



REBELLION AND POSSIBILITY

Voices in the Anti-ICE Struggle

Vol. 2

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Notes:

Many thanks to the comrades in RED with whom these ideas were created and developed, and to It's Going Down, whose site first published many of the collected writings here and who helped point us towards many of these writings. And our deepest gratitude to all the comrades in the anti-ICE struggles past, present, and future.

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**VOLUME II:
MORE VOICES IN
THE STRUGGLE**

**ROOTS OF ANTI-IMMIGRANT
POLICY IN THE UNITED STATES**

INTRODUCTION

As ICE's brutality continues to shatter lives, we continue to document the struggle to abolish the institution.

We've compiled more stories of radical struggle against ICE, the border patrol, and the police; documenting the different tactics, successes, and philosophies from around the country.

We would like to thank the all of the contributors for each article that we've compiled, and the websites that originally published those writings and from which they were borrowed.

Two final notes:

In Vol.1 the writings were arranged chronologically, here they are organized differently. After the essay from the *NoName Collective* providing an overview of the deep roots of anti-immigrant policy in this country, the pieces are grouped according to the locales out of which they emerged. They have been slightly edited to standardize punctuation and grammar as well. The *Crimethinc* piece "The ICE Age Is Over," which covers the Portland area as well as Atlanta, has been broken into two parts that are grouped under the appropriate location headings. This break is indicated by the symbol [...]

Again, this volume, like the first, is only one very limited snapshot of the vast anti-ICE uprising, which developed powerful expressions in many more than the few cities represented here.

1. NONAME COLLECTIVE, “ABOMINATION 2.0 – A NEW OLD CRISIS”

Published June 20th by Moratorium on Deportations

<https://moratoriumondeportations.org/2018/06/20/from-wherearethechildren-to-familiesbelongtogether-amerikkkas-new-border-crisis/>

On May 24, 2018, one day prior to the commemoration of “(Inter) National Missing Children’s Day” and one day after the senate subcommittee hearing, “TVPPRA and Exploited Loopholes Affecting Unaccompanied Alien Children”, stories of 1,500 “lost” immigrant children began circulating in the media — #wherearethechildren went viral, with calls by advocates/celebrities/liberals to find the children and protect them from “traffickers”. A week later, the detention of unaccompanied immigrant children became sudden news as pictures from 2014 became re-circulated showing children held in cage-like enclosures. And finally, the horror of children ripped from their families at the border as a result of the “**Zero-Tolerance**” policy of the Department of Justice. *This has never happened before, we are told, this is extreme and “Un-American”.* Over the course of a few weeks, the “immigrant children crisis” has exploded in US media and in the popular imagination. Once again, the spectacle of US politics is being played out on the bodies of immigrant children.

“Make no mistake: Under President Trump, separating families fleeing persecution has become official U.S. policy. It’s extreme, cruel, un-American, and has to stop,” Senator Dick Durbin tweet, June 5 2018.

“The idea of punishing parents who are trying to save their children’s lives, and punishing children for being brought to safety by their parents by separating them, is fundamentally cruel and un-American,” Michelle Brané, Women’s Refugee Commission.

We write today from the rage and indignation we have carried for generations. We are not surprised, we are not shocked. We are outraged at the current suffering precisely because it is not new, it is not exceptional. We have witnessed the crisis as it was manufactured

slowly, relentlessly – and we see too how the spectacle and the outrage over this new, particular abomination are preparing the conditions for "solutions" from above that will only deepen it.

Despite the rhetoric, there is nothing un-American about state violence targeting children — on the contrary, *the US is founded and lives on this principle*. Black and Indigenous communities know that nation-building has meant the wholesale, mass abduction and tearing apart of children from families, communities and homelands. Our immigrant communities too have long suffered, and resisted, the US policy of mass family separation both domestically and abroad. While newly-outraged senators like Dick Durbin stake their political capital on their image as champions of a privileged category of immigrant children called "childhood arrivals" aka the Exceptional Dreamers, we have long had to struggle against legislation he and others promoted as part of their campaign calculations — **legislation designed to dramatically increase family separation, expand criminalization and enforcement, and to make more and more adults and children deportable, detainable, and exploitable.**

To understand the current crisis of state-sanctioned violence targeting children, and the ways that "protecting children" in the name of "American values" operates to further this violence, we have to look beyond the bullshit media spectacle, the fascist rhetoric of the right and the self-righteous posturing of the establishment Left. The crisis was produced in the interest of those who govern from above, who also stand to profit from mobilizing us around their fake solutions. Our effort is to organize our own response, our own analysis and vision that corresponds to a migrant struggle from below. This is a beginning, again, and again.

Shock and Awe – Conditioning a public for expanding state violence

Images of immense suffering, of children being abducted and locked in cages, are being hyped up and exploited by the media for increased ratings and by politicians for political capital. But this flood of images also has a different function, one that is familiar from military and

media logic employed by the US since the first Iraq War. The goal of shock and awe is to confuse and disorient people and disable their capacity to understand what is happening, rendering them unable to accurately read the nature of the battlefield. The coverage is intended to elicit overwhelming sentimental responses while leaving unexamined the set of policies, interests, deals and instruments that converge to produce family separation, and the larger consequences of this moment for both immigration and the prison industrial complex (PIC). We have been here before.

The current form of child separation is a result of the administration's expansion of Operation Streamline, a program started in 2005, to the entire southwestern border region. The Department of Justice (DoJ) and the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) have coordinated to prosecute 100% of all migrants apprehended for "improper entry" (entering without a formal inspection process, being seen as misrepresenting or concealing facts, which includes anyone seen as making "fake" asylum claims etc). Operation Streamline is not well known to the US public, with the possible exception of a small and short-lived "outrage" over the mass deportation hearings that characterize it, in which up to 80 migrants would be arraigned, found guilty, convicted and sentenced en masse. But grotesque though it is, this spectacle is only a small part of the problem. What is less visible is the cumulative and devastating consequences of Streamline and of the "improper entry" statute upon all immigrant populations and upon all the criminalized and racialized, poor and displaced communities of color residing in the US — including the members of those communities who are children.

Criminalizing migration has turned migrant people into an experiment in non-personhood and detainability, which in turn exerts immense pressure throughout the entire domestic criminal and legal system. This refers to the expansion of impunity and discretion, to the ways immigration enforcement and incarceration produce new forms of criminalization and containment that may start out as extra-legal but become, over time, regularized. But it also refers to the ways immigration enforcement also functions as a way to expand the Prison Industrial Complex, the surveillance apparatus, and the racist production of surplus populations. Since 2005, about three quarters of a million people have been prosecuted in federal court

for "improper entry"; currently, almost 50% of federal prosecutions are immigration related, and more than 30% of people incarcerated in federal prisons are held for immigration offenses. The new "Zero-Tolerance" policy is sure to increase that exponentially, using federal prisons to detain immigrants awaiting prosecution and expanding the so-called "demand" for prison capacity to cage all those convicted.

The Department of Justice has also instructed immigration judges to close all open and pending deportation cases as quickly as possible. This dual, rapid-fire implementation of enforcement/prosecution is carried out with full knowledge that the federal detention, prosecution, incarceration and deportation system does not have capacity to handle the consequences. Jeff Sessions (DoJ) and Kirstjen Nielsen (DHS) have fully anticipated the fallout from intentionally overwhelming the system from multiple directions. Even though there is an effort to challenge these policies in the courts, just as with Trump's immigration ban, this maneuver has already created a burden in search of solutions that require the expansion of the PIC. DHS has already used this moment to leverage pressure upon Congress to increase the Homeland Security budget for detention space, and also to push for a "legislative solution" that expands the capacity, scope and reach of enforcement and detention. The case for already existing legislative proposals like the enforcement-focused **Securing America's Future Act (H.R. 4670)** is boosted and the race for the toughest border security bill begins — we see this with the newly draft House GOP proposal, **The Border Security and Immigration Reform Act of 2018**. Given that prosecutions for improper entry are carried out in federal courts, and that people will be incarcerated in federal prisons, the spectacle of suffering and missing children is a useful distraction from the expansion of both the criminal and immigration enforcement systems that is sure to create child suffering of a far greater magnitude. What we are seeing on our screens, in other words, is the tip of the iceberg.

"Previously, most parents had been allowed to remain with their children in family shelters while awaiting asylum cases or deportation proceedings",
NBCNEWS.

We are being groomed to cheer for the expansion of enforcement, surveillance and caging capacity, making state-sanctioned violence more efficient and less contestable. **As in 2014**, outrage at this particular form of family separation is translating slowly, relentlessly, into calls for improving detention conditions by reopening military bases, **building tent cities** and giving new legitimacy to the idea of "family-friendly" detention as a form of family unification. The shock of this new abomination is retroactively casting family imprisonment in euphemistic terms — ascribing, in retrospect, a nostalgic gentleness to the **"old" ways of doing things under Obama**, which becomes not only acceptable and rosy, but beyond contestation.

Never before? Normalizing the Abduction and Incarceration of Children

The left and the right have historically colluded on border enforcement, expanding criminalization and illegalization as their common agenda for any reform of the immigration system. That is obvious in the blatantly racist and xenophobic rhetoric of the right. It is less obvious in the rhetoric of the left, both during the Obama administration and in the triumphant anti-Trumpism of the current moment. Grassroots migrant justice organizations that have not fallen in line with Democratic Party politics and the foundation-sponsored immigrant-rights lobby have been accused of being "divisive" and "bad for the movement"— a movement lead by a political class that is, presumably, trying to save our communities. In this moment of liberal moral outrage, if you dare question why the current crisis is represented as though children have never before been separated from parents or incarcerated, if you dare push back against the #savethechildren reactions of the newly-outraged so-called progressives, you are cast as not wanting to rescue the children or be part of the "solution".

The innovation of the Trump administration is that it is separating children from the parents and re-categorizing them as "unaccompanied alien children" (UAC's) or "unaccompanied minors", thus funneling them into an older, already-existing system for detaining and prosecuting children. But how new is this really?

"Kids and babies have never before been ripped away from their moms and dads at the border, this is a new policy put in place by the Trump administration. In the past, obviously there have been kids who crossed the border illegally alone, and so the U.S. has facilities to handle those young people, mostly teenagers. But babies and toddlers who were with their parents until the government stepped in to take them out of their mothers' arms? That is new," **Rachel Maddow**.

The Unaccompanied Alien Children (UAC) designation and program already implemented precisely this kind of separation in the past. Many categories of children arriving at the border with parents, seeking asylum or attempting to cross at or between ports of entry, have been ripped away from their parents as a matter of policy and routine for many years, according to testimonies from Romani refugees, families from Brazil and targeted African countries, as well as from testimonies of social service workers involved in the UAC program.

But more fundamentally, it is critical to remember that children, by the millions, have been ripped away from families all along the border for generations. Firstly, because the border is more than the line on the map, and extends to the US-backed economic and military policies that produce mass displacement, and to the policies that coerce migrants to place their children with *coyotes* and *guias* as their only option for crossing; these separations have been a persistent and ongoing violence of US border policy in the lives of children. But even if we look only at apprehensions along the US-Mexico border line, there is no such thing as children who are "unaccompanied", only children who have previously been separated from parents by US policy, away from the view of cameras — children who, in other words, have been violently made to *become* unaccompanied. Over **200,000 children categorized as "unaccompanied minors"** suffered this form of forced family separation during Obama's last term in office [1]. There was and still is no outrage about this process. And how many of the more than 2.5 million people deported during the Obama administration were parents ripped apart from children? And where is the outrage over DHS policies of apprehending kids from Mexico and dumping them across the border almost immediately without a hearing before an immigration judge, deliberately redirecting them away from the locations of their crossing — where they have some contacts, families

or support networks — and into areas where they would have no family or loved ones? The numbers of children separated in this expedited way as a matter of policy **average over ten thousand each year.**

The persistent and systematic abduction of migrant children from parents has been happening *all along at a massive scale*, away from the view of cameras, but the conditions that produce this violence are not considered useful for a media campaign or political capital. The process by which children are made to become Unaccompanied Alien Children has become normalized, as though "unaccompanied" and "alien" is something that children simply are, as opposed to something the US government is doing to them. The more we see current outrage mobilized as "never before", the more the past, ongoing and future abductions, suffering, separation and detention of children under any other conditions is made to seem normal and acceptable, recast in euphemistic terms — as though the unaccompanied kids in Rachel Maddow's righteous rant were not ripped away from loved ones and put in cages, they were already alone and merely handled by "facilities".

Unaccompanied Alien Children – Overview of an Incarceration System

So let's look at the current system that captures kids and labels them UAC's — children separated from parents by other means, in other ways, systemically and as a matter of US policy. We will try to paint an accurate picture of how it is structured and organized. Our description is based on a thorough review of government documents including congressional hearings and reports, as well as testimonies of whistleblower employees of the social service agencies outsourced to operate UAC detention facilities [2]. We will also look at the ways the current "crisis" is an opportunity to put into high gear what has been an effort to experiment with new forms of state-sanctioned violence on the bodies of these children by rejigging the UAC program and expanding its direct cooperation with enforcement agencies from ICE to local police jurisdictions. We will point out how euphemisms work to recast the structural violence of the state as benevolence, as a form of rescue and care. In all of this, the common thread is the production of categories of children who need saving by the state.

UAC is the name given to any person under 18 years old with uncertain immigration status who is detained by the Department of Homeland Security and who does not have an adult parent or guardian able to provide care for them, regardless of how they are apprehended and regardless of how the separation was produced: at the time of crossing, as a result of a raid or as a result of the detention of a loved one etc. DHS has jurisdiction over the arrest and initial detention of the children; they are under legal pressure to refer and transfer the children into the custody of the US Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) / Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) within 72 hours due to a legal precedent called the **Flores Settlement**. HHS/ORR has jurisdiction over incarcerating these children who are also placed under deportation proceedings, which is usually referred to as "immigration processing". HHS/ORR contracts with local and national social service agencies— Non-governmental (NGOs), non-for-profit organizations — to provide secure detention facilities for the captivity of the children. The social service providers comply with protocols established by ORR, under the management and review of for-profit companies acting as Third Party Reviewer, to secure placement of the children with proper "sponsors". This involves an investigation of such sponsors and their entire households (including fingerprints and in many cases, home inspections etc.) to determine if the children can be "released" to their care. The children are, however, not free — throughout their detention and beyond, they are placed in some form of immigration prosecution; they have follow-up court dates and are subjected to the same slow violence targeting all people the state is trying to deport — the devastating nature of this slow violence is intimately familiar in our communities and yet becomes erased in government and advocate narratives about "release" and "reunification". After so-called release from "shelters", DoJ has jurisdiction over their prosecution. DHS has jurisdiction over their deportation.

DHS and HHS call this process whereby a child is captured, converted into a UAC, detained, processed for deportation and released pending deportation hearings, "*family reunification*". This cynical term masks the fact that the vast majority of these children know exactly where their loved ones are — children cross the border with a parent's phone number in their pocket — yes, even toddlers — or have other relatives they are trying to reunite with when abducted by the

authorities. They are not unaccompanied; they are made to be UAC for purposes of *processing*. The program interrupts their efforts to reunite with loved ones and, in effect, abducts them *in order to render them available for prosecution*. The program is full of euphemisms: the facilities offer "care" instead of detention or incarceration, children have an "encounter" with authorities instead of an arrest, there are "beds" instead of inmate numbers, and families are subject to "home studies" not investigations and state surveillance. While in HHS/ORR custody, children are held in facilities called "shelters", "*casa hogar*" or "family reunification centers", not jails, detention centers, or lock-ups. Children are called "participants" not detainees or prisoners even though the facilities are locked, children are under prosecution, and prison-like disciplinary methods and routines structure every aspect of daily life — from mealtime to bedtime to possibilities for social interaction, the restrictions on children are in many ways more severe than those faced by the general population in jails due to them being considered "vulnerable populations" [3]. Attempts at escape, which are not infrequent, lead to a police manhunt. Failed escapes lead to the child being placed in a "secure" or "staff-secure" facility, which describes the more dire conditions faced by children considered flight risks, suspected gang members (or children considered at risk for being recruited into gangs), children considered a danger to themselves and others, children with "behavior problems" and many others.

During Obama's last presidential term, DHS abducted **over 200,000 children** and HHS detained over **170,000 migrant children**, the majority from the countries of Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador. As of April 2018, HHS had a permanent detention capacity of over 11,000 child inmates at any given time, in facilities all over the country. Most of this incarceration capacity is located near the southwestern border, but many of these facilities are in cities like Chicago, which is, not surprisingly, a hub in the logistics of child captivity. We walk by these detention facilities every day without even knowing it. The mechanisms and procedures of this system, as well as the locations of the detention sites, have been highly secretive.

Missing, Trafficked, Recruited, Separated – #SaveTheChildren!

The UAC system of detention and prosecution is itself a result of a process of "saving kids" from border patrol and ICE detention. The euphemisms in the UAC system are not accidental because the program was put in place as a result of legal challenges over the *conditions* of detention faced by kids in facilities often known as "coolers" — warehouses and other detention spaces under DHS jurisdiction at the border. The "solution" was to rename and re-organize the ways children are incarcerated and prosecuted, outsourcing most of the investigative and repressive functions to social service agencies. Since the program's inception, the state has deepened the detainability and deportability of immigrant adults and children, while recasting incarceration as care, prosecution as release, and deportation as repatriation. This process continues in Trump's Amerikkka, because you can be crazy right-wing and save the children, too.

The outrage is not at the ways the state targets human beings — through apprehension, detention, removal — it's not in the captivity itself, or the fact of their deportability and detainability, the outrage has historically focused exclusively on the conditions of detention. This approach has proven to be an opportunity for *expansion* and *profit* for a range of nonprofits and social service agencies, whose financial self-interest is linked to carrying out state repression onto populations they are supposedly trying to help, save, or "represent" politically.

Several recent developments have shifted the focus to smaller and smaller, more precisely defined, subcategories of UAC's that are slated for exceptional interventions under the pretext of their protection. In each case, congressional hearings were triggered to investigate how these children could have "fallen through the cracks" and the imperative of expanding state surveillance in the lives of children, families and entire communities became the policy solutions. Over this period, various cases began to be conflated. Below is a brief outline.

In 2014, a media scandal broke out when 8 children from Guatemala were discovered as being trafficked into forced labor on an Ohio egg farm; this became the pretext for an ongoing scare campaign carried out in congressional hearings mandating "tightening" of ORR policies and supervision. Until this incident, ORR had no jurisdiction or responsibilities after the children were formally "released" from the detention facilities. Between their release and their first court dates, most children were not directly surveilled by any state agency; in some cases, "post-release services" became recommended or mandated, which also served the function of limited surveillance. Following the scandal, Congressional investigation mandated that HHS/ORR and DHS develop a Memorandum of Agreement to clarify how these agencies would cooperate to share information about possible sponsors, and to better track the children post-release. This discussion did not address the ways that denying people immigration status is what exposes them to the risk of labor trafficking, nor did any of the representatives from social service agencies or the immigrant rights lobby who testified mention that the best form of protection against labor trafficking would be immigration status for both children and their families.

In late 2016, members of the MS-13 street gang murdered two US-born teenagers in Suffolk County. In early 2017, four teenage boys, three of whom were immigrants, were also killed by the gang; two of these boys had fled to the US to escape gang violence in Honduras and had pending asylum cases. These tragic cases became exploited by Donald Trump, who paraded the suffering parents of the two US citizen teenagers murdered by the gang as the literal background of his 2018 State of the Union Speech. Stating that gangs like MS-13 "took advantage of glaring loopholes in our laws to enter the country as unaccompanied alien minors", this flashed onto prime time what had already been formalized as an accelerating collaboration between policing and the UAC system.

In August 2017, following congressional investigations, HHS/ORR implemented a new program called the *Community Safety Initiative*, which consists of:

- New forms of cooperation between HHS, ORR, DHS and law enforcement on UAC's with suspected gang affiliation or "criminal background" – a deliberately broad and vaguely defined notion historically used to render populations available to state violence, punishment or exploitation.
- Notification of local police authorities when UAC from secure and staff secure facilities are released in their communities– these are children who are flight risks, have what staff consider behavior problems, are considered a danger to themselves or others etc.
- ORR field staff begin integrating with local anti-gang task forces.
- Expanding the "secure bed" capacity, (from two juvenile justice facilities: one operated by a regional criminal justice consortium in Virginia, and the other operated by a county in California).
- Increased domestic apprehensions of children resulting from operations targeting gang members.
- Allows for not releasing "gang affiliated" children to sponsors, but to keep them in staff-secure "shelters" until their 18th birthday when they are turned over to ICE.

This gang scare is used to expand a "tough on crime" approach to the "care" of children, putting all detainable and deportable children at risk, as well as bringing new forms of DHS-Police cooperation targeting poor youth of color in cities across the country.

Conflating the gang scare, trafficking hype and myth of the "missing children" (see below), **Kristjen Nielsen (DHS) recently pushed** for a number of far-reaching interventions from Congress: terminating the Flores Settlement Agreement, amending the TVPRA to reduce and restrict the limits on DHS involvement in the lives of UAC's, clarifying the statutory definitions of "unaccompanied alien children" etc. (**May 15, 2018 Full hearing**)

#WhereAreTheChildren: When Captors Panic About Hostages Gone AWOL

In April 2018, during a Senate Hearing on the "**Oversight of HHS & DHS efforts to protect Unaccompanied Alien Children from Human Trafficking & Abuse**", Steven Wagner (HHS) reported on the recently implemented "follow-up calls" for UAC's. Staff from social service agencies are instructed to attempt three phone calls to the children's sponsors 30 days post-release, and to document how many children were still living with sponsors, how many had run away, how many had relocated, etc. If phone communication could not be established, the social service provider and ORR note this as *unable to determine the whereabouts of the UAC*. Over a period of three months, ORR indicated this designation in 1,475 cases. One month later, this figure became the basis for the #wherearethekids social media craze that had celebrities and advocates screaming for a "better tracking" system of the lost or missing children.

There are many reasons why the three phone calls could have resulted in no determination — no one answered the phone, the phone number changed, sponsor decided to *swipe left* on their smartphone, etc. More importantly, families may have good reasons to avoid contact with a state agency like ORR — which had until recently *kidnapped* their child — given that most often parents, the sponsor, or other members of the sponsor's household are themselves undocumented. In recognizing that the intrusion of DHS/HHS/ORR into the lives of these children constitutes an abduction, followed by prolonged prosecution, ORR/DHS concern over so-called "lost" children should be understood as a captor panicking that their hostages are absent without leave.

The real concern of officials behind the co-called lost children craze is revealed in the **closing statement of senator Rob Portman, Chairman of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the US Senate**, as to the purpose of these hearings: "*First: Human decency. Once these unaccompanied children are in the United States, we have a duty to ensure they are not trafficked or abused. Second: The rule of law. Our immigration system is broken. One problem is that half of these children are not showing up to their court hearings. That's not good for the kids or for our system. We need to do better.*"

The Child at Risk – a Manufactured Category for New Markets

The interest of federal agencies in manufacturing categories of children seen as being "at risk" and then promoting solutions for their protection has become a rallying cry that brings together and conflates different moments of state-manufactured panic: how do we find the lost children? How do we protect them from gang recruitment? From criminals? From themselves? How do we protect children from traffickers – and given that parents have, since the inception of the DREAMer phase and into the current Trump era, been implicitly or explicitly represented as traffickers of their children, how do we protect the innocent children from their criminal parents, families, communities? This hype masks a series of important imperatives that reveal the deeper questions being pursued by the state and the capitalist interests it represents. How do we keep people hostage across all areas of social life? How do we keep prisoners locked up even outside of prisons — a project of generalizing surveillance and enforcement which began with the so-called prison without walls program that promoted an expansion of containment via electronic shackles and surveillance while masquerading as an alternative to detention (**The New Housing Boom: "Secure Housing of Immigrants**). How do these "at risk children" become useful — how do we make profit from them?

The "child at risk", the lost or trafficked or separated child, becomes a new project for surveillance, such that state and non-state actors can occupy or take over new sectors that were not previously under their purview. Timeframes, social space and areas of peoples lives that were not previously subject to direct state intervention can be made available to the imperative for surveillance, with immediate large-scale profits in the form of technology, logistics and "consulting" contracts. The children also represent a new market for the social service sector, who have profited greatly from being the outsourced providers of state enforcement. The social service surveillance web includes "home visits", phone calls etc. and post-release services that have until recently been voluntary, in that families could opt-out, but are currently under consideration to be mandatory until the child turns 18 or is deported. New sources of grant moneys for social

service agencies have opened-up — putting the "profit" back into the non-for-profit/NGO sector!

For Every Crisis, A Solution?

When a new category at risk is created, so too are the corresponding categories of those cast as unworthy, as undeserving of protection. These include the incorrigible children who do not make good figures for paternalistic rescue, gang members and runaways, the ones who abscond. Those made invisible by the spectacle, those cast as background so that the new figure at risk emerges, are implicitly cast as dangerous and criminal — migrant adults are disappeared into the figure of potential trafficker by the state's rescue of the children. While the "child at risk" category is an invention of the state, the figure of a perpetual child who will never reach adulthood, the real children the state is speculating upon, and upon whose bodies this production of risk is performed, will continue to suffer the consequences of expanding criminalization once they turn 18. (**Do it for the Children!**)

There has been an outpouring of concern for the suffering of migrant children, a desire to act, to mobilize, to resist. But we know that media spectacle and catch phrases like **#WhereAreTheChildren**, **#SaveTheChildren**, **#FamiliesBelongTogether** have so far worked to obscure the vast prison, border, detention, military and economic systems that work together to produce family separation in all its forms. We cannot fight for migrant children and families based on deceptive and misleading narratives, appeals to "American values" and media hype touting *never before*. The Democrats — who stole our movements while selling us out — are once again posturing as the pro-migrant solution, while powerful NGO's are already cashing in on our suffering by using this moment to fundraise and to distract from their *culpability* in producing the conditions that created the crisis to begin with. The powerful and well-resourced institutional left could easily challenge the ways migration is criminalized but have not done so. Even taken at face value, clear and simple responses are self-evident: DHS is claiming they are merely enforcing the law, and citing Article 8 of U.S.C 1325 as the reason prompting the enforcement, and yet so far no legislative proposal authored by the Democrats and promoted by the NGO's has dared to eliminate provisions for the criminal prosecution of "improper entry". We are seeing no coherent attempts

to demand an end to the prosecution of migrants at the border and an immediate moratorium on deportations — both of which can be seen as reasonable *first steps* in addressing some of the more obvious conditions that produce family separation. The institutional left are instead trying to mobilize popular outrage around fake solutions — family reunification based on improved conditions of detention, more access to "services", better "care", more efficient "processing" and surveillance, retoolings of "due process", and the carving out of small exceptional categories deserving of paternalistic rescue.

A struggle for our communities starts from a refusal to believe the hype, a refusal to buy into the logic of worthy vs unworthy populations, good vs bad migrant, legitimate vs bogus asylum seeker, legal vs illegal migration, citizen vs alien. Our struggle is against the borders that produce these categories to begin with, against state sanctioned violence in all its forms. Our struggle demands the right to self-determination for all peoples affected by US policy and by the relentless pursuit of US economic and political interests. Our struggle is for self-organization outside and beyond electoral politics, beyond and against the professional movement leaders, it is a struggle for our own analysis, our own understandings and our own solutions from below.

In rage and solidarity

NoName Collective
Moratorium on Deportations Campaign (MDC)

-----footnotes-----

[1] Here is the estimate breakdown of apprehensions of children (UACs) at the SouthWest Border:

FY 2013= 38,000 – 9,500 of Quarter 1 (Oct 2012-Dec 2012) = 28,500

FY 2014= 70,000

FY 2015= 40,000

FY 2016= 60,000 + 10,000 of Quarter 1 (Oct 2016-Dec 2016) of FY17. we are not counting January 2017 – last month of Obama's presidency. The data is in fiscal years (Oct-Sept), so the actual estimate is 208,500 for Obama's last four years in office.

-Using reports of the Office of Refugee and Resettlement, we estimate 179,000 children taken into custody and classified as UAC's during Obama's second presidential term. While most of these cases are children apprehended at the SouthWest border, this includes children taken into custody after any form of contact with DHS — including the northern or Southeastern border (targeting migrants from the Caribbean) or after family separation due to raids or other internal enforcement. However, many children from Mexico and Canada are often not accounted for in these numbers as children from contiguous countries can be summarily deported without being transferred to HHS/ORR custody after abduction.

[2] A more detailed series of reports from whistleblowers, describing the UAC program in more detail, is coming soon

[3] More details forthcoming in a follow-up report from whistleblowers. For now several examples: access to phone calls is much more severely restricted and the actual time for making calls is entirely at the discretion of the staff. Children who try to set aside some of their leftover food from mealtime to consume later are labeled hoarders and punished; this perfectly normal and necessary behavior, which many migrant children have learned as a positive survival skill, is just one example of how a child can become marked as having "behavior problems", a spiraling process with great consequences upon their lives during and after detention. Siblings who arrive together are separated and any of their interactions, if any, are to be deemed suspicious and are strictly supervised.

PHILADELPHIA

2. ARTHUR BURBRIDGE, “DISPATCH FROM OCCUPY ICE PHILLY”

Published July 4th, 2018 by the *Radical Education Department*

<https://radicaleducationdepartment.com/2018/07/04/dispatch-from-occupy-ice-philly-ab/>

Arthur Burbridge

Note: A slightly different version of this piece also appeared on *It's Going Down*.

Intro

On July 2nd, a coalition of groups in Philadelphia occupied the local ICE office. In what follows I offer a few quick sketches of the occupation. I was there at the opening of the march at City Hall at 5PM until I had to leave at 9, and then again the next day (July 3rd) at 9:30, leaving just after noon. Today, July 4th, the occupation enters its third day. The account and ideas below are therefore cobbled together from my own experiences, from Unicorn Riot's live feed, and from reports from comrades who were there when I couldn't be.

These sketches are partial, and they need to be filled out and corrected as the struggle continues. But I hope they can add to our reflections on the ongoing ICE occupations and help us to continue building and developing radical power.

A Loose Timeline

The occupation was a planned escalation out of an anti-ICE rally at City Hall. After the rally, about 500 of us took to the streets. The cops were clearly expecting this to some degree—they had shut down a number of roads leading from City Hall to the ICE office—but they were also unprepared. We waded through traffic, turning suddenly and sending the police scrambling. A section of bikers darted ahead to help find a path. When we reached the ICE office at the corner of

8th and Cherry, we set up a two-part camp. The first one was in front of ICE's van garages on Cherry. The second was on the 8th street side of the building in front of ICE's main doors.

Tents popped up immediately and people threw down their gear to block the garages. At the other entrances, a bike loaded with food and water blocked the doors. Someone brought in a massive red van with a PA system, and parked it to block Cherry and keep out cop cars. The van started blasting tunes, and people started dancing. Somehow a couch made its way in front of the fenced parking lot for ICE vehicles. Banners swung across the streets

The cop presence was large and growing at this point. I was with the 8th street crowd guarding the building doors. I couldn't see what was going on around the corner at the garage. But dozens of bike cops were lined up across from us. Within 15 or 20 minutes they rushed the crowd, swinging their bikes as weapons for maximum effect. They broke through the occupiers to cut the 8th street crowd in half and secure the building entrances. But the priority was obviously the van garages (we later learned there is an entrance into the building, shared by a women's center, that ICE employees are exploiting). The pigs backed off and left the 8th street doors to us. Almost immediately the [activists'] bike brigade stood wheel to wheel and people jumped into the street to cut the road off from the cops.

But police started massing forces to retake 8th. There was a commotion around the corner (since then, I heard a cop just tripped and fell down). The cops on our side panicked and tried to break through the bike line to get across. But the bike crew and the other occupiers around them refused. The line was two or three bikes deep across the street; bikes collided and people pushed back, forcing the cops to retreat.

By 9, there were over 50 cop cars lined up down the street, and rumors of riot gear being unloaded. Over the next few hours, a cop or two started appearing wearing some heavy-duty gear (vest, helmet, gas mask, etc.) that was marked "Counterterrorism Unit." Around the corner from me—on Cherry—cops apparently tried to bum rush the crowd to break through. They were forced back again and occupiers locked arms to prevent another attack. Occupiers threw up barricades

to separate the tents and occupiers from police on the north end of 8th and to create a barrier in front of the garages—wooden pallets, trash, other city debris.

As the night dragged on, more whiteshirts. Ross, the police commissioner, appeared. Cops demanded the removal of the barricades, the couch, and the banners stretched across the streets. Occupiers allowed these to be carted away. To get rid of the couch, though, the cops had to haul it up into a trash truck. People were screaming at that the police were scabbing the municipal services. By 1 the cops backed down and started trickling away. The threat of an immediate raid lifted. A number of people—maybe 50, I'm not sure—stayed the night. The cops turned on the building floodlights to fuck with people trying to sleep.

But by 6 a.m., police forces were regrouping. By 11, the camp was building its numbers, along with its cop presence. Dozens of beach umbrellas are popping up. It looked like a beach. Chants started up again in earnest. People—many otherwise unconnected to the event—were unloading car after car of food, water, ice, coolers, food.

But the pigs were biding their time for a noon assault to secure the garages. They marched out the mounted police and dozens of regular officers, along with about a dozen or two whiteshirts. Occupiers closed ranks and linked arms. Bike cops charged, shoving people aside along the wall and garage. A dense mass of occupiers refused to move. There were apparently about two dozen arrests. The pigs took control of the garages. They put up and are guarding metal barricades to make sure ICE can keep on working as efficiently as possible. It's not clear what the future of the occupation will look like from here, but the site is still occupied without any plans to leave.

The event represents one more episode in the growing militancy and radicalism of Philly, and it offers some important lessons as radical struggles continue to grow.

The Developing Tactic of Occupation in Philly

The actions around ICE are a reminder of the Occupy encampment a few blocks away. But this action is different. Occupy was flooded by liberals and libertarians alongside a number of radical individuals and groups. More militant actions, like confrontations with the police, were infrequent and did not occur on a large, coordinated scale. And in Occupy, the strategic plan was extremely unclear. In this vacuum, it seemed like the site was being held simply for the sake of occupying it, regardless of its tactical or strategic value.

Little of that applies here. Militancy is built into the plan. The bike squad was part of a design to keep cops away from the building and clashes between them were inevitable. The strategic aims of the occupation are clear: disrupt as far as possible the operation of the ICE office; create official and unofficial refusal to cooperate with ICE. These goals are paired with broader demands: stop deportations, end family detention in Berks Family Detention Center, and end Philly's cooperation with ICE.

The militancy here seems to be building off of the growing energy and numbers of radical anti-authoritarian struggles over the past couple of years here, in the Summer of Rage Anarchist Crew, the actions around J20, in Antifa on the national and local level, etc. I think the militancy of anarchists as well as police abolitionists have laid some of the important groundwork. In other words, we're witnessing a kind of accidental but powerful collaboration between groups that is building Philly's radical power. Is it possible for this kind of collaboration to be developed, going forward, in a more deliberate way? For anarchists and radical socialists to deliberately coordinate successive militant actions, or actions that are different but complement each other—creating groundwork for each other, building on each other, even despite major differences?

The Cops

There is no question that the cops are working for and coordinating with ICE. This isn't just obvious from their violent protection of the building. I've heard from a reliable source that on Tuesday morning,

the cops helped clear occupiers out from in front of the parking lot to let in an employee car.

This opens up more space for developing local radical politics. The police are very clearly aligning here with white supremacist and fascistic forces in the state. This isn't a shock to many of us. But the radical Left has here a chance to emphasize the links between the police, the state, capital, and colonial violence. In this situation, it can become very clear why calls for police abolition, prison abolition, and radical anti-capitalist politics need to be connected.

To the barricades?

As far as I know, barricades have not been a particularly popular tactic in Philly in recent years. On the very last night of Occupy Philly, in the face of overwhelming police power, occupiers threw up a hasty barricade without much result. But barricades have played an important part in the occupation of the ICE office so far.

As police were gathering forces and preparing to invade last night, the barricades signaled a militant defense of the occupation that was unusual for the city. The dumpster rolling down the street—that was the signal of an even higher level of struggle, it seems, the threat of a pitched battle. All this seemed to spook the cops. And so it played another unexpected role, too. The cops were hesitating to raid the space. The barricades became a point of negotiation. It's like pigs need to save face; all that hyper-masculine bullshit needs to convince itself it has forced people to obey. The cops took the couch and the barricades. The people kept the office.

How do we up the ante and expand our use of barricades in the future? Can we set them up in advance to fuck with the way police will try to guide marches? Are there techniques we can learn to build them bigger, higher, stronger, more durable? How could they tactically help us resist repression—maybe buying us time to stay at a location, or giving us a few minutes to fly to another one while cops are stumbling over trash?

Some Tactical Possibilities

It's clear the police are blundering to try to deal with this tactic and its new level of aggression. Cops were panicked and swarming us during the march, and within an hour or two at the ICE office there were easily 60-75 cop cars gathered up. But cops made an enormous traffic jam. We can use this confusing and this overwhelming show of force against cops in a two (or more) stage operation.

If a large crowd is moving towards occupying a key spot, like ICE, cops will swarm. But if we plan things right, and have the numbers, this could be followed up by getting another, separate crowd mobilized blocks away to take another major target. With so many of them tangled up at the first spot, the chance for embedding in that second location would be much higher.

And the more that we use two stage actions, the more paranoid the pigs will get. They'd be extremely hesitant to launch a massive force against an occupation for fear of the next steps—and we could use that to our advantage. Or they'd try greater shows of strength (riot gear etc.). That could be a problem, but it could be a real opportunity, too, in a city like Philly that claims to be progressive. It's clear this city wants to shed its well-earned image of police violence.

Coalition work

The occupation is also an important experiment in radical coalition-building. The event emerged through the efforts of the following official endorsers (but many other groups were also present at the event and probably helped in various ways): Philly Socialists, Socialist Alternative, Party for Socialism and Liberation, Montgomery County Socialists, Liberation Project, Philly DSA, Reclaim Philadelphia, Green Party of Philadelphia, International Marxist Tendency, POWER, and IWW Philly.

The list shows that the event emerged out of the socialist scene here, connecting more radical groups with more reformist and traditional groups. This kind of project isn't unusual in Philly, but the scale and militancy seems to me to be a serious step up.

The occupation acts as a kind of "estuary" where currents from different traditions, especially the more radical anticapitalist kind, are combining, and where a space for new, less ideologically rigid projects and ideas to develop. Even though the "official" planning of the event was largely socialist, many other far left groups and tendencies appeared, too: a strong police abolitionist presence as well as at least some anarchists. This kind of combination crucial as the fascistic state in the US grows in power and audacity. Developing and deepening connections among radical groups are essential today if we're going to build an effective (and therefore, necessarily, mass) response to fascism in a **still deeply fractured radical scene**.

But the event also raises an important question for Philly anarchists and the other parts of the radical Left *beyond* the socialist scene: is this event worth throwing support behind given the major differences in ideology between anarchists and groups like the PSL or Philly Socialists? [I believe the answer is a resounding yes.] The occupation is mounting a clear challenge to a key local branch of fascistic power in this country, and it's helping to build radical militancy and connections among anticapitalists here. For anarchists or other radical anticapitalists to sit this out would be an important missed opportunity. We can't just wish away major ideological differences. They are real and create tensions that can't be ignored. But there are also levels of coalition, the lowest being merely tactical unity without strategic or ideological agreement. While this is highly limited, it is still important, even as a first step, particularly if we're going to go on the attack against an increasingly audacious state.

And the occupation shows the importance of different kinds of coalitions. A single Philly-wide coalition right now for all anticapitalists would be too internally divided and weak. If the differences are just too big between some groups, they are much smaller between others; we see this principle at work in Philly's current occupation. What would it look like to create more "nodes," or sites where closer segments of the revolutionary left experimentally build together? Philly's occupation is a coalitional project driven mostly by socialists. Something similar, maybe, could be developed across different but still close sectors of the radical scene in Philly—the most anarchic wing of socialist groups with sympathetic anarchists and prison abolitionists.

And finally, the occupation is a reminder that building revolutionary power is a process and an experiment. Connecting at least some of the revolutionary forces in a city will come step by step, by connecting some individuals across groups that share a liberatory anticapitalism, and building outward from there. We're laying the foundation for many more struggles after this one.

3. FRIENDLY FIRE, “BEYOND OCCUPATION: THOUGHTS ON THE CURRENT #OCCUPYICEPHL AND MOVING FORWARD TO #ENDPARS”

Published July 16th by the Friendly Fire Collective

<https://friendlyfirecollective.wordpress.com/2018/07/16/beyond-occupation-thoughts-on-the-current-occupyicephl-and-moving-forward-to-endpars/>

We are two weeks into #OccupyICEPHL. We have ceased occupying the ICE offices since July 5 and the current encampment at City Hall has lost a lot of its original momentum. The Left in Philly united on July 2nd for the original occupation, but it has been fractured by burnout and internal conflicts. A lot of us are wondering, how did we get here and how do we move forward?

The Encampment at City Hall

After the camp was dismantled on July 5th by homeland security and Philly cops, a meeting took place in the evening. Hundreds gathered, sharing reflections and potential strategies for moving forward so that we could effectively pressure Mayor Kenney to not renew the Preliminary Arraignment Reporting System (PARS) contract, which allows ICE access to the PPD's database.

Following the meeting, an autonomous group decided that one strategy in continuing the fight was to begin a camp at City Hall in order to be a confrontational presence for city officials, and to educate the public about both PARS and ICE. Within minutes, they set up at City Hall, bringing yoga mats, signs, umbrellas, chairs, and food.

Picking up on the momentum of the previous camp, many came around to provide support. The camp was quickly built up with a medic and food storage tent, as well as a table of leftist literature, including flyers on both #EndPARS and #AbolishICE. Participants

were flyering; workshops and teach-ins happened throughout the day; food and water and other supplies were consistently being dropped off; chants were constant; and general assemblies were held twice a day (and they still are).

That being said, within the past week, the energy at the camp has been fizzling out. I was at the camp this morning and counted around 15 present.

Skepticism of the New Camp

A number of leftists in Philadelphia have expressed skepticism of the camp. This is fair.

More than half of those present at most general assemblies are white, and a majority of the principal organizers are white. Whiteness is a destructive force for all, with material consequences for those that cannot access its privileges. For those who are white or can access whiteness, it hinders empathy and results in moral deterioration to those who reap benefits from whiteness. We need to see and combat the way whiteness operates among us, making it a priority to center the needs and the voices of POC. In my experience, this is a constant struggle in leftist spaces, and in this sense the encampment is not unique.

It seems that a major reason why people have either backed away or have chosen not to support this camp is because they see the occupation as ineffective and believe greater action is needed. What should be noted is that this camp began with this in mind. A diversity of tactics is sorely needed and this camp was never envisioned as THE tactic for all to take. This camp was starting to agitate at City Hall as part of a larger project which would include the continuing work of the original #OccupyICEPHL coalition as well as autonomous actions.

There is also skepticism because of the camp's independence from the original coalition. Those in the camp desire to work alongside the coalition but are intentionally not bound to the coalition, structured so that those on the ground and actively involved decide the direction of the camp.

Some skepticism feels neither political nor strategic, but personal.

Infighting among leftists has been present throughout the whole occupation, even prior to the new camp. The first night of the occupation included coalition organizers squabbling with a few anarchists of a more illegalist, insurrectionist tendency. This was aired out very publicly through a zine that was published online and passed out at the final assembly at the previous occupation.

Tensions between those of a more anarchist orientation and those of a more Marxist orientation were heightened.

Some smaller orgs, especially those with a more autonomous bent, have expressed that they felt unheard and even shut down by the larger coalition.

A skepticism of anarchist organizers continues, leading some to view the new encampment as an anarchist project. Though the organization of the new camp is more horizontal, it is not solely anarchist-organized. Such thinking dismisses those houseless folks who are actively flyer-ing, chanting, and keeping the camp smoothly operating – that do not identify as anarchists – as well as the presence of Marxists.

Again, I think some of this skepticism is a projection of people's personal issues with specific organizers.

The stress of the original occupation, where participants were constantly surrounded by cops and federal officers, exacerbated disagreements among organizers. I cannot blame individuals for withholding their support because of being made to feel unsafe by certain organizers, but it would be strategically unwise to fully dismiss this camp because of that.

In the past week hundreds have come together to publicly agitate at City Hall. This camp is not meant to last forever, but it would be wise to not let it sputter and die out on such a sour note in such a public space. The forces-that-be want our inactivity and burnout so that the PARS contract can be renewed without a fight.

This occupation ending in such a way will reflect badly on all of us, and even more importantly, could hinder and even sabotage the campaign to #EndPARS.

Moving forward

Last week, running off the energy of the first encampment, the camp became a base for activity.

Occupiers were constantly talking to those passing by, providing information on the PARS contract and getting folks to sign the petition put out by Juntos. Media and public attention on the camp highlighted the PARS contract. Mayor Kenney and other officials were flooded with phone calls.

This base is limited, as action-planning cannot occur in such a public space. That said, it has been a space for educating, connecting organizers and people of good conscience, and most importantly, a very public way of getting Kenney's attention.

I don't think as much energy needs to be put into this project as the first encampment, but I think it is worth actively supporting this camp in order to strengthen our message. If more people were out on the ground, more people could take shifts. The burden of this camp would not remain on the same 20-30 people, many of which have slept in their own beds only a handful of times since the original occupation.

But, again, we need to do more.

We need to continue calling city officials, handing out flyers, flooding social media with information on PARS; but we also need to begin agitating with more creativity. Perhaps also at other strategic locations – maybe not to the point of occupation, but at least picketing. We need to be creative in finding ways to get our message out to the public and to our so-called "leaders" as well as hinder ICE operations. We cannot afford to waste time on infighting. We cannot lose sight of the goal, and therefore we must not lose sight of our current moment. Upset over ICE continues, despite the media trying to move on. The time is ripe. We must act.

4. “THIS MOVEMENT ISN’T OURS— IT’S EVERYBODY’S”

Published July 24th by *It’s Going Down*

<https://itsgoingdown.org/this-movement-is-not-ours-its-everybodys/>

Something incredible is happening at OccupyICE Philadelphia right now. The encampment, which is in its third week at city hall, is developing in a truly revolutionary direction. Yesterday a crew of unhoused folks militantly and autonomously took to the streets around city hall in an unplanned spontaneous march, shutting down one of the busiest intersections in Philadelphia for almost an hour in support of immigrants. We talk a lot about solidarity and about unifying proletarian struggles: this is the real thing. At this point the encampment is primarily run by unhoused comrades and they are holding down a fully built out, autonomously run and organized immigrant solidarity occupation that is a beautiful eyesore on one of Philly’s most esteemed tourist attractions.

The Kenney administration is livid, although thanks to the beatings they took in the press for the beatings we took from police when they cleared the first encampment at ICE offices at 8th and Cherry, they’re playing friendly and looking to reconcile. Long term immigrant activist groups and people inside the administration expect the declaration of the end of PARS—the police information sharing agreement that has helped Philly’s ICE office become the highest per capita arrest and capture major city in the country—any day now. Ending PARS is the first of the movement’s three demands, the other two being shutting down Berks, a horrifically abusive “family detention center” in PA, and Abolishing ICE.

This would be a huge victory, and the culmination of almost a decade of hard work from the city’s immigrant movement. But we haven’t won yet, and many in the Philly activist networks, tired from weeks of hard work, infighting, and social agitation, and having heard the news that Kenney is likely to give in, have stepped back and become demobilized (ourselves included): right as we are on the cusp of winning! We need to keep fighting, keep pushing right now, because if

momentum completely slips Kenney can waffle on PARS and we could achieve nothing for all our efforts.

Luckily for all of us, the unhoused community has held it down and kept this movement alive. Over the last two weeks activists of all ideological stripes, anarchist, socialist, Marxist, nihilist, ultra and whatever else, have almost entirely stepped back from living at the camp, and those that do come down rotate in and out for brief periods while the unhoused people keep it going. As one of those organizers, let me just say: this has been an incredibly good thing. Some of the unhoused folks have political experience from Occupy Philadelphia back in 2011, others from their day to day lives in the streets, still others have very rapidly politicized within the OccupyICE encampment. They are maintaining a 24/7 protest and keeping attention focused on ICE, opening up room for people to join the fight on other fronts. They are asking us to take advantage of this opportunity!

In the shadow of the obscene monument to power that is Philly city hall, a majority Black coalition of unhoused folks add their voices in opposition to the mayor and the city and in defense of immigrants. Occupiers stay on the megaphone all day long. Today, Gramma Kim, an unhoused comrade living at the camp, spent three hours making heart-wrenching statements to the people of Philadelphia, soap boxing with the megaphone all afternoon: "What would you do if your children were in a cage? Wouldn't you fight? We have to stop this!"

Every morning the camp crew wakes up the Marriott hotel across the street with humorous musings on the loudspeaker. By 9am, comrades from the MOVE organization drop off fresh vegetables grown in their garden, and Food not Bombs is dropping food for lunch and dinner while unhoused occupiers are staffing the kitchen to distribute it. Donations have slowed to a trickle, but there are still a whole lot of shared meals, cigs, and experiences.

To give you just one example of what I see down here: There was an unhoused man, I won't name him but folks from the camp will know who I'm talking about, that during the first few days at City Hall would come through camp and just overturn tables, yell and scream, he even shoved someone, and we had to physically remove him from the camp multiple times. We got him to a shelter one night, but when he

came back the next night some concerned activists were considering sectioning him. I'm so glad they didn't, because now he holds down the kitchen and is one of the people most concerned with keeping the camp tidy. He's part of the movement, more a part of it day to day now than me or the other people who had to chase him out of camp those few times. OccupyICE has become a transformative space for people joining in struggle.

Of course, it's not at all rainbows and gumdrops. As a comrade said: "...it's certainly messy down here. There's no way to keep your hands clean, figuratively speaking. You get pulled into some shit and some drama pretty quickly if you aren't careful." It's true. A lot of us occupiers have serious addictions, as well as physical and mental health problems. Often times there are moments of anger and conflict that can erupt in camp, which can feel scary to people, especially those of us who don't come from working class/street/hood backgrounds, but it's important to understand and know that these moments of conflict often lead to resolution, even if it doesn't look the same as it would in a more middle class or activist space. If for whatever reason people don't feel they can be down here that's totally legit: there's lots of other ways to support the encampment and struggle in solidarity.

OccupyICE is demonstrating that the activist milieu's tendency toward taking a social worker's attitude toward unhoused folks — rather than a comradely and restorative one—is a serious political error. The fact is that unhoused people are keeping the movement alive. They are the movement right now. The well-intentioned but misguided activists (we include ourselves here) haven't been able to see this: some even keep insisting that we have to shut down the camp that they rarely go to and have little investment in anymore since it's problematic and uncontrollable. Word inside the camp is that campers are ready to move after we win to continue the struggle, and even expand it to include police and prison abolition and other issues facing the unhoused.

Comrades, can't you see, we've helped to build something truly uncontrollable? Something proletarian, communal, autonomous and buck-wild? From the first march called by the alphabet soup of socialist orgs to this moment, everyone has put their shoulders to the wheel and pushed. It's been an amazing, inspiring effort. But

comrades, victory is so close. We can't stop now!

While there is a political and tactical advantage to the unhoused people running and keeping the camp, we still need to support it logistically with donations/supplies and politically with marches, actions, and keeping up the pressure on Kenney. We can do the things we're good at: banner drops, direct actions, street marches, teach-ins. If we don't, it's possible the internal pressures of the camp will prove too much for our mostly-new-to-organizing-comrades.

Let's stop thinking of the unhoused people as anything other than our core comrades in this movement and this struggle. Do you know their names? Have you gone down to camp and talked to them about the political prospects of the situation? If you did you would see they don't need our help, they need our solidarity! They need us beside them fighting! We started this current wave of struggle, we can't leave them to finish it alone!

Many of us have become so used to losing that we don't know how to pull this thing across the finish line right now, right as we're about to win—but the folks in the camp are planning on winning. As such, they have a firmly established plan—logistically, politically, strategically—to close the camp and relocate it as soon as the PARS demand is won.

This will be a reset for the camp and for the movement, and if the city ends PARS Kenney can have the occupation off his lawn today (you reading this Kenney?!) But it all hangs in the balance right now, material support is visibly receding. People are donating less frequently, and most of the original convening organizations are sitting on their hands (and their piles of donated cash) waiting for something to happen.

But comrades, something is happening. Something big, something real. We're very close to significantly damaging ICE's ability to round people up in the city, and from there, to building something even bigger.

OccupyICE is creating a working model for how we can open an umbrella organizing space in Philly that breaks through the inaction caused by sectarian turf battles. We can win real victories for the movement while materially and politically supporting Black-led autonomous revolutionary organizing of the unhoused. By its very existence, OccupyICE is realigning the terrain in Philadelphia and pulling activists kicking and screaming into winning demands and sewing the seeds of an insurgent and revolutionary street culture. This is what revolutionary street organizing looks like!

Long live OccupyICE!

End PARS!

Shut down Berks!

Abolish ICE!

PORTLAND

5. SELECTION FROM CRIMETHINC, “THE ICE AGE IS OVER: REFLECTIONS FROM THE ICE BLOCKADES”

Published by *Crimethinc. Ex-Workers Collective* July 1, 2018

<https://crimethinc.com/2018/07/01/the-ice-age-is-over-reflections-from-the-ice-blockades>

Starting in mid-June, occupations sprang up around the United States in protest against ICE (US Immigration and Customs Enforcement). These occupations were a response to ICE policies which include separating families as they cross the border, incarcerating and drugging undocumented children, and deporting millions of undocumented people of all ages, often to places where they will be put in grave danger. In the following accounts from the ICE occupations in Portland, Tacoma, and Atlanta, participants reflect on some of the internal challenges facing movements against the border regime.

We urge everyone to **support the arrestees** in the struggle against ICE in Portland and elsewhere around the United States. For more on how and why borders tear apart families, ruin lives, and create the conditions for exploitative capitalism, read our book, *No Wall They Can Build*.

Portland: Cracking the ICE

After itching to do something, anything, about the violence being enacted by ICE, I was pleased to hear that some folks participating in the march held on June 17 and ending at the ICE facility at 4310 SW Macadam Avenue in Portland had decided that they weren't leaving. My first visit to the space that would become the commune was on June 19 in the early afternoon. If memory serves, there were only a handful of tents, one or two canopies with kitchen and first aid supplies, and perhaps one portajohn. After observing for an hour or two, I approached folks to ask if there was anything I could bring and was asked to supply the encampment with ice and another cooler if possible.

In the hour it took me to run that errand, the small scattering of three or four tents became nine or ten, and then 40 or so people became, by my approximation, over 100.

While ICE agents were still trapped in the building, a pizza delivery person showed up (from Bellagios, I think) to deliver food to the ICE agents. After walking around the building multiple times and not finding a way in, he gave up and left the huge stack of pizzas with the protesters.

When I showed up after work the next day, the camp was bigger still. That day, there was some alarm when DHS (Department of Homeland Security) showed up. People rallied and ran to the front entrance on the Macadam side of the building and were quickly forced aside by DHS. While I chose to stay behind in the driveway, in the event that that was the next target, by all accounts DHS escorted ICE agents who had been trapped inside the building into their vehicles, with many of the ICE agents covering their faces.

Over the next few days, the camp expanded to include between 80 and 100 tents on either side of the bike path, in front of the main driveway, and spilling over into a field adjacent to the facility—as well as a large kitchen, a childcare area, a communications team, an engineering team, a medical tent, a front entrance check-in area, and more. The engineering team, with the help of fellow occupiers and community members who delivered loads of pallets and furniture, fortified the encampment with barricades. We also worked on creating a boardwalk of sorts down the trolley tracks to provide a wheelchair-accessible way to reach all the tents providing services and in hopes of potentially creating more space for tents.

On Thursday, June 28, at 5:30 am, DHS tore down the barricade from the door on the Macadam side of the building to the far side of the driveway in order to enable officers and transport vehicles to come and go again. After many days of being shuttered, the building was open again.

I wasn't able to make it until that afternoon, but the difference was striking. There was still an air of lightheartedness, but the seriousness of the situation was unmistakable. We had known it was coming and here it was. I opted to park far away and walk into the camp. DHS vehicles were absolutely infesting the surrounding area. I walked into the camp and immediately spotted snipers on the roof. Small children were yelling at them: "Quit your job!" and "You should feel bad!" There was a line of DHS officers in full riot gear lining the edge of the driveway, facing off with protestors. The engineering team was furiously assembling more barricades. The press was assembled outside near the entrance; I almost walked face-first into a camera as I was trying to access the sidewalk. Security was tighter. I overheard security ask multiple people who were standing around what they were doing.

Overall, for me personally, it was a tremendously heartening experience. I worked with teams of people who were organized and dedicated. The atmosphere was refreshingly lively and upbeat, with children running around and people of all stripes showing up to support the occupation with their labor, their bodies, and their time, or just to get a hot meal. I saw anarchists working alongside DSA, and lots of awesome solidarity. I witnessed vital, important work being done toward the goal of dismantling ICE.

That said, the occupation was not without its problems. I heard that comrades were thrown out for tagging the Tesla building and I wanted to find out what had gone down. When I first approached someone from the security team, they seemed as outraged as I was; they took me to folks who might know more.

I found myself speaking to two people. One seemed concerned bordering on exhausted; the other seemed annoyed bordering on hostile and eventually walked away from me. I didn't have a lot of information at that moment, so I accepted that the person I was talking to didn't either and left it at that. The day of the crackdown (June 28), I approached the person who had walked away from me, introduced myself, and stated that I hadn't been there to cause problems, that I was genuinely concerned, and that I had more information if they wanted to talk about it. From my end, this was an earnest attempt to make peace with this person. They proceeded to

berate me for defending the people who had done the tagging, telling me that it was inappropriate and put marginalized people at risk, that the account I heard from one of the people who was expelled was false. The person I was speaking with kept referring to some sort of nebulous “leadership,” and insinuated that the only reason I was there was to get the expelled person’s stuff back. When I tried to express that actually I was making an attempt to offer an olive branch, despite our difference of opinion, they told me they were done with me and walked away.

This inability to have a conversation is a big problem. And that conversation is not just about property destruction—we have that one all the damn time. But I had legitimate questions: Was “no property destruction” a ground rule that had been decided upon at a General Assembly? How were new people invited into the space? Were they made aware of the ground rules? Who has the right to determine the proper form of resistance to an institution as hateful as ICE? Was there a protocol established regarding how to handle violations? Was there any accountability for people on the security team or in any other position abusing power? I think these are major recurring problems in spaces like this that need to be addressed before we can start organizing across tendencies in any meaningful way.

Portland and Tacoma: You Can’t Build a Movement Based on Shame

I spent time at both the blockade in Portland, Oregon and the Northwest Detention Center Occupation in Tacoma, Washington. I think it is so inspiring and exciting that these occupations and blockades are happening all over the country. I wish they were happening in every city, at every ICE facility.

At both of these occupations, there were many anarchists with whom I felt affinity; but there were also aspects of these occupations that reminded me of the worst parts of the 2011 Occupy movement—including an intense form of privilege politics that I had hoped we had learned from and moved on from in the past seven years. One of the most exciting aspects of resistance during times of intense repression and authoritarianism such as the time we are experiencing

now is the number of people who are radicalized and join anarchist struggles. It is a huge opportunity for us—a time to spread anarchist ideas. Newly radicalized people are looking for direction. Often, however, they will follow the loudest voices—and the loudest voices are often the liberals or self-appointed “leadership” of a movement. I have seen both new people and seasoned revolutionaries controlled by authoritarian privilege politics, accepting them out of fear of being seen as racist—even though most privilege politics are themselves racist, involving self-appointed white leaders claiming to speak for all people of color and claiming that people of color are always peaceful.

This is not to say that racism is not a problem in anarchist scenes. But adhering to reactionary privilege politics can be as bad as not addressing it at all.

At the occupation at the Northwest Detention Center, there were moments when the General Assembly was filled with anarchists; at these times, the assembly made consensus decisions to never talk to the police and to not have a police liaison or any sort of security force, and agreed that snitching and sexual assault were the only acceptable reasons to kick someone out of camp without discussion. There were other times when the General Assembly was full of liberals, self-appointed all-white leadership, and even a person who threatened to snitch if someone did anything illegal. These were the moments the camp felt most stifling. We were told by that all-white “leadership” that the only acceptable action was to build the camp, for example, by cooking and organizing supplies. They maintained that any other actions would harm the people inside the detention center—all of whom, apparently, did not want tactics to escalate beyond cooking and taking out the trash.

To be clear: the NWDC is one of the biggest immigration prisons in the country. How they asked all 1500 people trapped inside it what tactics they do and don't support was never explained to us (and of course they could not and did not consult with all of these people).

At the Portland occupation, I saw some people aggressively shamed for tagging the Tesla showroom. They were screamed at and kicked out of the occupation at 3 am. I also saw those same people later being described as white, although half of them were people of color,

because it didn't fit into the leadership's privilege politics narrative to admit that many people of color are invested in confrontational politics and escalation. As they were verbally assaulted and kicked out of camp, they were told that because they had tagged the Tesla showroom, it would be their fault if the police came to the blockade and took children away from their parents.

At the Tacoma blockade, one afternoon, a nonviolent direct action training took place. It began with two white people and one person of color aggressively shaming everyone in the space for the actions of the police. According to them, it was our fault that the ICE agents were torturing and raping people inside because demonstrators had been standing in the street the night before. It was our fault the ICE agents were torturing and raping people inside because a couple demonstrators had been drinking beer.

We must remember that the violence of the police is never our fault. The violence inflicted upon the migrants detained within the Northwest Detention Center, despite being escalated during the protest outside, is still entirely the fault of the police inflicting it.

Many of the people in the nonviolent direct action training were white folks who had never been to a protest before and were heavily influenced by being shamed and told how racist they were. This type of privilege politics, built on shaming people into inaction, is not how you build a movement. It doesn't build momentum, it shuts it down. It doesn't inspire people, it shuts them down. Shame is a feeling that does nothing but disempower people, which is the exact opposite of our goal—building power, together.

As I watched the people being kicked out of the Portland blockade that night, the "security team" evicting them repeatedly expressed the belief that if there was graffiti, the police would immediately come and shut down the camp. As if the police wouldn't come to an illegal blockade if the building hadn't been tagged! As if the police were allowing the camp to exist because of some morality that the police and the protestors shared, and the only reason the police would come would be if that morality were no longer shared. It was as if they believed that the protestors and the police had come to an agreement, in which as long as the police could trust the protestors to police each other, then the protestors could trust the police not to evict the camp.

But the police can never be trusted, and they will never share our ethics. We know, both from the logic of the state's position as well as from our experience in past actions, that the police will always come—just as soon as they have the force to do so. However, the amount of force they need to evict a camp or shut down a demonstration often depends on how confrontational the demonstration is. The more confrontational the occupation, the more force the police will need to evict it and the longer it will take for them to amass that force.

One recent example of this is the **Olympia blockade**, which barricaded an active railroad for 12 days. The entire neighborhood was covered in anti-police graffiti. Cement was poured on the tracks. Security cameras were taken down. Parking meters in the area were broken. At any given time, the greatest number of people you might find at the blockade would be ~50-100. At night, it was down to 5-20 people. By contrast, if we count from the first day of the overnight occupation in Portland to the day the ICE building was reopened, the Portland blockade lasted 10 days—and the number of people at that blockade was often 1000 or more.

The graffiti—and the smashed parking meters, broken security cameras, and so forth—at the Olympia blockade did not cause the police to come sooner. It actually took them longer to come, despite the blockade being only a fraction of the size of the Portland blockade. At the Portland blockade, people were busy policing each other. The actual cops didn't even need to come. The protestors themselves were protecting the property of the government and the showrooms of capitalism. (Never mind that both the Tesla showroom and the ICE facility are owned by a man who openly admitted to running his Mercedes into demonstrators.)

We are in a time of crisis, in which the overt white nationalist terror of the state is clearer than ever. In this moment, we should build autonomous spaces in which people can take action outside of the control of politicians and peace police. We believe this because of our political ethics of autonomy, but it is strategic as well. Confrontational tactics are a threat to the state, whereas any protest tactics that do not actually threaten the power of white supremacy can only reinforce it. The stronger we make the barricades, the longer we can hold off the police. The less we police each other, the less power we give to them. As anarchists, how do we counter the politics of leadership, inaction

and shame? How do we build our power even as the liberals and peace police are actively trying to strip it from us?

[...]

6. CRIMETHINC, “OCCUPY ICE PORTLAND: POLICING REVOLUTION? LESSONS FROM THE BARRICADES”

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<https://crimethinc.com/2018/07/09/occupy-ice-portland-policing-revolution-some-critical-reflections>

We’ve received the following report from participants in the occupation around the Portland facilities of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). While our collective has no official position on issues internal to the occupation, we consider it important to promote constructive conversations about power dynamics within our movements and the ways that they can impose limits on what we can accomplish together. For more material on this subject, consult our earlier report, “The ICE Age Is Over: Reflections from the ICE Blockades.” Shortly, for the sake of amplifying multiple perspectives, we will add one more text from Portland.

“Criticize the comrade, take a criticism from the comrade.” –Bambu

“We do NOT touch the police tape. We do NOT block the street,” a “leader” of the Portland occupation screamed through a megaphone at a crowd of newly arrived demonstrators near the reopened ICE facility. Organic anger from a group of mostly liberals led to a brief confrontation with Federal Protective Services (FPS/DHS), which was quickly quashed by an internal security team. People were ushered onto the sidewalk and scolded for not following supposedly “collective” agreements. The building remained untouched as protesters who were eager to agitate were made to feel guilty and illegitimate.

In the last three weeks of Portland’s occupation at the ICE building, we’ve found ourselves caught between a desire to build with folks and a need to critique the ways that violence is sustained by our work. We’ve failed to address interpersonal violence and have left people isolated from the movement. We’ve prioritized the security of our “leaders” because of their contributions and their assumed necessity

to our commune rather than making space for conversation about sexual violence and the strategies we must implement to make sure folks are held accountable rather than simply "vouched for." And we've lost sight of the initial goal of abolishing ICE.

Our occupation is said to be leading the movement against deportations across the country. We're currently cohabitating with the ICE facility; as their work continues, we continue to sit back with our La Croix in hand and practice "self-care." In many ways, this commune has been helpless since its inception, demonstrating the need to build conversation and criticism into our work.

When it comes down to it, the vast majority of us here have no idea how to coexist in a commune; we are improvising. We offer up this criticism knowing that it's much easier to critique than to build. We write this in hopes of making space for continual analysis, collective reflection, and commitment to future organizing.

More than anything, we must practice humility and be conscious of our role in this organizing work. Shutting down an ICE building for over two weeks is a huge feat, and we do not want to diminish this accomplishment. But we cannot forget the people who our commune is said to be built on behalf of: undocumented folks, and specifically undocumented children, who are suffering in detention centers around the country. We remind ourselves first and foremost that these people do not need our saving. Amazing organizing efforts have been led by undocumented folks in and out of detention centers, often largely by undocumented women. They'll be doing that whether or not we sleep out here tonight. Still, solidarity efforts are crucial to dismantling these walls and to abolishing ICE.

The commune is exciting because it's an opportunity to experiment with different organizing strategies and visions for another world. We have an amazing kitchen staff, an incredible kids area, and overall an impressive space. But we also have a pseudo-policing unit, extremely flawed approaches to navigating accusations of sexual violence, and potential security threats. At this point, preserving the commune has become a more central project than actually disrupting ICE. We've failed to build a space to assess and change our strategies as they inevitably fail or are co-opted. Consequently, our commune has done

little to interrogate the ways it reproduces and legitimizes policing, surveillance, and heteropatriarchal violence.

Ultimately, much of our work has been whitewashed, neutralized, and made non-threatening to the state—that's how we've been able to be legitimized as an action that will not be touched by the Portland Police Bureau (PPB). We supposedly decided that the commune will now only engage in "passive resistance," a concept as oxymoronic as "good policing" or "public property." The commune's internal police force, known as the "Care Team," has worked to ensure that protesters "keep in line." Our commitment to the commune's continued existence has become a commitment to establishing a framework in which insurgent and revolutionary politics become unimaginable.

"All Cops" Means the Pretend Ones Too

Seizing the lack of structure as an opportunity for a power grab, a group of people created a self-appointed security team within the first few days. Sporting pink bandanas as an emblem of this new committee, the group established a visible manifestation of their higher status.

From the beginning, the team consisted primarily of individuals with a pattern of taking control and policing others at past demonstrations. Masquerading as anarchists and radicals, these people implement authoritarian practices and recreate the state structures we have set out to abolish. The ideology of many of those on the security team is indecipherable; sometimes it appears that their primary motive is power.

The security phenomenon is a recurring issue in Portland. At almost every rally or march, one finds the same dozen people role-playing as cops, following around "suspicious" people. They hold themselves above the participants, who they are there to "protect." The people who assume this role never appear on the front lines fighting riot police; they can't be found when there is a real security threat. They pounce on the lone agitator, getting enough action to bolster their ego and flex their power. The anarchist symbols covering the camp are purely aesthetic, since we continue to let security govern us.

The security team created a monopoly on information, keeping important reports about threats to themselves. Using this lack of transparency to their advantage, security members were able to justify their existence through distorted threats and the instilling of fear—a tactic habitually used by the state. Calling a “code red” one night, security commanded people to retreat into tents while refusing to offer information as to what the situation was. Terrified newcomers and children scrambled back with no grasp on how severe the threat actually was.

Their authority allows them to determine the political legitimacy of people’s thoughts and actions, as well as deciding which actions are “too risky” for the commune to engage in. We’ve seen women enter the space with questions about the work, only to be told, “Do you really want to know or are you just being facetious?” We’ve seen folks heckling Homeland Security Officers told that they’re “kids” and therefore should get back in line and listen to the commune authority. We’ve seen comrades lambasted and told to leave for attempting civil disobedience.

All of this is done under the guise of “protecting” people of color and trans folks. We are open to discussing tactics, but we will not stand for a security team that grounds its work in the patriarchal protection of black, brown, and trans people and that insists on policing all forms of political action, analysis, and engagement.

The members of the security team are able to absolve themselves of responsibility for their policing efforts by leaning on “consensus-based decisions.” In confronting someone who is “out of line,” they argue that they’re simply carrying out orders. Whose orders these are is entirely unclear. Consensus by itself can be employed as a tactic for repressing autonomous action. But the commune takes it one step further by neglecting to actually engage in true consensus decision-making. The general assemblies here occur sporadically and happen at inaccessible times. The result is that an invisible, unknown, exclusive committee of people reach a decision which is then stamped as group consensus and forced on everyone else. There is a hidden rigid hierarchy disguised in careful leftist language to isolate critics. Blatantly false statements are thrown around, such as “EVERYONE living at camp agrees that...” or “the overwhelming CONSENSUS is...”

This destroys any space for critique and gives those new to the camp the impression that everyone is in unanimous agreement.

We understand the need to disrupt the “ally industrial complex” in which white people, those new to the movement, and other “privileged” folks sit on the side and cheer on our POC comrades. At this point, more and more people want to get involved, and that’s crucial. People who show up must be understood as potential comrades and legitimate political actors. The liberal who decides to scream at the cops is engaging in an activity that might further radicalize them—and yet we choose to police that work, tell them it’s out of line, and demand that the ways we disrupt ICE be narrow and pre-approved. How do we expect to expand this movement if we teach our potential comrades that their political analysis is irrelevant? Why should they return to this work if they are told that their ideas, opinions, and forms of action are incorrect? If our goal is to build a new world, we have to start by not replicating the old. Ultimately, we’re isolating potential comrades and disciplining our collective political imagination.

Security Team 2.0: Your Misogyny is Showing

After initial criticism of the internal police force, the security team rebranded themselves as “the Care Team.” This attempt to rebrand leans on understandings of the importance of care—the feminized labor that sustains the social and emotional well-being of the commune. When we think of care, we think of our kitchen staff, the folks who hold down the childcare tent, and those partaking in other forms of feminized work. Excluding those folks from “the” Care Team is not only a tactic the internal police uses to avoid accountability, but is also a disrespectful manipulation of feminist understandings of care.

We hear more and more in leftist circles about the need to build a new world based on a politics of care. We understand care as feminized work of listening, working to understand people’s emotional needs, and validating and supporting all who enter our spaces. It’s a call to collectivize our traumas and strategies for healing, which should not be conflated with neoliberal notions of “self-care.” We see much of the work of care tied to Black Feminist analysis, the work of the

Movement for Black Lives, and in prison abolitionist circles. We want to expand that work in order to build a movement for each other.

Contrary to many beliefs, "care" is not about a practice of patriarchal protection, nor a politics based on policing potential threats. The current campaign of Critical Resistance, "Care Not Cops," does the necessary work of disrupting notions of "good policing," making it clear that policing and care are incompatible. Care is an acknowledgement of our vulnerability to others and a recognition of the need to collaborate for our collective survival.

Men Ruin Movements: Addressing Gendered Violence within Our Communities

Within minutes of entering the commune we learn that one of the core organizers is a person with serious accusations against them. Of course, it's not our job to snoop around and try to determine whether or not this specific person is "guilty," nor necessarily to call for their immediate removal. But we do want to know whether there is a process by which accusations are heard, people's experiences are validated, and action is taken to hold people accountable and to ensure that those making these accusations feel welcomed in. We want to see a commitment to addressing and disrupting gendered violence and other forms of harm. And we want to know that these conversations are at the forefront of the community we seek to build.

When men are in charge, apparently, this becomes too much to ask for. When we ask why someone is still on the core "Care Team," we are told that despite accusations, this person has been "vouched for." His leadership position and the amount he's contributed become grounds for delegitimizing and failing to address accusations. We hear excuses about organizational capacity used to put accusations of sexual violence on the back burner until we can give them the attention they need.

Our shared critiques of criminal justice procedures and commitments to abolishing the prison industrial complex are being used to justify not addressing the sexual violence accusations against people. The counterargument that people of color are more likely to face

incarceration is not wrong; however, to use this as a justification not to hold people accountable is disappointing. To manipulate these realities in order to avoid even having conversations about feminist praxis only further embeds our work in the same patriarchal structures that we claim to oppose.

The work of transformative justice is tricky and we've seen few attempts at it done well. But that should not cause us to conclude it is not necessary in our work. If we learned anything from zines like *Why Misogynists Make Great Informants*, essays like *Betrayal: A Critical Analysis of Rape Culture in Anarchist Subcultures*, and the book *The Revolution Starts at Home: Confronting Intimate Violence Within Activist Communities*, it is that this sort of misogyny in our circles is nothing new. We know that these forms of violence and harm take place within our communities. We build with our shared commitment to holding ourselves and each other accountable.

What's the Point: Passive Resistance and Smashing the State

If you've spent any time at the camp, you are probably familiar with the obsession with "passive resistance." It's hard to miss. The phrase is posted on the entrance to the camp, mindlessly thrown around by "leaders," and praised by the liberals who come and go. As much as it is used, nobody seems to know what it means or how we came to embrace it. This section will not be focused on the **failures of nonviolence**. That story has been written countless times and we've all sat through arguments over it. Instead, we focus on how self-appointed leaders twist the idea to shut down virtually any resistance to ICE.

Passive resistance is not about passivity, it is about resistance. It is peaceful, but it is not compliance. At the camp, the term is being pulled further and further from its definition. When a few daring comrades tried to lock arms on the side entrance, blocking in the federal agents, they were attacked for not practicing proper resistance. Other people tried linking themselves together in the driveway, but were criticized by leaders for poking the bear. Even yelling at police is a bit too provocative. Passive resistance has lost its meaning and value, and it seems that the leaders don't care about resisting, just about passivity.

The assumption at the camp seems to be that by engaging in their version of passive resistance, we will swing the media coverage and stall a police attack. It sounds great in theory, but it appears to ignore history altogether. Those who embrace this framework are operating under the illusion that if we are peaceful and compliant with police orders, we can exist in harmony with the state. This ignores every peaceful protest that has been ambushed by riot police, every "passive" mobilization that has been squashed by the state, every instance of police brutality. It buys into the notion that our behavior dictates how the police will treat us, the same idea recited by Fox News pundits after police murders. In reality, the state cares little about how we behave. The authorities make their own excuses with the assistance of the media and attack on their own initiative. The goal of abolishing ICE and the practice of physically shutting it down puts us in conflict with the state. Since the camp is diametrically opposed to the state and its wishes, a police attack is inevitable. Peacefulness and compliance will not seduce the state into inaction, it will just take away our power. In conceding our power, we let our safety lie in the hands of the police.

On June 28, while most of the camp slept, federal police cleared the entrances and arrested multiple people. Our barricades were ripped down, and the veteran camp in the driveway was torn to pieces—despite their peacefulness. The police proved that they didn't need an excuse to move on the camp. Yet leaders are still calling for "passive resistance" and employing vulnerability politics to suppress militancy.

The Care Team frequently falls back on the claim that any escalation would "put __ group at risk," using the most convenient marginalized identity at hand to make this argument. The "risk" that they claim to be defending people from is the potential for arrests or police brutality directed towards people of color and trans people. This analysis is not incorrect; less privileged people will be further targeted by police, face harsher sentences, and gain less sympathy from white civil society. However, the weaponizing of identity in order to police certain actions not only means speaking on behalf of a population "in need of protection," it also attempts to make any discussion about risk, tactics, and actions impossible and to shut down political conversation.

If we believe that we can remove risk and danger from this work, then we ultimately must commit to reproducing the existing social order. There will be risk in disrupting ICE and danger in threatening white civil society. People should analyze the risks, the dangers they face personally, and determine whether or not they want to take an action or be in a specific space. We need to build in support so we do not reserve specific actions for more privileged people—but winning with “passive resistance” is a fantasy.

To assume that we must resist passively in order to accommodate more vulnerable commune members falsely ties militance to whiteness. We think of Jackie Wang’s essay, “Against Innocence: Race, Gender, and the Politics of Safety,” in which she takes on this question of risk. Wang writes,

“When an analysis of privilege is turned into a political program that asserts that the most vulnerable should not take risks, the only politically correct politics becomes a politics of reformism and retreat, a politics that necessarily capitulates to the status quo while erasing the legacy of Black Power groups like the Black Panthers and the Black Liberation Army.”

We think about people who have been resisting in deportation centers since before ICE’s inception, about militant direct action taken by undocumented students across the country and the need for further militancy to dismantle patriarchy, white supremacy, and the settler-colonial state.

A feeling of complacency has spread throughout the camp as it has transitioned from a militant attempt to shut down ICE operations to a sort of Burning Man commune peacefully coexisting with DHS. With an assortment of sparkling water, open yoga sessions, and nightly concerts contrasted by armored snipers on the roof and makeshift barricades covered in circle-As, the camp has the look of a leftist music festival—Anarchoachella, if you will. Camaraderie is important and nothing is inherently wrong with creating a comfortable space. But our focus has been abandoned and our inclination towards action has dissipated.

When attempting to initiate an urgently-needed discussion on possible actions the night before ICE resumed work in the building, organizers were met with hostility for interrupting a music show and berated by a crowd of mostly newcomers about the necessity of "self-care" and "taking a break." After a night of dancing and consuming kale salads, they put up no resistance as ICE agents poured into the building the next morning. While this is unintentional, we are capitalizing on the suffering of children and wasting resources to live out our collective ideological fantasies. If holding space is prioritized over disrupting deportations and separations, the commune is nothing more than a bourgeois liberal playground.

Stop Embarrassing the Movement

In our struggle to smash the borders and end the deadly policing of them, we have replicated the same institutions we oppose. Our camp is encircled in barriers separating ourselves from the capitalist hellworld and the flow of people is strictly controlled. Our own security cameras monitor the movements of occupiers and the entrances and exits are restricted to a few gates. We have created categories of those who belong and those who don't. A list has been compiled of commune exiles that includes critics, utopians, and anti-authoritarians. ACAB adorns the wall but the "Care Team" is a border patrol of its own. Rampant anti-houseless rhetoric prompts exclusion of those perceived as houseless while simultaneously labeling ourselves a tent city. If nothing changes, our commune will collapse before the police even attempt to raid it.

The occupation has been remarkable in garnering support and sparking grand aspirations. The amount of effort and organization put into sustaining the commune is commendable. But right now, we are doing nothing to hinder deportations or support detainee organizing. Occupiers are living comfortably while ICE continues its reign of terror next door. With all its flaws, the commune has taught us and transformed us. Still, it's time to abandon our notions of space and romanticized community and consider what it would mean to build a movement based on unconditional hospitality, real care, and actual militancy.

If it stays as it is, the commune will continue to drain resources and police insurrectionary potential while amounting to nothing more than a mild inconvenience to ICE employees. With the widespread popularity of increasingly radical abolitionist politics, we have the opportunity to bring people into our analysis and agitate against state control and hierarchy in general. We must back up our utopian visions by showing the revolutionary possibility of a world free of borders and authority. This is not a call to abandon the occupation altogether or to allow ICE to resume as normal. This is a reminder of the need for constant critique and a space to have these conversations. We ask our comrades to consider our goals and examine our tactics. Opportunities for meaningful action exist within the commune but only if we overhaul our current commitment to passivity and let go of our desire to be palatable to the state.

Furthermore, we call for a decentralized approach. ICE isn't just a building, so don't let your actions be limited to it. Seek out all of the appendages that keep the machine running and strike while we have the power. The information is out there. Find your comrades, form an affinity group, and get to work. Redecorate your local GEO Group building, throw a block party in front of an ICE agent's house, and always hold yourself and your comrades accountable. ICE is starting to melt, but we're just warming up.

with love,

Your local mindless anarchists hell-bent on nothing but destruction

7. “PORTLAND, OR: REPORT BACK FROM #FAMILIESBELONGTOGETHER MARCH”

Published July 9th by *It's Going Down*

<https://itsgoingdown.org/portland-or-report-back-from-familiesbelongtogether-march/>

A personal reflection from the #FamiliesBelongTogether march in Portland, Oregon.

I arrived late to the rally, amazing through the crowd until I could at least hear the speakers. Jo Ann Hardesty was giving a rousing speech, she repeated the demands of the OccupyICE movement but didn't explicitly mention the camp. She called for action. The rally closed with an impassioned speech by Kayse Jama. He called for action. The taste of praxis grew heavy in the air.

The poignancy of children in cages had pierced the crowd's liberal hearts, who, despite their asinine misgivings about punching nazis, understood that their children could be next. Then some quick-thinking comrades took up a call to march. Faint at first, the call "march march march" quickly grew. I slid through the crowd to join them and lend my voice to the call. We successfully got a reasonable crowd of people to move into the street and start an un-permitted march. Some people watched from the sidewalk, in what was more muscle memory than decision. I waved to a woman to join us. I enjoyed watching the dawning realization of empowerment as she stepped off the sidewalk.

I told her "these are our streets now" and she laughed like we were sneaking a joint at school. I felt refreshed, refueled. Praxis brings joy to our hearts, it alleviates the existential terror of watching tyranny ascend. We filled the side street and marched to the waterfront. A couple comrades on bikes took up the role of traffic control, riding ahead and helping keep us safe from cars. We got to the waterfront and turned toward the Occupy ICE camp. We marched in the large bike lane along a busy thoroughfare. This was a good strategy, lots of cars passing us showed support and it meant the police didn't show

up to disperse the march. It was a 3 mile march from the rally to the camp.

We passed a group of youth that looked to be taking pictures for a quinceañera; they smiled in that bemused teenager way. We wound through the waterfront blues festival, workers busy getting everything setup. Stagehands enjoyed the break. We paused near a construction site while the group tightened up. We chanted "No Hate, No Fear, Immigrants are Welcome Here" while we waited. I wondered what the construction workers thought of us, a bunch of gringos chanting and making a ruckus. After marching along a bike path we came back onto the streets. It was a straight shot now through a crop of fresh luxury condos, tucked away in this far away downtown corner.

As we approached the camp we took to the street again. Our chants had taken an edge on, creeping towards battle cries. We didn't know what awaited us ahead. Would DHS try to stop us? Would we try to stop DHS? At the end, the comrades who had started the march went straight for the camp itself and so the bulk of the march followed suit. However, as the tail started to pile into the intersection the crowd flowed toward the ICE facility itself, bringing marchers into conflict with the DHS line of control.

We had the numbers to overrun, in that moment, and re-barricade the building. The crowd seemed confused about suddenly finding themselves in a situation where they had more power than police. As the police moved their cars into the street and got in formation the crowd just kind of gently moved back. The moment was gone, the spear tip of praxis had dissipated. The situation devolved into standard police line antics. Those with the rage took the rare opportunity to have a good yell at the police. Camp representatives were able to de-escalate the situation.

It became clear that the camp was displeased with how this had gone down. They had spent a lot of energy coming to agreement about how to resolve their standoff with DHS and our actions had put this tenuous peace in jeopardy. While I know many at the camp were frustrated, what I saw was radicalization potential for quite a few liberals. They had felt their power, they had felt the tension of praxis,

TACOMA

8. NWDC RESISTANCE, “TACOMA, WA: AT LEAST 170 DETAINEES LAUNCH HUNGER STRIKE AGAINST FAMILY SEPARATIONS”

Published July 19th by *It's Going Down*

<https://itsgoingdown.org/tacoma-wa-at-least-170-detainees-launch-hunger-strike-against-family-seperations/>

Report from Northwest Detention Center resistance on the latest hunger strike that is taking place inside the Tacoma detention facility, the scene of outside ongoing #OccupyICE protests.

This last Saturday we showed up outside the Detention Center like we often do, but this time we had Mariachi bands and we sang and danced as we shouted #ChingaLaMigra and #AbolishICE. We sang and we danced, honoring our belief in a world with freedom of movement for all, a world with no detention, no deportation, a world where families are not forcibly separated from each other by border agents.

While we were there, people detained inside the NWDC decided to begin a hunger strike. They called us from inside the Detention Center to let us know. This is what hunger strikers told us over the phone on Saturday:

The people detained in the NWDC are appalled by what has been done to parents and their children at the border. They want those families released immediately from detention and reunited, and then all the parents detained at the NWDC released.

They are doing this action as a solidarity action and will go for three days or at least 9 meals. GEO Group (who owns and operates the Detention Center) has already begun retaliation against those on hunger strike, including threats by guards saying if they don't eat, “things will be really bad” for them. There are at least 2 pods confirmed who started their hunger strike yesterday, Saturday, with a total of at least 170 people.

As those who are detained in the NWDC put their bodies on the line while on hunger strike, we on the outside will amplify their message. We will let them know that they are not alone. For updates on the hunger strikes and our work, follow us on FB or IG and head to our website to sign up for our email list.

9. “PUBLIC STATEMENT FROM PEOPLE DETAINED AT NWDC”

Published on Facebook by NWDC Resistance

<https://www.facebook.com/NWDCResistance/posts/1908132729247598>

Update from July 14th Hunger Strike and Demands

Tacoma, WA—The following is a public statement NWDC Resistance received from people detained in the now infamous Northwest Detention Center with an updated list of demands regarding the last hunger strike on July 14th that lasted four days.

To the public, activists and media outlets,

We are writing this letter with the reason being that we have experienced many things in these last couple of days. We began the hunger strike in the pod A2 in the Northwest Detention Center with more than 40 detainees on strike beginning on July 14th 2018 to share the opinions of mistreatment that occur inside, and to ask for changes in ICE and GEO's policies.

After three days we were not eating breakfast, lunch or dinner. The following Monday before lunch, we were finally able to speak with Captain Portillo of the NWDC to try to reach some agreements, the captain promised us he would take this ideas, changes and new systems that we came up with to those the most powerful of this facility, but only if in exchange we were to end our strike and eat during lunch here in the A2 pod.

The first point of discussion was asking for bettering the clothes given to us, to obtain clean clothes for all detainees.

The second point was concerning more reasonable portions of food, with fruits and rations that were more full and bigger. One sandwich with ham and cheese doesn't fill someone for 12 hours at night.

Third, change the policies related to visitation, so that detainees who are here for more than 365 days can have contact visitation at least every six months. Especially due to humanitarian and medical reasons. Captain Portillo promised to take this petition to his superiors and to ICE, to make these changes in policy.

The visits are and will continue to be special to us and important for people to have more reason to behave better and treat everybody with respect.

Many people that are spending year after year fighting their case, need a visit to be able to hug their children and their parents, especially those that have to leave their families here and who are deported. We all should have and we wish to have a right to a contact visitation with our families.

Lastly, we are conscious and support the ending of the payment of \$1 a day for the work we do. The detainees that work up to 6 hours on occasion, which is still a violation, because for only \$1 day after day. One of the jobs is to feed the more than 1,500 detainees in this place three times a day.

Honestly, we are tired of the mistreatment from the guards towards all of the detainees.

We send this petition to whatever media outlet so that they know and are informed of the suffering that we go through, and that we demand changes from GEO, ICE, and in addition the medical services here provided for the detainees in the Northwest Detention Center and all of the other detention centers in the United States.

Thank you very much,

Thank you for listening to us
People detained at NWDC Tacoma, WA
July 20, 2018

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NWDC Resistance is a volunteer community group that emerged to fight deportations in 2014 at the now-infamous Northwest Detention Center in Tacoma, WA. NWDC Resistance supports people detained who organized hunger strikes asking for a halt to all deportations and better treatment and conditions.

ATLANTA

10. SELECTION FROM CRIMETHINC, “THE ICE AGE IS OVER: REFLECTIONS FROM THE ICE BLOCKADES”

Published by *Crimethinc. Ex-Workers Collective* July 1, 2018

<https://crimethinc.com/2018/07/01/the-ice-age-is-over-reflections-from-the-ice-blockades>

Atlanta: The ICE Age Is Over

In Atlanta thousands of people gathered early Saturday morning for a “Keep Families Together” march organized by NGOs and members of the Democratic Party. Currently, several dozen participants in this march are still occupying a plaza outside the City Jail, which doubles as an ICE detention facility. While the group seems set to stay the night, the occupation still has a long way to go to connect with the thousands who took the street earlier in the day.

Strangely, the coalition that called for this march chose to start at the ICE facility, then marched away to go listen to speeches outside of a closed federal building. Surrounding the physical building where hundreds of immigrants are detained seemed like a good start, but the politicians in charge of the rally moved away from the site of real power to a symbolic site. Some participants who had their families in tow were overheard lamenting that the march was a little too tame for them, even with their kids in tow.

Autonomous groups and leftist groups that utilize non-electoral strategies had organized before the large demonstration to continue the march and return to the jail. After the rally was dismissed, a large banner reading “ICE BREAKERS: Chinga La Migra” was stretched across the street accompanied by chanting and drums. Several hundred joined, despite liberal protest marshals attempting to discourage them from doing so. Together, they marched back to the jail, holding the streets the whole way.

Peachtree Street was blocked outside the jail as hundreds chanted and waved to those locked up inside. Cops drove motorcycles through the crowd, but the crowd did not back down; soon, a couch appeared in the streets and people began to set up tents. The atmosphere was festive, with many dancing to music or playing soccer. As the day wore on, the cops slowly began to encroach on the occupation, forcing people to clear the street, confiscating the couch and tents, and violently arresting one person. Numbers fluctuated throughout the day but remained over 50.

As of this writing, the occupation is ongoing, having resisted the initial attempts to push it out. There still remains a lot to do. The terrain of the occupation is favorable to autonomous groups and anarchists because we were the ones to push for it and to make it logistically possible, but unfortunately these circles comprise the bulk of the camp. Democrats were the first to call for an action and they sucked up the spontaneous energy of thousands with their march in the morning, though it is likely that whoever had been the first to call for a march would have drawn a large number of demonstrators.

We were enraged by the concentration camps and sought to catalyze a real movement against them. This energy was enough to enable us to push for an occupation. Now we need to figure out how to bridge the distance between those who carry signs declaring #abolishICE and those who want to shut down the ICE facilities themselves. How can the occupations grow, spread, and mutate?

11. ALL OUT ATLANTA: “ATLANTA, GA: WE ARE THE BIRDS OF THE COMING STORM”

Published July 9th 2018 by *It's Going Down*

<https://itsgoingdown.org/atlanta-ga-we-are-the-birds-of-the-coming-storm/>

The following is a statement from All Out Atlanta, on the recent repression and clamp down of #OccupyICE and the path ahead for revolutionaries.

In the last week, many people put their bodies on the line and occupied the Atlanta City Detention Center as a part of a nationwide movement against the criminalization of undocumented peoples and in support of the right to free movement. The 3 day occupation was raided by police and brutally repressed.

4 days later, on Sunday morning in Atlanta, many of us awoke to an image of the #OccupyICESF camp in San Francisco shared on social media. The image shows a barricade reinforced with pallets, chain link fences, barbed wire and a banner that says 'No More Waiting.' A futuristic skyscraper looms in the background, mingling with the clouds in the sky above. Images like this inspire us to share our experiences as a contribution to the movement against the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE).

The past week has been tremendously insightful for us in Atlanta. For many, the occupation at the Atlanta City Detention Center was the only joyous moment in a year of constant distress. On the one hand, the occupation was a brief interruption of the devastating state of affairs in this country, characterized by authoritarian leaders, the rise of racism, dire poverty and now, concentration camps for immigrants. On the other hand, the occupation was a continuation. A continuation of something that swept the nation last year as tens of thousands of people took to the streets after the deadly "Unite the Right" demonstration in Charlottesville. The movement to abolish ICE is the culmination of a 9 year long cycle of autonomous movements that consists of university occupations, Occupy Wall Street, NoDAPL,

Black Lives Matter and the many smaller movements organized by everyday people against wage theft, gentrification, and ecological ruination.

We are unphased by the violent police eviction of our occupation. We were willing to throw everything on the line and risk losing the encampment. Revolutionary movements don't rely on camps to grow, and occupations are just brief confrontations in a long-term struggle for freedom. As the occupations of ICE facilities spread, it is evident that the vast majority of Americans are ready for something much more radical than the collaborationist rhetoric offered up by the Democrats, who in preparing for the upcoming midterms will pay lip service to the #AbolishICE movement to try and make significant gains.

The task of revolutionaries is to make the continuation of capitalism seem undesirable, short-sighted, and frivolous. We are the realistic ones, the ones who know nothing good can come from the electoral spectacle. Revolution isn't something that just falls from the sky. In the coming years, we will have to fight with everything we have. We will continue to put everything on the line, we have no choice. All Out Atlanta organizes outside of a framework of electoral politics so that we can include undocumented people, felons, and youth in our movement. We should never make compromises in our struggle to abolish borders, prisons and all forms of tyranny. Yet we must also pause and take a moment to recognize our strength and praise the courage of the well-known revolutionary movement sweeping the continent

We have begun/ We will continue,

All Out Atlanta

LOUISVILLE

12. LOUISVILLE ARA, “#OCCUPYICELOU: ONE WEEK AT CAMP COMPASIÓN”

Published July 11th 2018 by *It's Going Down*

<https://itsgoingdown.org/one-week-at-camp-compasion/>

Things have been heating up at the #OccupyICELOU encampment; fighting back against police harassment and threats from the far-Right. To see how they got things rolling, **check out this article.**

Demonstrators have been occupying the sidewalk outside the ICE offices in Louisville for a week. The camp has dealt with push back from law enforcement, counter-protesters, rain, and extreme heat. Our numbers continue to grow and support from Louisville residents has been overwhelmingly positive. So many of the camp's needs have been covered by people bringing necessities to the camp, providing meals daily, and making sure we stay stocked with water and ice (the kind we don't want to melt!)

Throughout the week, the demonstrators were pushed off federal property and we were told that even our bodies weren't allowed on site. Each time DHS agents gave the order, people gathered would acquiesce to their demands and then slowly creep back onto the property. This cycle lasted for several days, including a time when the officers demanded everyone vacate federal property while children were sitting on yoga mats in the grass during hours when the building wasn't even open.

Protesters spent July Fourth rallying on the federal property with their families. Throughout the day, DHS repeatedly removed people from the property until Kentucky state representative Attica Scott came and stood on the property stating that she would not move. DHS went back inside the building, defeated.

On Thursday, the camp was alerted to a counter protest being planned by the III% militia in Kentucky and Indiana for Saturday, July the Seventh. The camp soon afterwards saw multiple far-Right sympathizers and law enforcement in plain clothes, casing the area and photographing people at the camp.

On Saturday, over 500 people turned out to shout down the fascists, including Louisville ARA and March Fourth Alliance, comrades from HARM, the Holler Network, Michiana AFA, Lexington ARA, and Columbus ARA, alongside clergy and multiple local activist groups. Meanwhile, only 50 counter protesters showed, a motley assortment of III%ers, Oath Keepers, Proud Boys and KKK members. LMPD allowed the counter-protesters to carry rifles and handguns while confiscating bats, sticks, body armor, knives, and other weapons that #OccupyICelou protesters brought to defend themselves -- despite these items also being legal to carry for self-defense under Kentucky law. Throughout the action an LMPD helicopter made several deep dips towards the crowd with what seemed like an attempt to intimidate demonstrators on our side.

Multiple federal agents attempted to pick fights with anti-fascists and pass themselves off as part of the III% militia or Proud Boys, but later joined police atop a building nearby. The police blocked off the street, allowing them to have one block just north of the camp with barricades and a police line separating the camp from the counter protesters.

About 30 minutes into their rally, one of them erected a confederate flag. Video soon circulating of the III% militia kicking KKK members out of their rally. They consider themselves to be a group that fights to see the laws upheld, but directed vitriol like, "Murderers go home!" to people of color and immigrants on our side. While they may wish to be viewed as anti-racist, they clearly have a pro-white agenda.

During the action, several III%ers attempted to enter the camp to take photographs or to infiltrate. They did an atrocious job of blending in and were immediately removed each time. The cops — as always — faced the anti-fascists and had their backs to the militia and other white supremacists. Even after being asked whose side they were on numerous times, they refused to keep their eyes on the Nazis in the

street. At noon, the crowds dispersed, and some of the III%ers went to a fast food restaurant across the street. They left abruptly once anti-fascists joined them without the presence of their LMPD bodyguards.

On Saturday evening, LMPD — in a effort to further harass #OccupyICelou — served the camp with a notice to comply with an Americans With Disabilities Act (ADA) policy of having clear space four feet from the curb into the sidewalk so that wheelchairs may pass. While ideas were being considered, they served the camp again at 5pm on Sunday evening with a four-hour notice to comply. This required all sleeping tents to be moved and replaced with canopy tents and cots. #OccupyICELou had a tremendous showing of support from the community and the camp complied within an hour. LMPD did a walk-through at 9pm and found the encampment to be in compliance with ADA policy.

Throughout the week, **Mitch McConnell has been in Louisville.** Several #OccupyICELou campers met him inside and outside of restaurants and protested his presence in local businesses to the point where at one place, he abruptly left his meal before finishing. Local organizations often demonstrate outside of Mitch's house and he is regularly told that he is not welcome in Louisville, but this was a particularly bad week for him trying to have dinner. As the camp continues, politicians will see more often than not that ignoring the demands of the people they claim to serve will make it difficult for them to have a moment's peace in public.

As y'all can see, we've had a pretty busy week here-- standing strong against the forces of the state and the far-Right, while also building and standing with our community.