements of the early 2000s. Started in 2004 to support then-prisoner Jeff “Free” Luers, an environmentalist accused of burning SUVs, June 11th has continued to be a day of solidarity with specifically anarchist prisoners while referencing its origins in ecological struggle. This summer was no exception, green banners, anti-civilization literature, and vegan food were all part of the gathering.

Three past film events as well as an upcoming one all



seem to have at least a hint of green. On June 6th and 10th Iffy Books screened “Resist Climate Inaction” a short film from Australia about climate change struggles, discussion followed the screenings. On July 1st forest defenders from Atlanta came to Philly to discuss their struggle to defend the forest from the development of police training and movie studio infrastructure. They presented a detailed rundown of the history, context, and current state of things in Atlanta related to forest defense, and finished the night by screening “Riotsville, USA” a film about another police training center. Later in July H&N zines screened “Machines In Flames,” a film about an anti-computer group from France active in the 1980s. While it’s a stretch to say that the film or event was environmentally themed, it’s worth acknowledging that anti-technology ideas and actions have often been closely tied culturally and politically to ecological ones in the anarchist space for decades.

The upcoming Philly Anarchy Fair will include a screening of Nausicaa of the Valley of the Wind. The fictional film follows a princess as she navigates international war in a world where ecological collapse has already taken place. To avoid spoiling the film this author simply recommends watching the film, and hopes the reader can trust that there are significant environmentalist themes throughout. The screening will take place August 26th.

Much more concretely, three different land defense

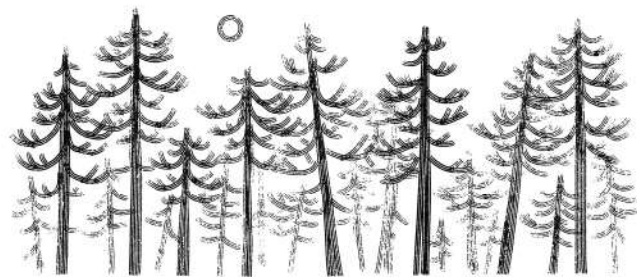


struggles are taking place right now in Philly. In South Philly, the FDR park meadows are being contested. Initially a golf course, left unmaintained, it has grown into a vibrant meadow. The meadows have been especially attractive during the pandemic, when so many sought out green spaces to more safely relax and socialize outdoors. The city has come up with a “master plan” to develop the meadows into a set of sports fields, re-domesticating the land after it has finally had a chance to begin rewilding. Opponents of the development have been spreading information about the “master plan” and those behind it, writing graffiti, training in direct action, and inviting people to visit and use the meadows.

In West Philly, two places are seeing duels against the advocates of development. The University City Townhomes, a complex of low income housing, is facing eviction as the owner moves to sell. Residents and supporters have made efforts to soften the blow of sale and eviction, setting up a tent encampment, circulating a petition, and organizing protests. While it is clear that many aspects of the townhomes struggle are reformist and organized hierarchically, any struggle to defend land, even built up urban space, will place people struggling on the ground in more direct relation to the land they struggle on.

Further north and west, the Cobbs Creek golf course (also known as the Karakung golf course) is actively in the process of development. Similarly to the FDR meadows the land was once a golf course that went unmaintained and was able to grow into a wild space enjoyed by humans and animals. In February hundreds of trees were cut down in the course. Residents and environmental groups have questioned the need for another golf course in the face of climate change and class and racial disparity in the Philly, but as of this writing visible opposition to the re-development has been mostly vocal.

None of these in themselves make an eco-wave, but the potential is there. The connection to place, the criticism of technology, and the connection to past ecological struggle are all building blocks that could be the start of something green growing in Philly. ★



# DEFEND THE MEADOWS!

**A.P. CONSTRUCTION INC. HAS BEEN GIVEN A PERMIT BY THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA TO DESTROY AND GENTRIFY OVER 180+ ACRES OF LENNI-LENAPE LAND AT SO CALLED "FDR" PARK IN SOUTH PHILLY!**

**THE LENNI-LENAPE NAME FOR THE UNCEDED AREA IS "PAHSAYUNK" AND "CHINGSSESSING". PAHSAYUNK TRANSLATES TO "A PLACE BETWEEN THE HILLS". CHINGSSESSING TRANSLATES TO "A PLACE WHERE THERE IS A MEADOW".**

**THE PROPOSED \$20+ MILLION DOLLAR DEVELOPMENT WOULD DEVASTATE AND PRIVATIZE THE UNCEDED AUTONOMOUS LAND WITH PLASTIC "ASTRO-TURF" SPORTS FIELDS AND OVER-PRICED SHOPS. THIS WOULD RUIN THE HABITAT AND LIFE OF THOUSANDS OF SACRED ANIMALS, TREES, MUSHROOMS, PLANTS, AND INSECTS SUCH AS THE ENDANGERED MONARCH BUTTERFLY!**

**FOR ALL LIFE WE MUST STOP THIS AND ALL ECOCIDAL DEVELOPMENT BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY!**

**PLEASE TAKE DIRECT ACTION AND CONTACT**

**A. P. CONSTRUCTION INC. TO DEMAND THAT OWNERS AND THE MANAGEMENT DROP THE CONTRACT AND CANCEL THE "1954 PATTISON AVE." DEVELOPMENT**

**A. P. CONSTRUCTION INC.**  
PHILADELPHIA OFFICE - PHONE NUMBER: \*67 (215) 922-2323  
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## RAIDS IN MUNICH

*excerpted from Act for Freedom Now!*

On April 26, 2022, State Security conducted coordinated raids in Munich against anarchists accused of forming a criminal organization for their alleged publication of an anarchist periodical. Four apartments and several basement storage rooms were searched by cops who were reportedly wielding battering rams and wearing chain-mail.

At some apartments, cops seemed to have logged onto the local wifi network beforehand, since they seemed to know which devices were connected to it at the time and managed to snatch them while they were still turned on.

The major target of the raid was a local printing space.

The cops brought in a truck and a crane and confiscated everything. This included the risograph (a printing machine), cutting machine, sorting machine, gluing machine, letterpress, and thousands of books, pamphlets, and newspapers.

Three comrades are accused of forming a criminal organization for allegedly producing, publishing, and distributing the anarchist weekly Zündlumpen. Although proceedings based on criminal organization charges are experiencing a revival in Germany, they are usually more like a pretext to snoop around in certain scenes. It is reasonable to suspect that this means a specific milieu is currently being targeted for surveillance.

The “freshly raided” anarchists write: “We are not sur-

this sense is a game of musical chairs between those with power and is neither anarchistic nor anti-state. If revolution is liberation from what binds, governs, belittles and limits us, it’s not going to be a single event that creates a distinct and universal “before” and “after.” We’re never going to be “done” becoming free. Liberation is internal and external, individual and collective, and it may not be linear. Even if an environmental/societal/industrial collapse disables the government in “our” lifetime, it will not affect everyone equally, and not everyone will respond to a weakened or lack of government in the same way.

Even if the government were destroyed in ‘one fell swoop’ and we suddenly found ourselves completely autonomous we would still be among individuals bent on power, control & supremacy. Struggling against who and what is in our way will never cease to be relevant. Sometimes hopeful revolutionaries talk about the future as if it will be a reality where struggle, friction, ignorance, hate, and violence are absent. It leaves one wondering if they plan to do away with humanity all together. A complete lack of state domination and systemic oppression does not mean people won’t attempt to control, dominate and oppress each other. It would be necessary to fight against, ignore or distance ourselves from people with opposing goals. It is useful to note how this mirrors our present reality. Refusing to invest in actions not directly “in service” of a revolution requires that we set our sights on an abstract and uncertain future. Being disconnected from our present reality makes us less effective at getting free in our immediate environment and own lives.

Insisting solely on large collective struggles leaves us with less agency and drive to make conceivable changes right now. If we want to do anything at all, we should consider what to do in the absence of the assurance of mass revolt – because that is our reality. Even regarding the most recent uprising, the question “what did the uprising in 2020 fundamentally change about people’s relationship to capital, power, and society?” is difficult to answer. A lasting social movement that shifted government control in a significant way did not occur. As spirited, wide-reaching, and confrontational as the riots were, they were still co-opted. They still led to repression. The uprising in 2020 did not change the amount of power the government has in a way that lasted more than a few months. It certainly did not result in more freedom for those who are now imprisoned or facing charges or getting visits from the state. What then is the justification for the glorification of showing up in the context of “mass revolt?” – especially to the extent that fighting individually, “negatively,” criminally and in smaller contexts is considered by some to be irrelevant or unproductive? Encouraging self-directed and contextual action isn’t meant to suggest that we think and act “small.” Liberalism’s faith in a series of slight changes that will result in a gradual progression towards a more humane & equitable society “someday” is utter bullshit. Anarchistic actions take

place against and outside of the system, and aim to destroy it. Insurrections do and can occur, but they are not total (as in effecting all things for all people in all places) nor permanent. We can take advantage of revolt, uprisings and riots when they occur without waiting for those circumstances to act. Critiquing the tendency to prioritize and focus on wide-reaching uprisings isn’t also a proposal that we not participate in and desire them. The system can crack and break in many ways and we can welcome all of it.

Some of us don’t put much stock in revolution because we don’t feel it to be reasonably “in sight” or likely to result in the freedom we desire. We would rather put our time and focus towards changing/destroying/subverting things right now. We want to see things happen by acting directly. To call someone’s effort pointless, not reproducible enough, or not “in service of the revolution” is pretty baseless when there isn’t presently even a distinct functional movement to join. There is not currently a defined “path to revolution” for anyone to even be diverting from. Declaring that some actions, tactics and ideas are “myopic” or “just destructive” is an opinion lacking in substance and connection to our present reality.

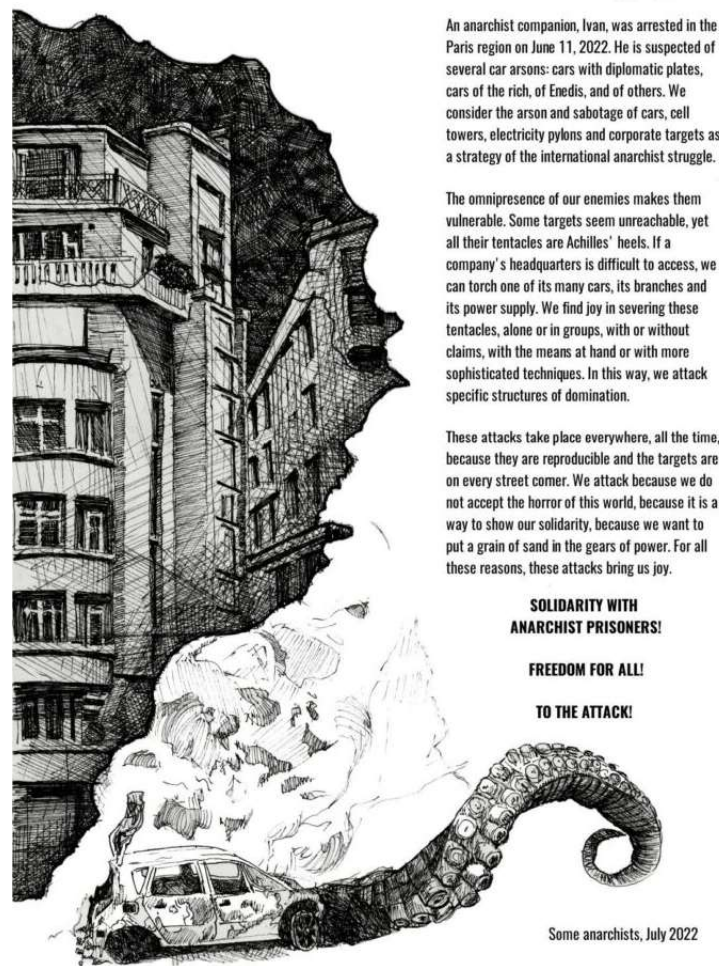
How then might we liberate ourselves in the absence of mass revolt? We can encourage a widespread detection of “cracks” in the system, and create more openings for possibilities of freedom. We can share our hacks, tricks, surveilled spaces, tactics, skills, stories, and liberated resources with one another. We can organize and participate in actions in our own contexts. We can damage and destroy centers of power and oppression. We can disrupt industry, development, production, and commerce ourselves. We can support those facing repression. We can offer tactics for avoiding arrest. We can think outside of limiting concepts. We can cut through fences without closing them back up. We can knock down barriers without reassembling them. We can free ourselves in ways that create entrances for others. Every group and “movement” is made up of individuals. Acting in service of our own immediate goals is not antithetical to collective liberation. It is the substance of it. ★

## HEAD ON A SWIVEL

Situational Awareness has become a real buzzword in the larger society. In a world of mass shooters and an array of other frequent threats that remain inadequately addressed (because their roots are mostly in this very society), it is becoming increasingly relevant to develop our mindful response techniques. The irony is that the alienated existence and advanced technologies under civilization that births these modern threats has also impoverished our attention through so many screens and other distractions from the immediate. Obviously, within this framework, we have much to gain from the destruction of their society, but also much to gain from developing such skills to further our fight.



## THERE ARE NO ISOLATED ARSONISTS



The omnipresence of our enemies makes them vulnerable. Some targets seem unreachable, yet all their tentacles are Achilles' heels. If a company's headquarters is difficult to access, we can torch one of its many cars, its branches and its power supply. We find joy in severing these tentacles, alone or in groups, with or without claims, with the means at hand or with more sophisticated techniques. In this way, we attack specific structures of domination.

These attacks take place everywhere, all the time, because they are reproducible and the targets are on every street corner. We attack because we do not accept the horror of this world, because it is a way to show our solidarity, because we want to put a grain of sand in the gears of power. For all these reasons, these attacks bring us joy.

SOLIDARITY WITH  
ANARCHIST PRISONERS!

FREEDOM FOR ALL!  
TO THE ATTACK!

Some anarchists, July 2022

## IN DEFENSE OF HOPELESSNESS

### CONSIDERATIONS IN THE ABSENCE OF REVOLUTION & MASS REVOLT

The following perspective isn't a rejection of positivity, motivation or the belief that tomorrow can be better for us than today. "Give up" is not the intended message here. This isn't meant to encourage feelings of hopelessness. In its commentary on *Desert*, the zine *Green Nihilism or Cosmic Pessimism* provides that:

*"Desert left some with the impression that its author is still attached to hope, [but] that would be to confuse the climate pessimism of Desert with a kind of overarching and mandatory mood, as though those who had this view were of necessity personally depressed or despondent"* (pg.16).

Regardless of how joyful or desolate your temperament is, it's useful to consider the possibility that the conditions of capitalism, state power, and imperialism might not get significantly better in the "large scale" and streamlined manner intended by the term "revolution." If these atrocities do implode or "lose their grip," environmental, societal and

industrial collapse and/or ecological disaster are at least as probable causes as political revolution. While the "anything is better than this" sentiment is understandable, we don't really know how bad varying amounts of environmental and societal collapse will be.

No matter the circumstance, a collapse or revolution would be a subjective and diverse experience. Like climate change, its effects would be inconsistent across various geographic areas and between different individuals. People's perspectives on and feelings about a collapse or revolution would be personally unique, not consistent among a "movement," culture or generation. Some people use the word revolution as if it means one thing; as if it will somehow be a homogeneous experience, one involving unprecedented levels of solidarity and like-minded thinking. This is either suspect or naive.

*"Objectivity is a red herring. Material conditions cannot determine or create culture in any measurable way because it is culture that perceives and reshapes material conditions... For obvious reasons the creation of a unified narrative has long been a central impulse of the Machine. History, whether produced by modernists or Marxists, has been an attempt to get all the facts to corroborate with one another. But our project requires no alibi. Let all the truths speak in their own voices. We are not afraid of chaos...An anarchist history is a conspiracy of perspectives that take aim on the High Ground, not to occupy it, but to throw it down, so that there should never again be one perspective that is legitimized above all others"*

— *Here at the Center of a World in Revolt*

Unless it is led by military force and results in an authoritarian government, a large-scale and drastic change in "how things work" will come about due to an amount of chaos, and result in an amount of chaos. If freedom and liberation are our goals, rather than the determining of a new order, we should contend with the reality of chaos, the inconsistency of experience, the boundlessness of perspective, and the non-linear fashion changes & shifts are likely to take place in.

No one knows what a "future" revolution with drastic, lasting consequences would entail, or what situation they would find themselves in a perceived "aftermath." People sometimes frame revolution as if the struggle is distinct from the result (being a future reality of liberation). The problem with putting our hopes in this understanding of a "revolution" is that the above distinctions are arbitrary. There is no such thing as an exact point in time when "things start changing" nor when "everything has changed." The process of becoming free is a continuous and dynamic process. It is neither a linear nor homogeneous experience. Therefore there is no justification for waiting for the "masses" to "rise up." Now if revolution is a specific change in government, than that is measurable, but revolution in

prised. Anarchist ideas have always been beyond and against any law, and there is consequently a long history of persecution of anarchist ideas. The recent raids in Munich will certainly not extinguish the flame in our hearts! Nor will they prevent others from grabbing a printer and reprinting all that the cops have confiscated. If fighting for freedom is a crime, innocence is the worst crime of them all!" ★

*"Every attack on power from  
an anti-authoritarian  
perspective is valid for us..."*

*For us the confrontation with  
domination has not ended, it  
has only changed form."*

*Monica Caballero &  
Francisco Solar  
Anarchist Prisoners  
of the Chilean State*

## THE ELECTRIFICATION OF THE WORLD

When President Biden came into office in early 2021, one of his first actions was to sign an executive order to assess gaps in the United States' ability to mine and process rare earth minerals and other "critical minerals" like cobalt and lithium. As soon as March, the Department of Energy announced a \$30 million initiative to secure the domestic rare earths supply chain. The major reason cited for these moves has been a need for "clean energy" to combat climate collapse, along with the "national security threat" that China's stronghold on production currently poses to the U.S.

For an administration that can't seem to get anything done, behind the scenes it has gotten quite a lot accomplished, especially with regard to its plan to achieve national energy independence through a new era of environmental destruction. In July of this year, the Senate granted \$52 billion in subsidies to corporations manufacturing chips in the U.S. and \$200 billion in scientific analysis, particularly synthetic intelligence and robotics and quantum computing. The new "climate bill,"

which was just passed in mid-August, is more like a \$490 billion handout to industry — incentives for businesses to build and use "clean" energy, tax credits for individuals who can afford to buy electric cars and solar installation, and the leasing of over 2 million acres of public lands and 60 million acres of offshore waters for drilling and other expansions of oil and gas infrastructure. The bill brings total ecological devastation home in the interest of securing the U.S.'s economic and military status.

"Rare earth" is one of many euphemisms underwriting Biden's new environmentalist initiative. The 14 chemical elements the term describes are not rare, but they are extremely difficult and dangerous to mine and process. The mining of rare earth elements causes radioactive materials to leach into surrounding waterways. The process massively disrupts ecosystems while releasing poisonous byproducts into the atmosphere. The entire extraction process itself uses massive amounts of energy, water, and chemicals. While U.S. military scientists created the industry back during World War Two, the actual production was outsourced to China, since the U.S. at that point was unwilling or unable to force the kind of hyper-exploitation of human labor and desecration of ecosystems necessary to the production process.

That the U.S. is ready to turn its own territory into the kinds of massive sacrifice zones initially relegated to China speaks to its current state of economic and geopolitical desperation. China is now responsible for 80% of imports of rare earth minerals, as well as having a stronghold on production of other key minerals like cobalt and lithium, according to the 2019 U.S. Geological Survey. The changing geopolitical terrain, i.e. China's growing economic power in relation to the U.S., means that if China chose to cut off the U.S. from these imports, the U.S. would be put in an even more economically insecure situation.

Politicians have widely cited this "national security" motivation as a justification, especially on the right. In January 2021, legislators introduced a bill to the Senate to "prohibit defense contractors from procuring rare earths from China by 2026 and force the Pentagon to create a strategic reserve of those minerals by 2025," a bill that is still in committee. In this sense, the Biden administration's initiative appears to be the thinly-veiled, desperate attempt of a waning empire to regain geopolitical power.

Meanwhile, the initiative appeals to liberals by pushing the myth of "clean energy" and ignoring the significant



environmental destruction such technologies entail. The uses of critical minerals most commonly cited by politicians, corporate entities, and the media are everyday consumer needs such as household appliances and computers along with batteries, electric vehicles, wind turbines, and solar panels. What is not mentioned is how much of these critical minerals will be used in new weapons technologies (fighter jets, drones, missiles) for the imperial monstrosity known as the U.S. military.

But perhaps the most important factor being left unsaid is that the so-called clean energy and digital transition is part of a major international shift intended to preserve the global system of capitalist accumulation, at a time in which new markets remain scarce and its future insecure. In a recent editorial focused on Western Europe’s most recent initiatives in this direction, the French anarchist periodical Storm Warnings calls this mission an “industrial revival,” the latest great transformation of capitalism (Issue #49, January 2022). From individual use of smartphones and electric cars to building technologies of war on a whole new scale, the goal is to accelerate what CEOs call “the electrification of the global economy.” The new mission to produce critical minerals domestically, therefore, is not only the latest environmental threat — one that, as usual, will most severely harm poor people and people of color. It is also an initiative that is currently critical to the survival of capitalism itself.

Our anarchist counterparts in Western Europe have launched multiple attacks at this point against this industrial revival. According to the January issue of Storm Warnings, from mid-December to mid-January these included: arsons of public charging stations for electric cars in Vienna, an electric pylon burned in Genoa, two excavators put to the torch at a hydroelectric power station under construction near Graz (Austria), the sabotaging of a wind-measuring mast to study a project of twenty wind turbines in Cézans (France), and of course the ongoing targeting of cell phone antennas.

The United States’ parallel initiative with regard to mass electrification has so far been underdiscussed by the radical milieu here. Political consensus in Europe on climate measures has more easily favored the implementation of major new manufacturing projects there, and it is unclear how realistic many of the projects being proposed in the U.S. actually are. Right now, those of us who are in the U.S. have a little more time to consider interventions into this massive industrial shift before it totally overpowers us.

On this continent, Indigenous groups have taken the most initiative so far to stop new proposed mining projects. Since 2021, members of Paiute and Shoshone tribes in Nevada have been fighting to oppose Lithium Nevada’s \$1.3 billion proposal to destroy a 1,000-acre site in Peehee mu’huh (also known as Thacker Pass) to mine the largest lithium deposit in the U.S. The mine will burn around 26,000 gallons of diesel fuel per day during its operation, and carbon dioxide emissions are estimated to be 152,000 tons per year. It will also use up to 1.7 billion gallons of water per year from the driest state in the United States.

The Paiute name for the site derives from an 1865 massacre there in which federal soldiers killed as many as 70 Paiute people, many of the descendants of whom are now opposing Lithium Nevada’s mining project. In addition to being sacred land, it is a site that (as a lawsuit against the mine states) is “critically important to wildlife because it connects the Double H Mountains to the Montana Mountains. The pass also provides lower-elevation habitat that wildlife need to survive the winter” and constitutes “one of the last big blocks of the sagebrush sea free of development,” including known golden eagle breeding sites and other endangered and rare species. The lands are still used by local indigenous communities to harvest traditional foods and medicines. The Fort McDermitt Paiute and Shoshone Tribe is said to have descended from families who hid in Thacker Pass to avoid being sent to reservations far from their ancestral lands.

In February 2022, the state approved the final state-level permits necessary for mining at Thacker Pass. This decision is currently being appealed. As Fort McDermitt Paiute Shoshone Tribe member Shelley Harjo wrote in an August 2022 editorial: “I will never believe this is the best method for greener living and nor do many other native people in our area. Digging the Thacker Pass open pit mine on sacred land will only open many doors for additional destruction on Mother Earth.”

Across the southern colonial border, mining as well as resistance are already longstanding. According to a new report, *No Reprieve for Life and Territory: COVID-19 and Resistance to the Mining Pandemic*, governments and mining companies across the continent took advantage of the COVID-19 pandemic to declare mining “essential” for economic recovery and the energy transition.

Indigenous peoples who resisted have since faced intensified repression, criminalization, targeted violence,

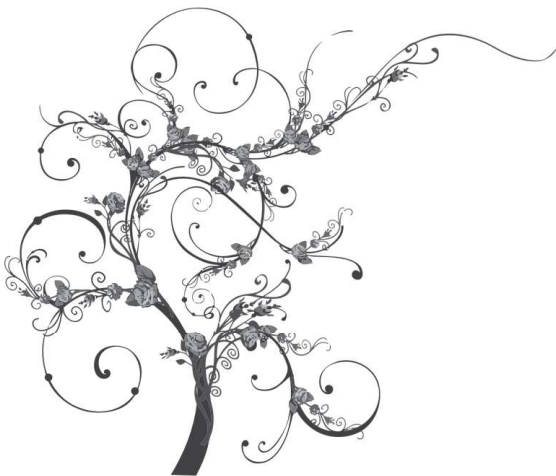
and militarization. While it has been well documented that water protectors in the global north are facing increased criminalization, those in the global south face an increasing risk of death.

In one successful example of recent resistance, however, Mapuche-Tehuelche groups in the province of Chubut, Argentina, flooded the streets in December in opposition to U.S.-Canadian mining company Pan American Silver, which had pressured legislators to overturn a prohibition on open-pit metal mining. Within a few days, the new zoning law was overturned.

In October, Maya Q’eqchi’ people blocked access to the Swiss-owned Fenix nickel mine in Guatemala for over two weeks. Eventually, 500 cops attacked their road blockade and the government declared a 30-day state of siege. Since then, activists have been profiled, harassed, arrested, and subjected to military raids on their homes.

In August, a group called Guacamaya, the Mayan name for a Macaw parrot, recently claimed to have hacked several mining companies and government agencies in Latin America. These included a Colombian government agency that administers and regulates hydrocarbon materials, the Guatemalan Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources, the Colombian oil company New Granada Energy Corporation, the Brazilian mining company Tejucana, the Venezuelan oil company Oryx Resources, the Ecuadorian state-owned mining company ENAMI EP, and Quiborax, the third largest boric acid producer in the world based in Chile.

The hackers published a communique in Spanish that can be found at [https://enlacehacktivista.org/comunicado\\_guacamaya.txt](https://enlacehacktivista.org/comunicado_guacamaya.txt). As they told reporters over email, “These hacks are another form of struggle and resistance, they are the continuation of an ancestral legacy; taking care of life.”★



PROPOSED PROJECTS

The U.S.’s only current rare earth mining operation, located in Mountain Pass, California, is run by a company named MP Materials. Up until now, it has relied on Chinese processing, but the company recently announced the construction of a rare earth metal, alloy and magnet manufacturing facility in Texas, designed to onshore this process and create a fully integrated U.S. supply chain, which General Motors is also supporting. Production is expected to begin in 2023.

The CEO of Lithium Nevada, the company scheming to mine on Paiute and Shoshone land, is Alexi Zawadzki. The archeological firm Far Western Anthropological Research Group began excavating the site in April 2022 and appears to have submitted reports that, according to the Reno-Sparks Indian Colony, failed “to properly investigate these historical events and significant people at Thacker Pass.”

In Imperial County, California, Berkshire Hathaway Energy Renewables is planning to set up a facility to test the commercial viability to extract lithium from geothermal brines. In addition to BHE Renewables, Controlled Thermal Resources and EnergySource Minerals have established operations in Imperial County to extract lithium. General Motors will source lithium for EV batteries from CTR.

Near the small town of Tamarack, Minnesota, the company Talon Metals is in the preliminary stages of developing a proposal to build an underground mine. The mine would primarily extract nickel, but also some copper, cobalt, platinum group metals and iron. The so-called Tamarack Nickel Project is a joint venture with the British and Australian mining giant Rio Tinto. Tesla intends to source high-grade nickel for EV batteries from this project.

In February 2022, the Department of Energy announced a plan to construct a full-scale rare earth element (REE) and critical minerals (CM) extraction and separation refinery using unconventional resources, citing the need for a domestic supply chain to reach a net-zero emissions. There have been no updates since then on where or how the refinery will be built.

Lithium mines have also been proposed in North Carolina and in Maine.