

ANATHEMA

A FREE ANARCHIST PERIODICAL
VOLUME X ISSUE II
AUTUMN 2024

WHAT WENT DOWN

November 24, 2023 - Guards at SCI Rockview hang nooses in a highly visible location within the prison.

January 12 - Neo-Nazi and White Lives Matter PA leader Evan Plumlee is doxxed. Plumlee is also a member of New Jersey European Heritage Association, S14, and Atlantic Nationalist Club.

February 11 - O.R.C.A., a new anarchist social space, has a grand opening.

Late January - Free Palestine posters are wheatpasted around West Philly.

Late January - Banners are hung over the Schuylkill Expressway condemning BlackRock for their involvement in the Mountain Valley Pipeline and the genocide in Palestine. "BLACKROCK FUNDS GENOCIDE" "#STOP ARMING ISRAEL"

January 31 - A vandal smashed windows of cop's personal cars and police cruisers in the Central Berks police station parking lot.

February 8 - Chris Riley aka Proletarorist is outed as a crypto nazi.

Late February - Free Palestine graffiti in Bethlehem, PA. "FREE PALESTINE" "END ALL WARS"

Early March - Owner of Upper Darby Auto Detailing, David Miller, is identified as a white supremacist after putting up White Lives Matter stickers up in downtown Upper Darby.

Late March - The tires of a Securitas van are slashed in solidarity with the struggle at SCI Rockview. "We agree with the comrade at SCI Rockview that 'an assault on both fronts' is necessary, targets are everywhere."

March 29 - Multiple people vandalized cars in Fishtown, jumping on the hoods and kicking in windshields.

April 17 - The city increases police presence and begins sweeps of Kensington.

April 25 - A pro-Palestine encampment is established at Upenn.

April 26-29 - Northeast Bash Back Convergence takes place in Philadelphia.

April 27 - An anarchist Muay Thai fight is organized by the Balagoon Boxing Club.

Late April - "Shapeshifters" claim responsibility for taking down cameras in the Bartram North area. "Sorry we didn't get them all, but we'll get the rest next time!"

May Day - A noise demonstration takes place outside the Juvenile Justice Center, lighting fireworks and flares before dispersing because of police. "May first is an anarchist celebration of spring, remembrance, rebellion and it's important to me that the left doesn't completely co-opt this anarchic holiday."

May Day - An apartment building at Spruce St and 49th St is paintbombed and has its windows broken, causing \$100,000 worth of damage. "This is another classic of Philly

anarchy - terrorizing gentrifiers by mobbing up to attack a new building while its residents are already living in it."

May 17 - Pro-Palestine protesters clash with police outside UPenn's Fisher-Bennett Hall following an attempted occupation.

May 18 - A pro-Palestine encampment is established at Drexel University. Clashes with police took place as campers expropriated police barricades to strengthen their own. "No party will save us or bring the revolution."

May 24 - A pro-Palestine encampment is set up in Clark Park in West Philly and distributes supplies to anyone who want to put them to use.

May 30 - Machinery at Kingsessing Rec Center is sabotaged. "May grass prevail and the industrial sports complex perish!"

Early June - Weapons manufacturer Day & Zimmerman, an army recruitment center, and the George Washington statue at the Art Museum are tagged with pro-Palestine slogans.

June 14 - Neo-Nazi and serial sex offender Benjamin Franklin Ryder is outed after taking part in a White Lives Matter protest on Roosevelt Blvd. He is also revealed to be a member of the S14 neo-Nazi organization.

June 24 - Philadelphia Parking Authority parking meters and the Penn Bookstore are vandalized in protest of UPenn's support for Israel and the eviction of the recent encampments. "Fuck all the Zionists at Upenn."

June 24 - Benjamin Ryder of Glenside, PA is doxxed as a member of S14, White Lives Matter, and Embrace Struggle. "Ryder, a registered sex offender and pedophile, has been a known associate of PA area nazis for some time..."

Late June - Two gentrifying construction sites are attacked in "solidarity with anarchist prisoners and the struggle at SCI Rockview."

Early July - Caltrops are placed on the driveway of the Archibald, PA Lockheed Martin. "Hope they fucked up your genocidal vehicles."

July 4 - A Palestinian liberation demonstration marches through Center City, clashing with police, vandalizing pro-Zionist businesses, and burning American and Israeli flags.

July 8 - Neo-Nazi and former anarchist punk Alex Chubbuck of Boyertown, PA (FKA Nar and Nargoth) is doxxed. He is a member of fascist groups S14, White Lives Matter, and NJEHA. "Chubbuck has betrayed anarchism, antifascism, and his former community in the most disgusting way possible."

July 9 - The windows to the entrance of the Penovation Center are smashed. Penovation hosts Ghost Robotics a company selling military technology to Israel. "Until Palestine is free, and even then, we will never stop!"

July 9 - Ghost Robotics CEO Gavin Kenneally's Fairmount home is vandalized with paint. "We refuse to live in a world where Palestinians and migrants crossing the border must fear for their lives at the hands of killer robots, while the makers and war profiteers sleep peacefully in our city."

August - Heavy machinery is sabotaged at the Haddington golf course construction site. "We send solidarity to the saboteurs carrying out attacks at Kingsessing, Bartrams, FDR, and other sites of development and gentrification."

August 1 - Ant Smith is released from prison into a halfway house to complete his sentence. Ant was convicted of setting alight a police car during the 2020 George Floyd riots.

August 6 - Jonathan Misura of Milltown, NJ is identified as a close affiliate of neo-Nazi Andrew Takhistov and member of fascist group White Legion.

September 10 - Demonstrators against the presidential debate clash with police and leave anti-police and anti-colonial graffiti in Center City.

September 12 - A statue of Benjamin Franklin on the University of Pennsylvania campus is vandalized with red paint. "DISCLOSE. DIVEST. THE STUDENTS WILL NOT STOP, THE STUDENT MOVEMENT WILL NOT BE STOPPED. UNTIL PALESTINE IS FREE."

September 15 - Philly ABC hosts Running Down the Walls in solidarity with Palestinians resisting genocide. 400 people participate and around \$40,000 are raised in total, which was split between the ABCF warchest and Gaza mutual aid.

September 21 - Philly Police officers are attacked and cop cars are damaged as cops try to break up a series of car meet-ups across the city that involved drifting, street-racing, tire fires, and fireworks.

October 3 - A communique claims a recent sabotage of the construction site near the Greys Ferry bridge at Bartram North. "We tore out surveying stakes and smashed the windows on one of the machines that's turning another of Philly's wild spots into an ugly ass dirt pile."

October 10 - The home of Gavin Kenneally, co-founder and CEO of Ghost Robotics in Philadelphia, is attacked again. "Funded By Genocide" was painted on his garage, and "I Make Killer Dogs" on the sidewalk; paint was also thrown at the front door and a ring camera and windows were smashed. "Until all people are able to live safely and freely in the place they call home, we commit to fighting for our collective liberation."

October 10 - Indego, Philly's bike-sharing system, reports "unprecedented levels of vandalism" and thefts since July, in some cases rendering whole stations inoperable, and forcing Indego to remove five different stations.

Early October - A memorial mural for a dead police officer is vandalized with red paint. "We recognize amerikkkan police as part of the same machine that kills and oppresses Palestinians across the ocean."

October 13 - The offices of Ghost Robotics is attacked with paint, nails, and broken glass. Tags reading "No Killer Tech," "Free Gaza" and "Free Turtle Island" are written on the building. "Revolution until Liberation. Free Free Palestine!"

October 18 - UPenn police and PPD carry out a 6am armed raid and interrogation in the home of pro-Palestine activists. Personal devices were stolen. No arrests have been made or charges filed as of this writing.

October 19 - Hundreds of mink are released from Stahl Fur Farm in Sunbury, PA. Two people are arrested and charged in connection with the liberation.

October 21 - Decolonial graffiti on University of Pennsylvania campus. "Sinwar Lives" ★

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SUBMISSIONS

We accept submissions of material by, for and relevant to anarchists, from the so-called Philadelphia region and beyond. We are most interested in works that say what only anarchists can say, making our project unique from the Left and even other anarchist projects. No more than 2,000 words please.

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THE SECRET IS TO REALLY COMPLAIN

As anarchists, people against all authority, it would benefit us to remember that we hold our lives in our own hands. Each day we decide how we will spend our time, what activities we will put our energy into and who we will spend our time with. As anarchists we decide for ourselves how to struggle, what against, and what freedom means for us. With these things in mind we can form our own individual and collective sense of direction, and try to point our daily lives and struggles in that direction; this is sometimes called projectuality. Every so often there are complaints about “the anarchist scene;” this understanding of ourselves as a scene does us a disservice in that it assumes a lot of commonality where it may not exist, can confine rebellion to a specific group of people, and in many ways points us away from our own agency.

A SPACE RATHER THAN A SCENE

In Philly many anarchists don't know each other, don't hang out with each other, and don't share the same perspectives. Rather than a single scene, anarchists and our fellow travelers can be thought to make up a space together. The term “anarchist space” is adopted from the comrades in Greece, who, rather than a scene or movement, understand anarchists to share a space, politically. It isn't a cohesive movement, different anarchists move in different directions, without a unity of what anarchy is or how to achieve it. It isn't a scene because anarchists are part of many scenes, which themselves are fluid. The idea of an anarchist space is that we all share an interest in anarchy and we go about expressing this interest in wildly different ways, rather than characterizing ourselves as having a coherence of struggle (a movement), or coherence of social life (a scene), the anarchist space only states one thing: that we are anarchists (and anarchist-adjacent) without imposing any false unity. Practically speaking the anarchist space is made up of scenes, sections of scenes, projects, events, and of course individuals.

There is often an unspoken aim to consolidate and grow a scene or a movement, form something cohesive that can grow and grow. The goal of the number subtly steering our desires. We should ask ourselves, why do we want to be one big whole? What do we gain from fixing ourselves together? What do we have in common to come together about? How can unity or group coherence flatten our differences? Rather than striving for unity, we may benefit more from deepening and widening anarchic practices. What's meant here by deepening is going in the specific directions that we are drawn to and doing that as well as we can; widening on the other hand is the spreading of ideas and practices, not in an additive way of constantly

expanding a scene, affinity group, or project, but in a multiplicative way of encouraging the self-organization of other or new scenes, affinity groups, and projects. This view makes space for everyone to be deeply committed and uncompromising in their ideas and practices, while also encouraging a kind of spread that fosters the autonomy to self-create and self-organize. It should go without saying that this decentralized approach also has its benefits in terms of resilience in the face of repression and addresses some of the issues of centralization and consolidation of power.

THERE IS NO COMPLAINTS DEPARTMENT

There are times when attitudes of some anarchists seem to mirror a consumer mentality. The consumption of demonstrations, talks, social events, projects, and even comrades is an unfortunate reality. This plays out as the projection of one's goals or desires onto projects that one did not organize and may not even fully know the intentions of. Relying on others to orient their projects to accommodate our (often unstated) desires is misguided and presumptuous. Each of our desires is our own responsibility to fulfill. When we complain that others have not done the thing we wanted them to do, we may do well to ask ourselves why we ourselves didn't either, especially since the thing we are complaining about is the fulfilling of our own desires. The complaints department was inside you the whole time!

As diverse and interesting as the anarchist space is, and for all the talk of wanting it to be even more mixed, it seems that what's often forgotten is that diverse people have diverse desires. Not all anarchists have the same immediate or long-term goals. We often don't know what someone else wants unless they tell us. We do ourselves and others a disservice when we assume they want what we want, and find disappointment when their actions don't match our unspoken wishes of others. Sometimes it doesn't make sense to complain to other people about something they did differently than how we would like them to have done it, because their intention may not have matched the outcome we imagined in our mind. It's something else entirely, something very annoying, when people make their commitments or promise to do something, and then fail to deliver. In those cases this author would be the last to stand in the way of a complaint.

What kinds of relations do we want to have with each other as people in the anarchist space? Are we around together to feel like a part of something? To better fight some common enemies? To have a support network? There are no wrong answers, but clarifying for ourselves as individuals why we're around can help us have a better relation to the anarchist space and our own responsibility to our desires.

There's not many ways to say it gently, you have to do what you want to see done. Gandhi said to be the change right? This doesn't mean you have to do everything on your own and be a super soldier antifa who doesn't need anyone, rather that even collaborative endeavors have to start with someone's initiative, or invitation. Rather than hoping that the anarchist scene (read: other people) will do what we want them to, we can ask ourselves how we can make what we want and invite others to help us when we want to. The secret, yet again, is to really begin...★

CHERELLE PARKER IS AN IMAGE FROM THE FUTURE

The country is at a political crossroads, on one side is the naked face of authoritarianism, christian nationalism, and leaning into traditional forms of white supremacy and patriarchy, on the other side the more insidious, underhanded perpetuation of oppression and social control under a diverse cast of politicians, reformers, and police. The first path we have addressed as recently as the Trump presidency, massive protests against thinly veiled racist policies, physical clashes between anti-fascists and advocates of traditional values, a muddy mixture of liberal and radical politics sharing the streets to confront easily identifiable enemies of progress, democracy, and diversity. I find myself concerned with the other path, less criticized, more subtle, and often more effective at maintaining oppression unchallenged. Where the country will go I cannot predict but Philadelphia has already chosen the path of Black faces in high places, at least politically.

The political institutions around us aim to be resilient. The lessons of the 1960s and 1970s are continuing to solidify themselves in an incredibly nuanced, yet ever oppressive social order. The counterinsurgency strategies developed to deal with guerrilla war and insurgency, initially implemented abroad, then in the country's prisons and ghettos are spreading across the whole of the social terrain. As the riots and revolts of 2020 have shown, large portions of the population are capable of and willing to destabilize society. The most obvious answer to this possibility of unrest is policing: more prisons, cops, and surveillance, the closing in of what social space is still unmanaged. The diversification of those in ruling positions is another, one that we as anarchists have not developed effective strategies to deal with yet.

As anarchists we imagine ourselves against hierarchy and authority. We aspire to take part in destroying the state, capital, white supremacy, patriarchy, and more. Yet when those systems have a representative from an

oppressed group many hesitate. As anarchists living in Philadelphia, a territory controlled by a Black woman's city government, we need to be able to struggle and critique regardless of and especially in the face of a social order that incorporates oppressed people. Cherelle Parker is not the first oppressed person to take office or to use the clouded position of being a local racialized woman to garner popular support. Parker's Blackness, womanhood, Mount Airy roots, and democratic position have in no way prevented her from pushing repressive measures onto the city of Philadelphia. From bringing 300 more cops to sweep Kensington, opposing the safer use of drugs, to endorsing stop-and-frisk policing (despite campaigning against it prior to her election), and the return of full-time in-person work for city workers. Most recently Parker has made clear she is happy to see a sports arena pave over Chinatown, a neighborhood that has already been bisected by the Vine St Expressway. The list goes on and I won't bore you with the details, all to say, Parker is a typical run of the mill law and order mayor, the only difference between her and her predecessors is that she's a Black woman.

The kind of position Parker is in has been the cutting edge of repression and social control in the last couple decades. It was under the rule of self-described socialist and then-mayor Ronald Dellums, a Black man, that police killed Oscar Grant, sparking riots and looting across the city of Oakland. Dellums went into the riots to try and quell them, fortunately, he was shouted down. A year prior Dellums had added 38 new cops to the Oakland police department, the most in the city's history. Oakland's next mayor was Jean Quan, a Chinese-American woman, a first for a major city in the US. She cracked down on the 2011 Occupy protests that took place under her regime. Footage of police beating and gassing protesters went viral and she faced criticism as her statements that police were not using flashbang grenades and rubber-coated bullets proved to be untrue. In Atlanta the two mayors in office as the Cop City controversy unfolds are Black people, a Black woman followed by a Black man. In nearby New York City the Eric Adams regime has been adamantly in support of increasing policing and surveillance, re-arranging the city budget to better pour more money into the police department. Eric Adams is a Black man who grew up in the hood, coming from poverty he was a young criminal and was arrested and beaten by police. Ironically, Adams cites these experiences as the reason he became a cop, his intentions were to change the system from within. Despite what some may view as good intentions he has only made policing more prevalent, more brutal throughout NYC, the recent mass shooting by a cop in the subway being the most recent example. In Ferguson, MO, the city has overhauled their police department since killing Michael Brown ten years ago. The police department is now majority Black, yet it remains a police department. On the ten year commemoration of Michael Brown's death Black

people and others clashed with the police, damaging a police station fence, before putting a cop in the hospital. Rudimentary research reveals many more such cases of Black or otherwise non-white political leadership championing police.

One relatively recent example we can look to locally is the struggle against the gentrification of the Point Breeze neighborhood in South Philly, taking place from approximately 2014 to 2019. The leading developer of the area was OCF Realty, a company owned by Ori Feibush, a Jewish man. As the struggle escalated and he found himself in the crosshairs of vandals and rebels, he publicly claimed that the attacks on his business were acts of anti-Semitism. For the most part those struggling simply ignored OCF's claims, understanding their actions against OCF to be motivated by anti-capitalist and anti-gentrification sentiments. In addition to continuing to attack symbols and processes of development in the neighborhood, posters and graffiti criticizing Feibush's role as a landlord, developer, and gentrifier appeared in Point Breeze. Action communiques made clear that vandals were approaching the struggle with anti-gentrification and even anti-fascist understandings. These attack communiques, posters, and graffiti made their own narratives and rejected and refused to engage with OCF Realty's attempt to stifle revolt. This moment offers us some hints for strategizing how to move forward when we face an oppressive structure headed by an oppressed person.

We must face our own values and internalized racism as anarchists engaging in struggle. Although the anarchist space is becoming more multi-racial - and in Philadelphia specifically more Black - we cannot exempt ourselves from asking critical questions if we want to continue sharpening our confrontation with a social order that is looking more and more neo-colonial. Why do we feel so uncomfortable confronting authority when it comes from someone who isn't a white man? How can we confront both structural and interpersonal oppressions? How can we develop deeper critiques of representation, identity, and governance? What strategies can we experiment with to better confront narratives that weaponize identity to shield those in power? ★



WHERE IS THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT?

“War made the state and the state made war”
– Charles Tilly, 1975

Are anarchists against war? Theoretically, yes, but sometimes theory gets muddled when confronted with the harsh and confusing reality of practice. Although it once represented one of the most threatening anti-state tendencies in the United States, today a generalized anti-war sentiment is mostly absent from anarchist discourse. For decades, the U.S.'s violent incursions abroad have been so constant and widespread (and mostly invisible to its own citizens) that an anti-war position today would need to be articulated in such a way that reflects this updated context of warfare.

Such a position is urgently needed today as multiple regional conflicts across the world, all of which involve the U.S., threaten to spiral into global warfare and embroil the U.S. and those of us who live here even further. A congressional report released this summer concluded that war with a near-peer adversary is likelier than in any time in the past 80 years, that the public is largely unaware of this, and that the U.S. is not prepared for the current threats; across the pond, the U.S.'s major allies in Europe have been rearming for years as global powers across the world prepare for the next world war. Are we paying attention?

Soon after Russia invaded Ukraine in early 2022, France's president called for a shift to a “war economy.” While the country has not strictly speaking entered a war economy, France has massively stepped up its defense industrial and technological production and is now the second-biggest arms exporter in the world. The Defense Minister said in the spring of 2024 that he was considering requisitioning employees, stocks, and production tools if industrial groups didn't produce fast enough (requisitioning is an actual war economy measure in which companies with civilian activities are ordered to prioritize production for military activities). Part of its seven-year military programming bill (which plans to bring its defense budget up to €69 billion by 2030, up from €44 billion in 2023), moreover, is to double the number of people in the armed forces' reserve. This involves heavy recruitment as well as raising the age limit for military service from 62 to 70 years old.

Russia's incursions in Ukraine are happening right next to Germany territory. This has given Germany excuses to revitalize its military in ways that would have been previously unimaginable in the wake of the past world wars, a major result of which had been a global consensus that bad things happen when Germany is allowed to

build up a highly functional military apparatus. Germany became widely opposed to militarization immediately after 1945 and held strong throughout the Cold War, with governmental policy focused on limiting military conflict in the interest of preventing more world wars. Yet the country is now the world's fifth-largest weapons exporter, and is slated to spend 2% of its GDP on its military budget this year. Within the past year, the German Minister of War has announced that Germany must become "ready for war," that Russia will not stop at Ukraine's borders, and that the government is considering reintroducing military conscription (*"All Ready for War," Antisistema #2*).

As always, when any state is drumming up pro-war propaganda, we remain skeptical about its reasons for doing so. Preparing for war is an industry, and the threat of global warfare, real or imaginary, provides an excellent economic opportunity for western nation-states like France, Germany, and the United States. It also helps the state bolster national unity against foreign threats, which are inevitably racially coded as a kind of barbarian "other" against which the state must fortify itself to protect its citizens and which "civilized" nations have a shared duty to eradicate. These racist, pro-civ undercurrents are obvious in the U.S.'s discussion of China as a threat, for example, and reportedly have been at play in anti-Russia propaganda in Germany as well, portraying Russia as a barbarian threat from the east.

These phenomena are not being noticed or discussed much by anarchists in the United States, which is understandable. Many anarchists in the U.S. have a lot going on and paying attention to European countries' preparations for World War III is usually not the primary thing on the agenda. But global warfare concerns all of us. It will impact the poorest and most oppressed of the world more than anyone else, as war always does.

In talking about a generalized anti-war stance, I am distinguishing between being against war, on the one hand, and being against specific atrocities, on the other. The movement in solidarity with Palestinians facing genocide has been incredibly prominent in the United States for the past year, as it should be. In many ways, this ongoing struggle has highlighted the realities of U.S. imperialism while undermining its legitimacy at home in ways that we have not seen in a long time. We can see the Palestine solidarity movement as a significant and necessary complement to the 2020 uprisings for Black lives and against policing: as student encampments and solidarity attacks spread like wildfire across the nation this past spring, it felt like the mask of U.S. empire was suddenly being ripped off, similarly to how the uprisings four years ago exposed the U.S.'s everyday genocidal operations at home.

But let's look more closely at the choice to focus anti-war struggles specifically on Palestine. In the face of the U.S.'s complicity in Israel's genocidal project, the ethical importance for those of us living in the U.S. to struggle against the genocide is obvious. All struggles have their limits, though, and to address these limits is not to undermine the struggle in question, but pursue it with honesty and integrity and a desire for our collective liberation.

For the most part, the pro-Palestinian solidarity actions in the U.S. have been articulated as a pressure campaign against the state and specific corporations that are enabling the genocide. As opposed to insurgent struggles, a pressure campaign does not necessarily seek to materially damage or disrupt the state's means of warfare, but to persuade or threaten the state to take measures to stop the warfare itself. In this case, for example, the solidarity actions have mostly aimed to pressure the U.S. into calling for a ceasefire. The pressure campaign is a fundamentally reformist method; it tries to stop a particular thing from happening rather than agitating against the whole system, and, despite its often threatening language, it operates within the framework of the nation-state by demanding that the U.S. and Israel abide by international law. While it might often use destructive tactics, this kind of campaign is ultimately very different from an insurgent struggle against the entirety of the United States and its inextricable status as a white supremacist, settler colonial state, as well as against the existence of states and oppression altogether.

Discussing this limitation is not some kind of purist quibbling — this kind of limit has real consequences. How else could we explain the enthusiasm with which pro-Palestine marches in Philly have welcomed police escorts, or the outrage of students at campus occupations discovering all over again that cops violently and brutally quell dissent? Have we completely forgotten 2020? There's been much talk in Philadelphia this past year about solidarity between Black and Palestinian liberation struggles, but as Black anarchists have repeatedly pointed out, a basic step towards this kind of solidarity would be for Palestinian organizers to refuse to work with police.

The genocide happening in Gaza is in many ways exceptional, and action against it is urgently necessary. It might be worth considering, however, what we lose when the discourse and momentum around a particular struggle depends on its exceptionalism. From where I'm sitting, it seems like this kind of approach does not open up much space for solidarity with other struggles against oppression. It works instead to spread a somewhat coercive moral outrage and pressure to focus exclusively on Palestine. We neglect to talk about the other wars and genocides that the United States is funding or carrying out, not to mention the ongoing war on much of its own

population at home. Again, this is not to imply that we should not be aggressively agitating around the slaughter in Gaza. It is a question about how we can develop a method of agitation for Palestine that approaches it not as a single-issue campaign, but instead brings it together with other struggles for liberation.

If war is defined as an armed conflict between two different groups, then the state is war. States establish themselves through violent conquest of land and its inhabitants, and they maintain their hold on that territory through an ongoing war against that land and much of its human population. This is true even if that war is so normalized as to be nearly invisible to most of its citizens. Genocide and violence are not exceptional; they are routine aspects of how the state establishes and maintains itself. Most mainstream sociological theories of the state define it through violence: most famously, the state is defined as a compulsory organization that holds a legitimate monopoly on the use of physical force (Max Weber), or, even more simply, as a “coercion-wielding organization” (Charles Tilly). These are not radical views about the state, but facts that are easily observable through historical study of state formation.

Many of us were taught growing up that the state was created with the “consent of the governed.” This is a process by which people come together and establish a “social contract” in which they agree to give up some of their rights in return for the state’s protection of their safety and security. Unfortunately, this is not a thing that has ever actually happened. Its legacy lives on, though, as states like the U.S. thrive on what sociologists call “selling [its citizens] protection from itself” and convincing us that we have no ability to take care of ourselves and each other without it.

The point is to question the idea that the state is the political form that is best suited to organizing human life. In questioning all warfare, which is the term the state uses for the *legitimate* violence of the state against those on the other side of its arbitrarily imposed borders, we thus end up questioning the nature of the state itself.

If this is all true, why aren’t anarchists today more outspoken about being against war in itself? Why does an “anti-war movement,” or even just being “anti-war,” sound so corny and embarrassing? Maybe it’s because since the existentially threatening anti-war struggles of the 1960s-1980s, the state has spent decades teaching us to associate being “anti-war” with self-absorbed white hippies smoking weed and throwing around flowers. This is unfortunate, since in reality much of the actual anti-war movement at the time was much more militant and racially diverse than any current anarchist struggle in recent memory. But it is also unfortunate because being against war is in fact foundational to combative anarchy

and has historically been an important point of connection between anarchists and other insurgent struggles against oppression.

So what lies ahead? If the war with Russia enters German or other NATO territories, the state propaganda and moral pressure on all of us to support and participate in the U.S. and NATO’s part in the conflict will be overwhelming. The way the state inundated us with propaganda about the plight of Ukraine when Russia invaded it over three years ago was so intense that many leftists and anarchists were drawn in. Anarchists and other radicals around the world fundraised for Ukrainian anarchists joining state military formations, helped international volunteers get to war zones, and drummed up additional moral outrage against anyone expressing anti-war sentiment. I doubt it will get any easier for us to pursue an anti-war position once NATO is officially involved.

Once NATO forces are officially fighting in a global war, we may have to make difficult choices not just about what we say about warfare, but about how we move in our everyday lives. As we discussed earlier, countries like France and Germany have been all too eager to transform their economies into war economies. When a country shifts to a war economy, many jobs and economic activities that we currently participate in are channeled into producing the necessary materials for killing people abroad. States will reinstate the draft and try to force many of us to join them in the slaughter. There will be a general political atmosphere of enhanced authoritarianism and repression.

I want to encourage anarchists to resist participating in the logistics of war. But these can’t just be words; we’ll need to help facilitate this refusal by providing the means with which to do so. It’s easy to say that an anarchist shouldn’t fight for a state, but evading a draft can be incredibly dangerous. How can we help each other do this? What kind of infrastructure would we need?

In addition, the heightened authoritarianism of the state will likely make more “social” and visible methods of anarchist struggle even riskier than they are now. As bleak as this sounds, though, we can always look for other possibilities that such a situation might open up. A recent piece in *La Houle* responding to “*All Ready for War*,” reflecting on the beginning of the war in Ukraine, discusses one such possibility:

“An interesting hypothesis, but one certainly put forward too late, is that in the event of a defeat (or of a major loss of territory by the regular army) a resistance would inevitably emerge against the invader. And if they didn’t want to leave the patriots, statist, nationalists, and democrats with a monopoly, they would need to lay the groundwork for autonomous, social, anti-authoritarian

resistance from the start. A resistance perhaps initiated by anarchists but which could be joined by anyone who was drawn by the relevance of the proposed methods of fighting (guerilla warfare, asymmetrical combat, sabotage of logistics) and organizing (resistance movement, high degree of autonomy, rejection of bureaucracy). This hypothesis did not manifest itself in any real way. They were overtaken by events, perhaps, by the lack of initial forces, by confusion and fear which diminished their mistrust of state initiatives, by a lack of capacity...

*“A Few Reflections in Response to This Text”
from La Houle (translation forthcoming)*

Whether warfare reaches the territories we live on or remains abroad, there is also the question of how anarchists and other insurgents might intervene against the war through direct action. My great hope is that we can take up the kinds of tactics that radicals are currently using to pressure corporations to stop supplying arms to Israel, and find ways in which we can use similar styles of attack to disrupt the logistics of war.

The attack on Ghost Robotics here in Philly in July, in which all the buildings' windows were smashed, did significant damage and, according to the communique that followed, took place under the gaze of a security guard. This is heartening because it clearly helps empower us to build up our ability to escalate attacks. A recent attack in the United Kingdom against a factory that makes parts for F-35 jets, which used paint to contaminate a clean room, will reportedly halt production at that facility for up to 12 months. This is excellent, as it hurts the corporation's ability to function; if nothing else, it's a courageous and worthwhile example of retaliation against war profiteers. It's unclear, though, if that is the only facility that produces those parts for the F-35s, or if they will just be supplied by a different factory or company. Are there parts of the F-35 that are only produced in one or a few places? Which ones? What kind of attack could actually stop or slow down manufacturing and create a real shortage of F-35s?

Further study is needed in order to figure out how to cause damage that concretely intervenes in the war, if that's something that anarchists are interested in doing. German anarchists have published a guide to how to do this kind of research, called *“Introduction to Mapping the Local Arms Industry and its Vulnerable Points”* (ruestungsindustrie.noblogs.org).

In Germany, when some rail lines were sabotaged as an intervention in the Ukraine-Russia war, some radicals accused the action of helping Russia, since the trains whose lines were attacked were bringing supplies to Ukraine. Maybe it doesn't matter what other people say about these kinds of attacks, but actions like this might be more understandable, and likely to spread more widely,

in the context of a broader, explicitly anti-war struggle, or at least in the context of a network of diffuse attack that does considerable damage to the logistics of war. So, as the authors of *“A Few Reflections”* also conclude, we must prepare for the coming of warfare — mental and logistical preparation, research into infrastructure and supply lines, and deepening and broadening our relationships with comrades near and afar. And, lucky for us, the best way to prepare is through action in the here and now: “preparation is not separate from practice.” ★

IMPERIAL WARGAMING

Russia inches south to warm water both east and west, currently over 1,000,000 casualties in two years of fighting in Ukraine. Above the trenches of WW1, airplanes were first used for surveillance and dropping bombs. Over 100 years later, above the trenches of WW3 drones are doing the same thing.

The United States has at least 250,000 soldiers active outside North America, and over 1,000,000 within. Its Navy conducts “freedom of navigation” literally zigzagging in the ocean to prove they can. Convincing thousands each year to lock themselves in submarines for months on end with the mission to destroy what's left of the surface world if needed. They monitor undersea cables, lay mines, and launch satellites between torture sessions.

Russian jets from Vladivostok flame tension in the sea of Japan waiting for their opportunity in the chaos.

The unstable nuclear armed Korean peninsula is held hostage by China in the north and the United States and Japan's alliance over the people in the South, where the largest shipbuilding yard in the world is located.

Guam has been refortified by the United States Military, Japan has warships all the way out to the middle east. China is building island forts, holding Taiwan hostage, while it finishes its own internal imperial colonization.

The Philippines hosts nuclear weapons stockpiles for the Pentagon aimed at China.

Australia kisses the Anglo-American boot, extracting what they can from their island and any nearby, buying submarines and convincing idiots to get inside.

India and Pakistan have agreed to mutually assured nuclear destruction.

Iran and the Shiite world are being pushed, pulled and bombed into a war with the United States and its proxies. What Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan will do is unknown,

but each has been well bribed by the United States.

Israel continues with its internal imperial colonization just shy of 200,000 reported casualties in 2 years. As Israel pushes north into Lebanon they have encountered a small European army at the border, installed there as a peacekeeping force over 40 years ago; while Israel fights Hezbollah and civilians die, the UN peacekeepers will watch. Just like the Dutch did in Bosnia in 1995.

This NATO force is supported mainly by France and comprised firstly from its former colony Indonesia. France recently declared a war economy and is desperately trying to maintain imperial control over North Africa in Mali, Chad, New Caledonia, Gabon, the Ivory Coast, and Senegal. To name only a small few.

As Israel pushes south to prove it can massacre better, it moves closer to Egypt with whom it has fought a series of wars within the past 50 years. Egypt is home to one of the largest tank factories in the world, paid for with American tax dollars.

Next door Libya, with French help, just got back in the oil market after making progress in its own internal colonial endeavors against the Tuareg and Tebo.

Out in the Mediterranean Israel and Greece clash with Turkey over the oil fields around Cyprus. As 2024 draws to a close, there is a massive oversupply of oil globally, leading States to see war with a discount price tag.

Greek fighter jets daily intercept Turkish warplanes as they play games that only cost EU taxpayers.

On record over 3,000 people die each year attempting to reach Europe across the Mediterranean alone, and there are countless other deadly corridors. Saudi Arabia blocks Yemen and Ethiopia. Spain through its colonial outposts in the Canary Islands and Morocco block West Africa. Only to name a few.

Italy refuses to do anything but make ammunition. (Which is a bad thing)

Then there are the Germans, stuck in the middle. Who in past similar situations have decided to attack France first, then Russia. (The Germans also invented the sterile underwater missile silo concept known today as submarine warfare.)

These are States making open land grabs and attempts at empire building, while trapping the global south, torturing and killing people.

The genocide in Gaza is not an isolated incident.★



DON'T VOTE?

I might have moved beyond shaming people if they decide to vote. I've long said it doesn't really matter, and concluded that I needn't come after you for your dirty little secret — if you keep it as such. Advocating for candidates, even just as one over another, or for participation in the process in general is another matter entirely. Like many other matters pertaining to participation in government, you are inherently advocating against anarchy.

To say it's necessary to participate in this process, particularly as the wins on the presidential level just oscillate between the two parties, is counter-intuitive. To vote for the "lesser evil" is a vote for evil, in their chosen words. The democrats of the last several decades have moved their positions farther to the right each election cycle, accepting the constraints of legitimacy and populism, and republicans have done the same. As much as anarchists tend to identify with the left, of course, we must remember that even a left wing government is still a government — and governments are the enemy of freedom.

It's been said so many times before, but the delineation between left and right wings are between different types of government as defined during the French Revolution. While anarchists often find themselves in the company of the left, socially, our anti-political aspirations are free from any style of government. One could even argue that we are an economically conservative bunch — against government spending because we are against government — if only wishing for the police and "defense" budgets to be cut before the social programs. Of course social programs, like rights, are fickle concepts that can be leveraged in any which way the purveyors of them wish.

When the purveyors of social programs, like the granters of rights, are a hierarchical group, they are likely to be corrupted by their power at some point, leveraging it to maintain and proliferate their power over others. This is why we advocate mutual aid over charity, on a similar avenue, finding common cause in our coexistence. We prefer lifting each other up rather than maintaining class stratification. As if we need any reminder: for there to be wealthy people there must also be poor people.

If we might briefly address “rights” more specifically, we can see how government gives and takes away access to medical procedures based on whims and the rhythms of power, as is their job. Rights are bestowed by government, and as such, can be taken away by government. There is a reason for this. Governments create, amend, or negate laws and rulings, so that they can better police (i.e. enforce) and judge the populace. The rights are often only granted when a destabilizing force is respected for its possibilities, in an attempt to neutralize its destructive power, pacifying and even recuperating it. Ideally for figures in government, this can be used as part of their platform for reelection.

We should also recognize that the popular vote did not stop conservatives from taking power in 2016, nor appointing unelected justices of their choice to the supreme court. What’s more, though a slightly smaller contingent, the conservative voting mass is still extremely large, and it’s unclear where the youngest generations might skew in a world that is increasingly volatile. This is just another way to say that leaving system structure up to voting is playing the game on their terms, maintaining those political rhythms and ultimately the status quo. The far-right is framed as attempting to upset that status quo, but it is only to re-centralize the power that is granted under a settler-colonial empire a little further. Their aims are not different from the very core and basis of this system. Part of what leads to this mindset, too, is that neither the right nor the left has decreased the existential threats facing us at all.

This massified system attempts to represent diverse interests, an impossible task across so broad a spectrum, while maintaining a status quo that is an outright foe of the living world — people included. Representation is at the core of our opposition to election politics, too, with its mediations and compromise. Every compromise has only furthered the progress of greedy and destructive industries, and further infringed on the former freedom of so many peoples. While it may be impossible to totally kill the earth, governments the world over seem to be trying in their genocides of indigenous peoples and extinction of incredible swaths of living things — further destabilizing the methods of living we have left.

Even if there is better identity-based representation in government, the same structures persist. In the USA it might not quite be a neocolonial force (controlled by

some outside developed country despite an independent-appearing government), but the exploitation of people and earth as resources is baked into this developed landscape and its rulers.

Even if you might wield more influence voting in smaller, more local elections; and more so on referendums against every type of criminalization, taxation, or government spending; or voting for joke candidates that ideally destabilize their system of rule - we would represent ourselves better (and maybe even better shoot for our aims) by organizing attacks on would-be impositions, abstentions from funding government programs, defense systems against military/policing, and any sort of space that creates possibilities for freedom. Some might say this includes building counter-institutions, and certain senses of that could be true, but I remain wary of every institution.

The good news is that all of these things are already happening. Any one of us can join one of these preexisting projects or create some of our own. It doesn’t have to be one or another, in any sense, as everyone contains multitudes, but I certainly prefer my projectuality to be understood for what it is. In a larger sense, most of my projects revolve around the goal of dismantling the USA - as a slave plantation, as a settler-colonial empire, as an ecocidal industry, as a class-stratifying economy, as a government and as a stabilizing prop for so many other governments around the world.

There is a psychology at play when we see people even passively representing anything. The proliferation of company logos on clothing, for instance, is a way for the consumer to advertise for the company even after they have paid the company for those clothes. “I voted today” stickers are endorsements of government itself. I want my existence to be an outright hostility to all of it, as I believe that is what is at the core of my being an anarchist.



AN APPRAISAL OF THE PALESTINIAN SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT & ANARCHIST INTERVENTIONS IN PHILADELPHIA

It has been over a year since the anti-colonial revolt on October 7th shocked the world. The brave actions taken by Palestinian resistance fighters continue to reverberate today in our current moment. I write this text in order to take stock of the past year specifically in terms of how anarchists took part in the pro-palestinian struggle here in Philadelphia. For this reason, I will focus upon anarchist actions and interventions that occurred over the past year referring mostly to posts that I found on Philly Anticapitalist website. I write this text as an anarchist who is interested in broader social movements against domination with an intention of abolishing the state, and who is invested in an anarchist politics that de-centers subculture and whiteness.

ON ANARCHIST ORGANIZATION

Immediately after the Al-Asqa Flood, anarchists hosted a discussion in Clark Park on Anarchist Responses to Palestine and another discussion a week later specifically on the anarchist group in the West Bank Fauda. These discussions had mixed results. While the facilitators tried to focus upon principled conversation about anti-colonial revolt and what solidarity looked like, there were many side discussions that did not inform a particular anarchist projectuality around the pro-Palestine struggle. Rather, it seemed that the anarchist movement continues to be divided upon questions of race, subculture, class and colonialism. Unfortunately, some anarchists in Philly seemed to be disinterested in contributing to social struggles that do not translate perfectly to their anarchist politics. This is a choice I do not think highly of but I'm not super interested in convincing people. I just don't understand why people come to discussions about contributing to social struggles when they don't believe there's a point in that. However, the fact that the movement is divided rather than unified in its irrelevance is encouraging. These discussions also showed that nuanced views on anti-colonial struggle remain difficult for anarchists. Finally, I also felt that a politics of deference/white allyship/guilt/saviorism still seems to exist in the anarchist space, which is unfortunate.

Another tendency from these discussions that's present in the city is a desire by Black and POC so-called anarchists to chastise whites rather than organize for revolt which is equally as boring as the white ally politics. In fact, there were several conversations where it was clear that Black and POC anarchists who showed up to the Palestine gatherings had quite different politics...some being more militant while others were more liberal. This

is unsurprising as it shows that racial identity alone and even anarchist identity is not a basis for a shared analysis. On a more positive note, a good number of people made it clear that anarchists should not be deferential, the importance of attacks outside of demos was emphasized repeatedly.

“I think that’s why in my view, anarchists need to hunker down and keep building independent anarchist projects rather than taking part in struggles that unfortunately if we’re being quite honest have been utterly captured by the activist left, even those who proclaim the importance of ‘escalation,’ whatever that means.”

I think many anarchists in Philly in their relationship to the Palestinian struggle have remained in a civil anarchist position. This means that anarchists unfortunately have tailed the Left. Many anarchists (with some exceptions) show up to rallies, encampments, marches, and meetings with no explicit agenda of their own. This isn't to say we should be authoritarian or try to take over movements, but the issue often with anarchists in Philly is that they have critiques but then don't do anything about them but rather just go along with the activist/Left forces. And this in my view has always mostly, but not exclusively, had to do with a politics of whiteness/deference, inability to organize separate from the Left, and an unwillingness to engage in real conflict internal to the social movements we purport to be a part of. At this point, if anarchists are unwilling to make real interventions in these weak social movements, we are better off doing our own thing. Anarchists who are doing ambulance chasing and running logistical support for the activist Left should be ashamed.

ON THE DEMONSTRATIONS

Despite the shortcomings, these discussions I mentioned earlier led to some organization that resulted in anarchists contributing to the large demonstrations that occurred in Philly. There were several calls for black blocs which resulted in small crews painting different things and scuffling with police at several of the pro-Palestine demonstrations. Encouragingly, when anarchists moved together as a group it was difficult for them to be peace-policed. A SEPTA police car was also sabotaged during one demonstration according to a Philly Anti-capitalist communique. Despite the success of these small calls for anarchists in the demo, it did not shift the broader activist-oriented Palestine movement into a more combative movement overall. This is ultimately the struggle for anarchists: we are revolutionaries but that does not mean the social struggles we contribute to are always going

to share our politics. Some comrades felt that the anti-police movements of the 2010s were more receptive to general property destruction as a tactic while a general ungovernability was less common in the streets during the Palestine demos. I recommend the reader to check some of the reportbacks if they are interested in learning more as they speak to the complexities of participating in these demonstrations. Eventually, it seems that the police caught on and ended up just trailing the small groups of anarchists who would show up. Without a broader shift in culture, militants are always going to be isolated. Though I think anarchists tried to intervene in big demos, I wonder what would have happened if anarchists had called their own demo? Painting and occasionally scuffling with police is definitely better than a regular peaceful demonstration (which is what most of the Palestine demos are) but I think unless those practices become generalized, doing stuff like that just opens us up to repression with little reward.

ON ATTACKS

There have been a number of clandestine attacks that have happened over the course of the last year. Right around the time of the first anarchist discussion, there was a communique published on October 18th on Philly Anti-Capitalist that reported an attack on a military recruitment office in Upper Darby. There was a lot of graffiti that happened all over as well. Elbit systems in Birdsboro was also graffitied at some point. I don't really think graffiti fully counts as an attack. Maybe that's just a personal thing but I think the largely symbolic paint throwing and graffiti should be criticized as that seems to be the main tactic of the Palestinian protesters which has been popularized by tankie-adjacent accounts like Palestine Action or now Unity of Fields. The most high-profile attacks were when Ghost Robotics research facility at the Pennovation labs got smashed up by an unknown group in July. Interestingly, the militants in their reportback commented upon how easy the attack was.

“In the early hours of July 9th we smashed every window of the entrance to the Pennovation center, a ritzy research compound in Philadelphia. The lone security guard must have been so surprised when we appeared out of nowhere and started smashing, because he didn't even try to stop us! And we couldn't believe how long it took for the police to show up...”

The lack of more direct attacks probably comes from a combination of fear, lack of affinity, lack of imagination and the overall focus on Palestine as an exclusive issue. Fear is a real hindrance to action but we can learn to be braver through fighting and training alongside one another. Clandestine attacks are always going to remain a marginal tendency in the United States for a number of reasons, but generally, I think that more small attacks

could have propelled a more regular culture of sabotage and attack. However, small attacks are generally the product of affinity-based cultures which seem to have taken a back seat in the anarchist milieu in the past few years. Perhaps more education on affinity based organizing may be helpful as well as attacks against non-Israel related targets (such as the May Day attacks on a gentrifier condo and various sabotages at construction sites that happened over the past year) to help popularize a culture of revolt.

ON THE ENCAMPMENTS

It is unclear to me what role anarchists played in the Penn encampment. I'm assuming due to the weakness of the politics of that encampment, it was probably marginal or non-existent. The Penn encampment as I understand it was deeply liberal, activist-oriented and stupid. A waste of time in my view. However, after reading through reportbacks by anarchists regarding the Drexel encampment, it is clear that anarchists played a more significant role in it. There was more militancy, it was horizontally organized (as opposed to the super hierarchical Penn encampment) and it approached the closest thing to some of the more rebellious encampments in other cities though it did not get close at all to the clashes or building occupations seen in a number of other cities. Unfortunately, what's clear from the report-backs was that the activist Left largely abandoned the Drexel encampment once it was clear that the students were unwilling to engage in a kind of cowardly respectability politic that the Philly Left is so known for. Despite the efforts of the anarchists to self-organize alongside the Drexel students which lead to a more rowdy first night, much of the energy had waned from the student movement and thus it was only a matter of time till the camp was destroyed so the organizers chose pre-emptively to leave. While this was a good choice, it did not lead to a more combative street protest culture or anything along those lines. I don't understand the use of a tactical retreat by students if there's nothing that follows it up.

CONCLUSION

Upon writing this, I feel pretty negatively about anarchist contributions to the Palestinian struggle over the past year. This isn't because anarchists did a bad job but I think my analysis begs the question, why does our participation in a largely activist struggle like this even matter? While I think that anarchists tried to transform the struggle through attacks, our participation in encampments and efforts to organize autonomous black blocs internal to demos, these efforts were largely unsuccessful in terms of cultivating a broader culture of revolt. I think that's why in my view, anarchists need to hunker down and keep building independent anarchist projects rather than taking part in struggles that unfortunately if we're

being quite honest have been utterly captured by the activist left, even those who proclaim the importance of “escalation,” whatever that means. I think that Black rebellions in contrast to the Palestine stuff are composed of different groups of people. I think that a lot of anarchists assume (hopefully and perhaps naively) that every social movement just needs a few militants to get it turned but the capture by authoritarians and cowards goes deep. I often found myself talking to friends and feeling like we were in a pre-2020 moment. I want to be clear that I don’t mean to disparage comrades who fought and took time out of their lives to take part in these struggles, but for me as an anarchist, I do not know what purpose the pro-Palestine stuff had.

It’s clear that instead of trying to trail activist/left struggles, we need to focus upon developing specific struggle models here in Philadelphia and elsewhere. In specific struggles, anarchists choose the terrain for the struggle as oppose to chasing the Left. While specific struggles are meant to build alliances, anarchists are not acting as ambulance chasers or auxiliaries for the Left. We must set the terms of the struggles that we participate in. Short of social struggles consuming all of society such as the rebellions in 2020 with how they mobilized large sections of the oppressed and exploited classes, we should remain skeptical as the activist/non-profit/Leftist tendency remains the dominant tendency of social struggles in the United States. I want to be clear I do not have a clear answer on political answers but I think anarchists doing what we do best on our own especially in regards to a specific struggle could be helpful.

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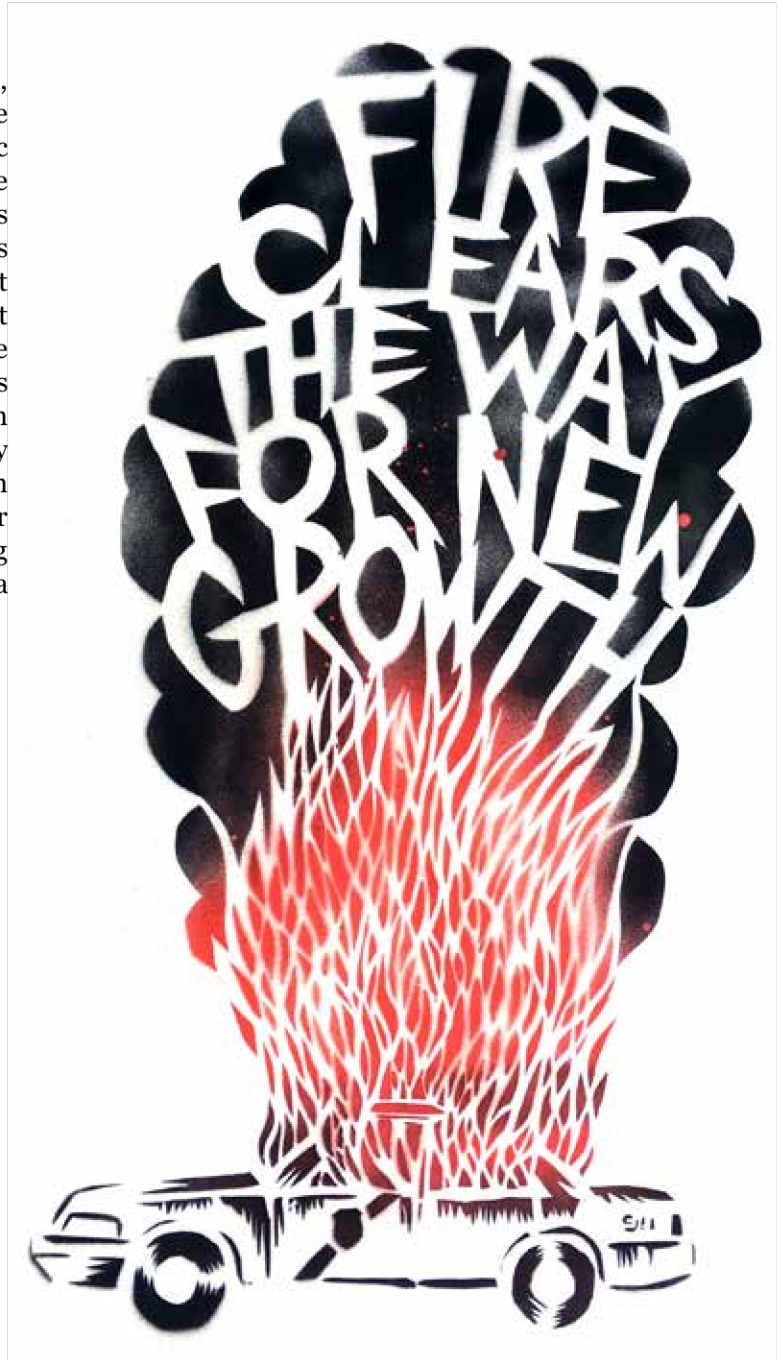
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SKILLING UP IN SHIFTING WATERS

Since October 7th of last year struggles to free Palestine and destroy colonialism have exploded in scope in the United States. Large demonstrations, occupations on college campuses, renewed interest in international connections, a proliferation of new and old symbols of liberation have all become commonplace. As the struggles to free Palestine continue and change, we, as participants, would do well to learn from our changing context as well as trends in previous struggles.

Initially demonstrations for Palestinian liberation were enormous in the autumn and winter of last year, since then they have decreased in both attendance and frequency. Though there was a renewed mass participation moment when the tactic of occupations generalized across the country. In Philly we saw camps spring up at Penn and at Drexel, an attempt to occupy a Penn building (followed by clashes with police), and a short-lived camp in Clark Park. That said, it seems to this author that the mass aspect of the Palestine struggles have passed their peak in the United States, at least for now. What can it look like to struggle when the majority of people have left the streets?

One place to look for the struggle has been the increase in autonomous acts of vandalism and sabotage for Palestinian liberation. Unity Of Field (formerly Pal Action US) has positioned itself to be a mouthpiece for the authors of autonomous actions. On their website (unityoffields.org) one can find photos and videos of graffiti, sabotage actions, and other updates from mostly unaffiliated actors taking offensive action against institutions, infrastructure, and symbols complicit in the Zionist entity's genocide. Local anarchist counter-information sites nationwide have also seen an increase in claimed actions in solidarity with Palestinian liberation struggles. Philly is no exception to this trend with attacks on weapons developers, police, military, and lots of graffiti taking place since the fall. With this new trend toward autonomous, seemingly small-group action taking place while mass demonstrations decline, how can we continue our struggles?

In past movements when mass participation declined and more radical elements remained steadfast in their struggle, this radical minority experiences a unique vulnerability to repression. On one hand they are more isolated in that they are taking action on their own without necessarily having the support or insulation of social movements. On the other hand their radical politics and tactics are less likely to be well received by other movement people. Law enforcement have a smaller pool of people they need to worry about, meaning they can better surveil the few

who continue to struggle. This leaves those radical rebels more vulnerable to state repression. How can we resist this risky predicament?

One way to resist repression is by developing the skills to better take autonomous actions and get away clean. Of course strong technical skills are only one facet of resilient struggles. Networks of comrades, movement infrastructure, and cultures of support and non-cooperation with the state are all important aspects of struggles that can better resist and challenge state repression, these go beyond the scope of this article. With that said, generations of rebels have been fine-tuning their skills to make getting caught that much more difficult and carrying out risky actions that much more worth it. As we witness the trends of increasing autonomous actions and decreasing mass participation we can look to resources that offer guidance and experience for bettering how one can take precautions and carry out autonomous actions. Below are a few of this author's favorites.

notrace.how – *No Trace Project* describes itself as “A collection of tools to help anarchists and other rebels understand the capabilities of their enemies, undermine surveillance efforts, and ultimately act without getting caught.” They offer an always growing library of case files, communiqués, and guides on surveillance, counter-insurgency, digital forensics, and security. Their website is a well-organized resource for anyone who may find the state trying to criminalize them.

warriorup.noblogs.org – *Warrior Up* takes inspiration from indigenous warriors in the territory dominated by the Canadian state and their fight to defend land and water. Their guides and resources have an infrastructural bent, but can be used for a lot of different kinds of actions.

anarsec.guide – This site focuses on the challenges of living in a technological dystopia. Taking into account the kinds of threats anarchists are likely to face the guides on this site cover tools such as TAILS and Qubes. They also propose low-tech solutions to some high-tech problems.

Digital security note: It is recommended to use TOR browser and/or a VPN to access any of the above websites.



**NO MATTER THE
RESULTS IN
NOVEMBER
WE KEEP
FIGHTING**

