

the life of a single human being is worth a million times more than all the property of the richest man on earth.

Che Guevara

#### FROM THE EDITORS

Outrage at the murders of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor sparked a collective mobilization few of us could have predicted. In the midst of an economic collapse brought on by incompetent management of the COVID-19 pandemic, the brutal, senseless killings of more black Americans by the racist police force were catalysts for riots, looting, and mass peaceful protests, as well as experiments in mutual aid and free association like Seattle's Capitol Hill Autonomous Zone. Americans are not passively accepting authoritarian government action; they are demonstrating willingness to commit time and energy to developing solidarity and consciousness. This generation is solidifying its place in the struggle.

It's natural to view police brutality as a singular problem that can be solved independently of other social issues. But the conditions that provide a justification for the existence of the police force are themselves products of capitalist property relations, and will not simply vanish in the absence of agents of state terror. Besides, the racism of the police force is inextricably linked to the history of **American capitalism, built on slavery and genocide**. We should work to abolish the police and prison industrial complex, but with the understanding that crime, violence, and racism will remain features of our society as long as poverty and gross inequality do. We have to adopt the mentality that our struggles are connected, and that coming to the aid of the black community as they are victimized by racist oppression will involve challenging power structures at every level of culture, politics, and economics.



As protests against police violence begin to dwindle in size and frequency, and as media coverage declines, it becomes the responsibility of the activist to determine how to continue the struggle. We shouldn't underestimate the power of collective anger and instinctive desire for change; this is a revolutionary moment, and we cannot afford to waste it. Make no mistake, change will not come overnight, and radicals do themselves no favors by attempting to convince the people that the American empire is on the brink of defeat. What we have is an opportunity, **to build consciousness on a level the country hasn't seen in 40 years**, and to experiment. These are the very early stages of a popular movement, and devoting energy to disparaging and mocking projects that do not conform entirely to our preexisting ideology is counterproductive. Anticapitalists of all kinds will have to accept that the future we build will be a product of conditions we have never seen before. We will have to develop a society that responds to the growing role of technology in our lives, and understand that older systems of political thought may not hold the solutions to the challenges created by our population, geography, and vast government surveillance and military apparatus. This will take effort and it might not turn out the way we think.

People are beginning to realize that they have outgrown the bourgeois capitalist institutions they have been taught to worship. They are beginning to notice that **the interests of the corporate me-dia, military, police force, financial apparatus, and American state at large are at odds with their own**. And if history tells us anything, it is that this antagonism is untenable. Dissent will be crushed, or the ruling order will be upended. We hope this magazine can play a small role in the development of revolutionary consciousness. We hope you'll find value in our work, and join us as we attempt to broaden the perspectives of students across the country in a struggle for **worldwide liberation**.

Patrick Dóñez and Phoebe Holman



photograph by Sam Scudder

#### **Properties**

Ed Roberson

After some daysand not because of the dirtit really looked like a kind of earth and not the fallen sky it had been at first snow.

Whether the vengeful one were the ground or the sun then, whether thats stamp or kiss were a crash or press into that print an attempt coins on survival,

commemorative myth, the spun tales of these geneswhatever, ours, like water's, is not material fatigue.
Up and down time after time how many migrations
has ice made home to water?

The verdant tropical mists' drip tears gathering into the cold bloody rivers of the atlantic grinding ashore captured into the plantations' white glacial field the rending melt water's burst toward a north star state to state of matter

#### pressed upon us

our material does not fail the strict coinage It would be different if the investigation team had overlooked a piece of the wreckage in the staring face of lcarus

Black with the roads' dusts, the atmosphere, solid, on the ground turns into a pool, the ground's mirror, and picks up the sky again



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#### YOU HAVE THE RIGHT

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BLACK LIVES MATTER

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# POWER TRIP Patrick Dóñez



For the last 244 years, the United States of America has murdered, subjugated, enslaved, and robbed the people of virtually every corner of the planet. What began with the African slave trade and genocide of indigenous peoples has expanded to the pursuit of empire in Latin America and the Middle East, not to mention the development of an enormous "criminal justice" apparatus that includes a racist, murderous police force and prisons designed to cripple communities of color. These overtly violent enterprises are complemented by an extreme version of the type of economic exploitation residents of all capitalist countries experience. Unless we're members of the truly elite ownership class, these unacceptable conditions affect all of us one way or another.

Of course, you wouldn't know that from listening to the government or much of the media. In fact, most Ameri-

cans have bought so heavily into the lie of American exceptionalism that they lose the ability to think critically about the destructive actions of their government. The ignorance is the product of decades of propaganda that tells us that the US is basically virtuous, and that any mistakes made by individuals in power can be corrected by the system itself. We're reminded that in any case, the government derives its power from the consent of the governed. Under that logic, any action taken by the state that does not result in revolution is considered legitimate.

The "government by consent" idea is meaningless when the average citizen lacks the ability to consent. It shouldn't be assumed that the victims of police violence and systemic racism have chosen to comply with programs and policies that act against their interests. The reality is closer to coercion by force. Institutions like the police force exist primarily to maintain order in the face of the overwhelming contradiction between popular interests and private property rights. In the service of the mostly white ruling class, cops use guns, mace, batons, tear gas, surveillance, and infiltration to harass, intimidate, and murder. The military operates in much the same way in international territory, committing unspeakable acts of violence for the expansion of American empire, for the benefit of the same elites. Domination does not imply consent.

In fact, absent meaningful forms of immediate resistance, actions of the police state are illegitimate.

Submission to American authority is the product of social weakness. To be clear, I'm not referring to weakness of resolve, or consciousness, or intellect. In fact, history, recent and distant, has provided countless examples of the victims of state oppression rejecting corrupt, quasi-fascist government policy. The problem has been one of alchemizing popular discontent and revolutionary consciousness into real, authentic, power. Because although America's many great socio-political movements have proven exceptionally effective at cajoling authority into making reforms, the periodic necessity for large-scale protest movements to combat the reemergence of racist, classist policy makes clear that the occasional rally or march will not abolish oppression. For freedom to be truly possible, the institutions that breed crisis and violence must be destroyed, not reasoned with. We have to confront the enemy not with demands, but with strength and force. We need to begin organizing not simply to build consciousness and provoke anger, but to construct popular institutions that can meaningfully replace the status quo.

Other writers and activists have produced far more complete descriptions of the role of police in American society, but let's take at face value their position as an occupying force in poor communities, and especially their historic connection to post-slavery racial oppression. It should be clear by now that they exist to defend private property, at the expense of those without it, in particular people of color. Their employers, the so-called "One Percent" and the state that represents them, implement economic policy that drives millions to misery and destitution, then call on police to beat down any resistance or punish those driven



to crime because of their nonexistent prospects. This brutal dynamic is propped up by a corporate media ecosystem that relies so heavily on confidential sources from the government's public relations sector that they can rarely make effective critiques of controversial public policy. Not to mention the obvious fact that the interests of the gigantic conglomerates that own MSNBC, CNN, Fox News, and most major newspapers are already in line with the hard right-wing.

While the lives of most Americans grow worse and worse, our culture does its best to gaslight and deceive us. Is it hard to understand why so many of us worship the military and police when we're constantly inundated with open propaganda created by the private sector? They bombard us with movies, TV shows, video games, and advertisements extolling the essential virtue of the American empire, constructing a public sphere unwilling to fundamentally challenge the status quo. Furthermore, they try to cower behind the veneer of social progress when they point to a racially and sexually diversified ruling class while continuing to perpetrate unconscionable acts of violence against the most vulnerable humans on the planet. Unfortunately, the presence of women and racial minorities in corporate boardrooms and public office is often enough to placate liberals while the communities they supposedly speak for are left out in the cold.

These conditions are untenable. Capitalism's crises only increase in rate and magnitude, and popular reactions are augmented proportionally. Riots and looting will likely become more and more common as the contradiction between the wealth of the ruling class and the basic needs of the masses intensifies. And while the fact that people are willing to actively resist their oppression and marginalization is encouraging, there's no reason to fetishize the spontaneous eruptions of anger and resentment that have come to characterize late-capitalist America. The reality is that while the enormous mobilization of protestors by various activist circles is impressive and powerful, revolutionary change will only be possible if it is accompanied by a coherent political program that adequately meets the needs of the vulnerable and oppressed. Social media infographics will not be enough. We need to develop parallel



infrastructure to supplant the decrepit systems of government too many are forced to rely on.

The American left is incredibly weak, and to act as though "the revolution" is around the corner is counterproductive and humiliating. A responsible revolutionary vanguard will have to be prepared to do the dirty work of consciousness building, and understand that the process could take years. Too many leftists are attached to the backwards notions that their ideology alone will be sufficient to launch an immediate assault on the institutions that control us. They misunderstand their role in revolutionary struggle. A cursory look at the state of activism and dissent indicates that the people power is already available. Liberal activists have

been incredibly effective at turning out huge crowds for periods of weeks; people are hungry for action. But how can we expect popular consciousness to improve when we're all constantly bombarded with contradictory information and meaningless plans for reform? It won't be long before most people start to realize that viral policy proposals like 8Can'tWait are pathetic distractions that will produce little positive change. It's difficult not to become disillusioned with the concept of direct action and protest when so many so-called leaders turn out to be nothing more than opportunistic grifters seeking media and political careers. We have to offer significant, practical alternatives.

The fundamental appeal of socialism is an improvement in material conditions. So the simplest way to garner support for a revolutionary program is to provide case studies in mutual aid and collective action. Examine a community, and address its most pressing needs. If many lack healthcare, assemble volunteer medical professionals and offer free treatment when possible. If people are hungry, establish a people's food pantry and community garden. Share your skills; offer workshops on welding, or carpentry, or painting, or cooking. Learn self-defense, empower the vulnerable. Create a network of institutions dedicated to praxis and the service of those left behind by the state. Don't be a missionary, work within your community and encourage others to follow your example. Prove that the people are capable of managing institutions independent of bourgeois elites. These actions have value both symbolically and practically. They will certainly win skeptics over, and provide essential experience for an eventual people's government when the movement is strong enough to take power permanently.

The practical actions should correspond with an elevated consciousness. Start reading groups, hold rallies, host speakers. Develop your understanding of historical processes and the function of the state in capitalist and socialist terms and help others to do the same. This country's next revolution is long overdue. But liberation will not be possible until we can understand our own potential for power, and work to realize a project of collective strength and imagination. Only then will we be able to free ourselves from the prison of exploitation and violence.

#### There is no time to waste.

### CLAREMONI CLAREMONI LICE DEP LICE DEP LENIN WALKS AROUND THE WORLD. FRONTIERS CANNOT BAR HIM.

## NEITHER BARRACKS NOR BARRICADES IMPEDE.

## NOR DOES BARBED WIRE SCAR HIM.

# LENIN WALKS AROUND THE WORLD, LICE DEP BLACK, BROWN, AND WHITE RECEIVE HIM.

### LANGUAGE IS NO BARRIER.

### THE STRANGEST TONGUES BELIEVE HIM.

## LENIN WALKS AROUND THE WORLD. THE SUN SETS LIKE A SCAR. BETWEEN THE DARKNESS AND THE DAWN

### THERE RISES A RED STAR.

LANGSTON HUGHES

# **RFP()RT** FR()// (H)PPhoebe Holman

EDIT: This information is accurate as of June 20th. The situation within CHOP has changed drastically from when this article was written. While I am no longer there in person, the atmosphere and goals have been significantly derailed. This article is meant to capture my personal experience with the occupied protest, and I would urge anyone interested to do their own research.



Every night at 8:00 p.m., the organizers of CHOP lead a march from the East Precinct, the occupied police station that the area is built around, to the front of the West Precinct, on the other side of the city. We gathered on Pine Street as dinner was finishing up on the baseball field next to Cal Anderson Park. A considerable number of the people picnicking were Seattle residents who came to enjoy the art and speakers going on in the evening, and did not participate in the actual protest. We stood on the street for about fifteen minutes, chanting "March with us", at the people sitting, while they pretended they couldn't hear or packed up and left. Compared to the number of people inside CHOP, the

crowd that eventually made it to the West Precinct was incredibly small. It didn't even take up a full block as we walked down Pine.

No police cars followed the march, whether because it was so small (albeit loud and energetic), or because the department was backing off of the protests. There were no officers outside the building, and inside, the lights were off. While I was there, it appeared that the police had abandoned that station to avoid protestors. Those who marched with us started an open mic, during which a black man told a story about how he had to explain to his nine year old nephew to be careful around people in police uniforms in a way that a child would understand, and a teenaged girl talked about the pressure she felt because of her identity, being a biracial person with white parents. People shared personal, emotional thoughts and the crowd cheered them on and patted their backs when they stepped down from the wall in front of the building where the speakers stood. Other protestors commemorated their deceased friends and loved ones, and Seattle locals who had been harassed or murdered by the police. A car driven by another group from CHOP played loud music while the man in the passenger seat led chants. During the walk from the occupied area, people passed out water bottles and cough drops, checking in on everyone to make sure they weren't too hot or seeing if they needed a ride back.

Because of the atmosphere of community and harmony, there is a great deal of comparison between CHOP and the Summer of Love, particularly from liberal media, which chooses to portray the occupied protest as a huge picnic or music festival. While some may treat it that way (I talked to a girl a little bit older than me who told me that her and her friends had come to "experience history" and then began to complain about how her boyfriend who supported Trump didn't want to have a gay kid), the organizers are taking great care to remind people of the reason for the occupation--the brutal systemic violence caused by the police state. CHOP's official demands include abolishing the Seattle Police Department, banning Immigration and Customs Enforcement operations within the city, rent control to break down gentrification, and a series of other actions to reduce the oppression of communities of color within the area. These demands are similar to those of other activist groups seeking to protect their cities from police violence and racism, but it is unlikely that all, if any of these demands will be met. In that case, what are the future goals of CHOP? Is it meant to be a safe place for the underprivileged residents of Seattle, a city notoriously brutal to its houseless population and rampant with police violence, in the long term, or a demonstration to encourage the local government to begin working on fulfilling the demands with legislation?







photography by Phoebe Holman

The residents and visitors of CHOP, for the most part, recognize that the area is not completely independent from the state, because it is still relying on outside help with water, maintenance, and other community needs. The name change from Capitol Hill Autonomous Zone to "Occupied Protest" signifies that the organizers are acknowledging that it isn't the permanent commune many media outlets seem to be calling it. The residents of CHOP who are actually living within the zone, camping in the park and on the field, have started a substantial garden and put up large art pieces and other infrastructure that would suggest they are planning to stay. However, the majority of people come during the day to hear the speakers, join in on decolonization conversations, watch artists make murals, light candles at the memorial site, and hang out with friends, and then go



home once it starts to get dark. For the most part, people contribute what they are able to, be it their presence during marches and conversations, food donations, or hygiene supplies like hand sanitizer and masks. There seems to be great enough support from the community that CHOP could potentially continue for a long time on donations alone. The future of CHOP will depend on whether the organizers continue to view it as an occupation protest with a specific goal or as a permanent commune. It seems as though many people do not view a commune as a viable revolutionary activity in the long term, whether because of ideological conflicts around the nature of the governing of an independent area and how it should be managed, or because they believe that there will no longer be use for it after the demands are achieved.

Another problem with this is that, because many of the people who visit CHOP during the day treat it as a music festival or farmer's market, there are issues with respecting the space in a way that would make it a safe place for people to continue living. There were multiple instances in which my friend and I were sitting in our tent and people took pictures or videos of us without asking. Many people were walking around filming the entire time on their phones or cameras. As we were helping a group lift up a large art piece to move it, a person standing next to me commented on how people had been filming them all day and they were afraid someone from their job would recognize their tattoos. This is extremely dangerous to the people living and working there, because it can expose those in the photos and videos to online harassment, law enforcement action, and other kinds of unwanted attention should their identities be revealed. In addition, it is a violation of privacy; it's never appropriate to take pictures of people without asking. People also occasionally interrupted speakers on stage while they were sharing personal statements or information about scheduled events. A group of white teens walked through a circle where organizers were attempting to hold a meditation space. There were a couple of "all lives matter" outbursts.

Many people view CHOP as a tourist attraction or an area for them to use in any way they want, which highlights how much work we have to do as a community to educate people on how to share spaces and organize together, independent of how they have been brought up so far. One of the strengths, however, which was displayed over and over again during the time I was there, was the communication skills of the organizers and people participating in marches and community work. Arguments were resolved very smoothly, with concerns of both involved parties being taken into account and needs met. There were barely any reports of things being stolen, broken, or tampered with.

If CHOP becomes a long term project, it is not going to work perfectly right away. It takes effort and dedication to create a public space that can provide for everyone's needs, and it might not look the way we want it to. This process must begin with learning how to work together and take care of each other, rather than only provide for ourselves, as we have been conditioned to do. It is not surprising that Americans want everything to happen immediately exactly the way they want it to; we have been taught from a young age that we are owed instant gratification. CHOP is an experiment, and people must treat it as such. The left has been effectively crippled in the United States for decades, so we must take any chance we get to build solidarity and independence from the empire.

Though it isn't currently autonomous, the occupied protest has potential, and the organizers have the skills to encourage people to make that happen. It depends on whether CHOP is able to avoid the liberal attempts at pacification with minor reforms and virtue signaling, and if the people living there are willing and able to hold it down. The left is weak right now, but we can become strong. It is our duty to ease the suffering of others and to support each other in any way we can. It will take work and struggle, but CHOP is already successfully creating a place for marginalized people to have a platform and for the community to make up for the failures of the state. Though it is far from ideological purity or completion, we all must offer critical support to this courageous experiment.





# HOW TO WHEATPASTE

"Wheat paste (also known as flour paste, or simply paste) is a gel or liquid adhesive made from wheat flour or starch and water. It has been used since antiquity for various arts and crafts such as book binding,découpage, collage, papier-mâché, and **adhering paper posters and notices to walls**."



WHAT YOU NEED

One part sifted flour to four parts water Durable sealed container to keep it in, empty milk jugs or jars work well Stove Paint brush Paper posters Optional cornstarch or salt for extra stickiness



нош то соок

Bring the water and flour to a boil. Stir constantly on **low heat for about half an hour** and add cornstarch or salt. When finished, it should be **sticky and viscous but spreadable**, and a light yellow or white color, depending on if you have used whole grain or white flour. Transfer the wheat paste to your container when it's cooled.

**Remember**:wheat paste will go bad after a few days, and that can cause its container to explode. Keep it refrigerated whenever possible and get rid of whatever you don't use.

#### HOW TO APPLY

Use a large paint brush to spread the wheat paste onto the area where you are going to stick your poster. Smooth the poster out over the wheat paste so there are **no bubbles** underneath it and paint another layer on top of the paper. It will dry **clear and shiny**.



#### **GET OUT THERE**



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