

## from Whereas

WHEREAS I sipped winter water cold-steeped in pine needles, I could taste it for days afterwards I taste it now. When I woke alone grey curtains burned in sunrise and down my throat to the pit, a tincture of those green needles changed me. When should I recount detail, when's it too much. When my mother burrows herself, I listen to her. We speak about an envelope for receipts, dark roast coffee and the neighbor's staple gun I want to borrow. In the smallest things I watch the compass needle of conversation register her back to center. What has become of us, mother to her former self. Daughter to mother, present selves. Citizen to country, former and past to present or, is it a matter of presence? My daughter wouldn't do it when she was younger but this year she wanted to. For her birthday, an ear piercing. The needle gun hurts only for a moment we assure her. In the old days Grandma held ice on my earlobes then punctured with a sewing needle. You'll have it easier, I encourage. She rushes through the mall to the needle chair, her smile. Eagerness, the emotion-mark of presence. I want to write something kind, as things of country and politic nation and nation-to-nation burn, have tattooed me. Red-enflamed-needle-marked me. Yet in the possibility of ink through a needle, the greater picture arrives through a thousand blood dots. Long ago bones were fashioned into needles. If I had my choosing I'd use this tool here, a bone needle to break the skin. To ink-inject the permanent reminder: *I'm here I'm not / numb to a single dot;*

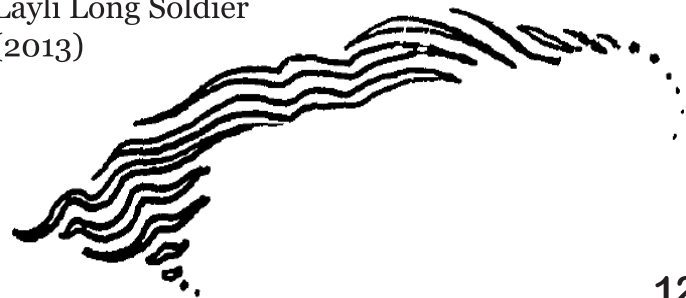
WHEREAS I read an article in a New York newspaper about the federal sequestration of funds from reservation programs, the cuts. In federal promises and treaties. The article details living conditions on reservations those suicides up to ten times higher than the rest of the country. Therein the story of a 12-year old girl whose mother died she doesn't know her father she bounces home to home to foster home, weary. I regard how plainly the writer imparts her repeated sexual abuse. And for her mental care, unavailable services. There's

a clinic that doesn't have money after May, don't get sick after May is the important message. As I read I cry I always cry and here I must be clear my crying doesn't indicate sadness. I read a comment posted below the article:

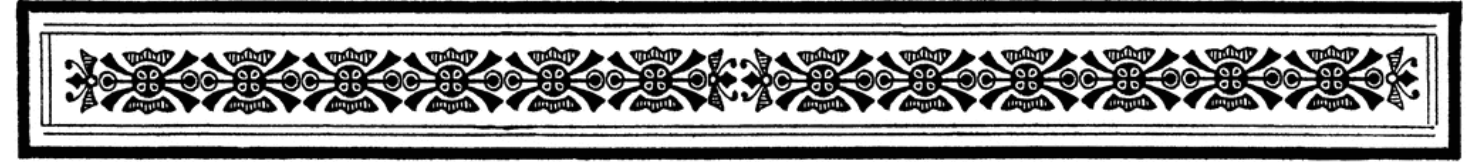
*I am a fourteen-year-old girl who recently visited the \_\_\_\_\_ Reservation in South Dakota, with my youth group. The conditions the Native American people were living in were shocking. When I arrived home, I wrote a petition on whitehouse.gov for the U.S. to formally apologize and pay reparations to the Native American people. This petition only stays up until July 23rd, so please sign and share!!! You signing it would really mean a lot to a lot of people. Thank you.*

Dear 14-Year Old Girl, I want to write. The government has already "formally apologized" to Native American people on behalf of the plural you, your youth group, your mother and father, your best friends and their families. You as in all American citizens. You didn't know that, I know. Yet indeed Dear Girl the conditions on reservations have changed since the Apology. Meaning, the Apology has been followed by budget sequestration. In common terms sequestration is removal banishment or exile. In law-speak it means seizure for safe-keeping but changed in federal budgeting to mean subject to cuts, best as I can understand it. Dear Girl I went to the Indian Health Services to fix a tooth, a complicated pain. Indian health care is guaranteed by treaty but at the clinic limited funds don't allow treatment beyond a filling. The solution offered: Pull it. Under pliers masks and clinical lights, a tooth that could've been saved was placed in my palm to hold after sequestration. I don't share this to belabor suffering, facts are what they are I share to explain. Dear Girl, I honor your response and action I do. Yet at the root of reparation is repair. My tooth will not grow back ever. The root, gone.

— Layli Long Soldier  
(2013)



# ANATHEMA



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## WHAT IS A COLLECTIVE?

Maybe a better question is: what do we want a collective to be? It used to be that if you threw a rock you'd hit an anarchist collective (or, better still, if you mapped the ballistic trajectory of a rock, its arc would originate with a collective). The sheer number of collectives made it difficult to determine what ultimately defined the organizational form or what it was for. On top of this confusion, collectives became associated with a specific form of consensus decision-making, characterized by long meetings punctuated with twinkling fingers. Of course, these endless meetings haven't stopped but many anarchists find other things to do with their time. Anarchists in Philadelphia tend to avoid anything resembling a permanent organization. This allergy to permanence likely comes from the influence of insurrectionary anarchism and the criticism of formality as stagnant, membership-oriented, reformist, and even authoritarian. But the lack of interest in collectives is also the result of the lack of interesting collectives. Rather than treat the dearth of collectives as a problem or an achievement, we can take this moment as an opportunity to explore what a collective is, what it could be, and how it could be useful to anarchists.

It is easy enough to call any project or group a collective, but it is helpful to be more precise. Since, right now, we are less confused by innumerable collectives, we can see the general outline: the collective is a (semi) permanent organization based on shared resources. These days, we tend to see organization as a technique

*Continued on page 7*

## TACTICS INNOVATION UPDATE

Dairy-based attacks on authority figures are seeing a rise in popularity this spring, as everyday heroes are taking up eggs and milkshakes against prominent right-wingers across Britain, Australia and the United States.

In May, the act of "milkshaking" became a symbol of resistance in Britain. On May 20, white-supremacist politician Nigel Farage had only been campaigning in the city of Newcastle for 20 minutes when a man hurled a banana and salted caramel milkshake at him. Farage's security team proved incapable of protecting him from the attack.

UKIP European election candidate Carl Benjamin has been milkshaked four times in recent days, while former English Defense League leader Tommy Robinson had two milkshakes poured over him in just two days earlier in May.

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## WHAT WENT DOWN

April 13 - After sitting closed for years, Squirrel Hill Falls Park in West Philly is autonomously re-opened and re-purposed by the Department of Space & Land Reclamation.

April 15 - Antifascists hold a counter-demonstration outside the building where Candace Owens, a well-known far-right figure who is part of Turning Point USA and recently publicly praised Hitler, was speaking at the University of Pennsylvania.

April 19 - An off-duty cop was assaulted and had his gun stolen by an unknown person in Northeast Philly.

April 21 - A cop hurt his knee while chasing someone through West Philly.

April 22 - Three people pry open two doors to break into a secured area and steal \$450,000 worth of colonoscopes from Lankenau Medical Center in Lower Merion Township.

April 26 - Someone walks out with a \$1,600 piece of art that was displayed on a wall at Penn Medicine's Perelman Medical Center.

April 26 - Bank robbed at 7327 Frankford Ave.

Late April - Anti-police posters go up in North Philly.

Late April - "We had a May Day pre-party at a Wells Fargo and now none of their ATMs work."

Late April - Pro-life billboard vandalized in broad daylight. "For more feminist attacks!"

April 30 - Swarthmore college's two fraternities disband following an occupation of a frat house by protesters and the publicizing of internal recordings of oppressive behavior by fraternity members.

May Day - Anti-work May Day graffiti around West Philly. "ABOLISH WORK (A) PURSUE JOY"

May Day - Construction site, yuppie shuttle bus, and OCF properties vandalized or sabotaged. "Solidarity with the comrades in Italy facing repression."

May Day - Jacobin magazine founder Bhaskar Sunkara

attacked with yogurt by anarchists. "Bhaskar Sunkara is an aspiring prison guard. For Freedom! For Anarchy!"

May 1 - Bank robbed at 2710 South 3rd St.

May 4 - White nationalist Ian Hoffman of Palmyra, PA is doxxed by Philly Antifa. Hoffman is the PA coordinator for Identity Evropa and was arrested in 2017 in Charlottesville, VA for assault and battery.

May 6 - Trial begins in Wilmington, DE for Roman Shankaras of the Vaughn 17. Roman is accused of "masterminding" the prisoner takeover of C-building at Vaughn Correctional Center in 2017, during which three cops were taken hostage and one died.

Early May - Anarchist graffiti against police and god near Temple University. "FAGS HATE GOD"

Early May - Yuppie hair salon has its windows smashed and is vandalized with paint. "We're not interested in local business models or co-ops. We're not interested in 'conscious' capitalism. It's still capitalism, it's still gentrification."

May 9 - Protesters interrupt groundbreaking for Columbus Square Park's \$2.5 million restoration project with banner reading, "Columbus didn't Discover the Americas...He Invaded It!"

May 13 - Anti cop graffiti spray painted around on the anniversary of the MOVE bombing in remembrance of those murdered by PPD.

May 14 - Bank robbed at 12051 Knights Road

May 14 - Bank robbed at 4753 North Broad St.

May 17 - Seven cars are keyed and have their tires slashed in West Philly (on 50th St south of Market St).

May 17 - Bank robbed at 8600 Germantown Ave.

May 18 - Bank robbed at 12051 Knights Road ★



Sub-Megacities" notes that "the United States will find itself at some point in the not-too-distant future engaged in military contingencies in large cities."

The ongoing plans to conduct nationwide raids of immigrant neighborhoods should be viewed as a threat to the democratic rights of the entire population, regardless of immigration status. ★

## REPORTBACK FROM GO-GURT PIE-ATTACK ON BHASKAR

This May Day two anarchist commandos stormed a talk by Bhaskar Sunkara at Calvary Church. As the founding editor of Jacobin, Sunkara has built a career by maligning anarchists and other radical tendencies that he considers too "weird" through online attacks. For a brief instance, it was as if these commandos, much like Nancy dragging Freddy Krueger from the dreamworld, brought the internet debate into reality. These commandos came armed with fliers of Sunkara's tweets inexplicably printed to resemble fortune cookies and pie plates inexplicably filled with Go-Gurt. With these weird weapons, they attacked the audience with Sunkara's tweets and this internet celebrity with a pie full of dairy products. For a moment, Sunkara felt the physical impact of the internet and then this moment passed.

It passed back into the internet, where Leftbook keyboard warriors took up the call to dissect the action with hot takes and multithreaded responses. Since these anarchist commandos encroached on the Leftbook's terrain by assaulting one of their favored celebrities, the Online Left fixated on this attack. They marshalled all their well-worn critiques of non-keyboard-based actions. After all, if Leftbook didn't do something, this violence could signal the end of Left Unity! Strangely, they have yet to weigh in on the pepper spray attacks on Aragon! We will patiently await their hot takes on this important development.

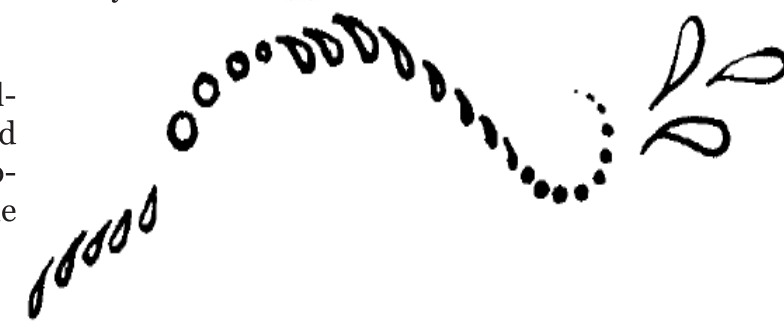
We would be amiss if we didn't recognize the already existing divisions between the DSA Left and the internet Ultras, who made their differences apparent in their reaction to Sunkara incident. The

Ultraleft, those vestiges of the Left that still deign to rub shoulders with anarchists, felt the sincere need to come to the defense of the attack. However, the Ultras, never content with a joke, needed to explain it, weighing its limits and possibilities. Ultimately, they found this attack wanting—no, it was not yet these pie-throwers who would bring about the revolution!

For approximately 48 hours, Leftbook set out to prove that throwing Go-Gurt at a fellow Leftist was ultimately a pointless act. If anything, it proved their power to predict failure, offering further proof that anarchist actions do not automatically bring revolutionary situations. Admittedly, once they realized they had been debating Sunkara's politics for hours, they found it harder to deny that this outcome, too, was predictable. After these 48 hours of intellectual flexing, Sunkara sadly ended their speculations by explaining that he had not been harmed and that Go-Gurt was "only violent to cows."

For their part, the anarchists spent very little time debating or even thinking about this action. Sure, a couple of anarchists found the time to throw together a ridiculous video and write a barely intelligible report back (see this article) but nothing denoting the seriousness of this violent attack on Left Unity. It's as if the anarchists barely care about Left intellectuals! For all their claims to materialism, much of the Left seem the most concerned with the realm of ideas. Philly anarchists, on the other hand, were more interested in the various anti-gentrification attacks that took place the same day (see timeline for May 1st).

This commando will offer one final rebuttal to the Leftists concerned that this violent pie-attack threatens to lump our potential comrades in with the very real threat of fascists: perhaps the problem is not that anarchists throw pies at Leftists but that we need to throw something harder than dairy at fascists. ★



## INDONESIA: POST MAY DAY UPDATE

In Bandung, there was a peaceful action by a group of anarchists almost 1000 strong. It even consisted of mothers, children and teenage girls. Police attacked them and broke the bloc into two groups. They were then chased, beaten and arrested. The pretext for this was ‘vandalism’, some spray-painted graffiti. Many of those who were arrested were stripped and had their heads shaved. Some were spray-painted on their faces and bodies as well. Many were forced to crawl along the road in their underwear. In total 619 anarchists were arrested, of these, 3 still remain in custody for destruction of property.

In Jakarta, there were small clashes between anarchists and police who were blocking the road. Anarchists attacked a police blockade so that a huge group of trade union members could continue their journey to a gathering point where thousands of people were assembled. An anarcho-syndicalist union in Jakarta is now being targeted by the police.

In Malang, one person was forcibly arrested without a warrant, but they were released later.

In Makassar, the number of arrests increased from 9 to 21, they are all facing charges related to destruction of property. Makassar was totally paralyzed by police sweeps looking for anarchists.

In Surabaya, there were two different May Day actions by anarchist groups. The first action was carried out by a group working with leftist organizations. Three people were arrested but they have been released. The second action was carried out by anarcho-syndicalists and individualist anarchists, they were beaten by the police.

So now many comrades are on the run because we have counter-intelligence informants within the police apparatus who told us that ‘mapping’ of Indonesian anarchist networks is being carried out.

Right now we would appreciate international solidarity in the form of actions and also financial support. We will make sure that the mistakes made by Indonesia ABC won't be repeated. If people are able to provide financial assistance please send it to the paypal below. We will use it for legal fees and to help support our friends who are in hiding because they are being targeted by police.

<https://www.paypal.me/adnandi>  
Catut Anarchist Library ★

## TRUMP PLANNING NATION-WIDE MILITARY OPERATION TO ARREST 10,000 IMMIGRANTS

via *AnarchiMedia*

The Trump administration is reportedly considering conducting national militarized raids to arrest 10,000 immigrants.

Citing seven current and former administration officials, the Washington Post calls it “a secret White House plan to arrest thousands of parents and children in a blitz operation against migrants in 10 major US cities.” Mass arrests would require thousands of armed federal police and agents to be deployed.

Operations of this sort, conducted by the state against immigrant workers, serve to normalize widespread violations of democratic rights and conditioning the population for the implementation of dictatorial rule. The plan would not only constitute the largest immigration raid in US history, it would serve as a potential dry run for mass arrests of other dissidents.

According to the Post, the plan was temporarily tabled weeks ago by the former head of the Department of Homeland Security Secretary, Kirstjen Nielsen, and the former acting head of ICE, Ron Vitiello. However, according to the paper, it is still being discussed.

Recently, former ICE Director Tom Homan said on Fox News that ICE should “do operationally what Congress has failed to do legislatively,” adding “ICE needs to do a nationwide operation.”

In February 2019, the military conducted a training exercise in Los Angeles and Long Beach. The Army said the “local terrain and training facilities in Los Angeles provide the Army with unique locations and simulate urban environments the service members may encounter when deployed overseas.”

A 2016 report from the US Army War College titled “Military Contingencies in Megacities and

## TACTICS INNOVATION CONTINUED

In March, an Australian teenager cracked an egg on the back of far-right lawmaker Fraser Anning's head after the politician blamed Muslims for the New Zealand mosque shootings. Political eggings continued in Australia in May. Prime Minister Scott Morrison was hit on the head with an egg during a campaign event, although this time the egg failed to crack.

Pieing has been on the rise in Germany for several years now. In 2016, a guerrilla group called Torte für Menschenfeinde (“pies for misanthropes”) threw a chocolate cream pie at Sahra Wagenknecht before a rally. Wagenknecht, a left-wing politician, had recently taken an anti-immigrant turn. More recently, an operative using the name Julia Pie threw a giant cupcake frosted with shaving foam at right-wing politician Beatrix von Storch.

In Philly, the dairy-based attack trend was of course more personally targeted, lashing out against a prominent socialist. On May 1, an anarchist threw a pie at authoritarian socialist Bhaskar Sunkara while he was giving a public speech in West Philly. As fliers thrown after the pie-ing showed, Sunkara has consistently advocated for police violence against anarchists. He recently tweeted about an aspiration to run the prison system.

Pieing harkens back to what is now known as the anti-globalization era. This was a cycle of struggle around the turn of the millennium in which mass actions by anarchists — usually targeting cities in which global leadership summits such as the G20 were being held — posed a serious threat to the state's legitimacy. These mass actions were accompanied by creative and playful direct actions and attacks, including lots of pieing. Targets included Monsanto's CEO Robert Shapiro in 1998, World Trade organization head Renato Ruggiero in 1998, and Microsoft's Bill Gates in 1999.

An activist handbook called Pie Any Means Necessary, published by AK Press in 2004, traces political pieing back to Spain in the mid-1600s, when a group of bakers snuck into a royal dinner to throw pies at a leader of the Hapsburg Monarchy. The book also documents the rise of a San Francisco group called the Biotic Baking Brigade, which was founded in 1997 and pied countless leaders of globalization, industrial deregulation, and biotech. The group took up this tactic after rallies and sit-ins failed to garner media attention. Pieing was ripe for the nascent age of video and digital media.

We of course still enjoy seeing the enforcers of unfreedom — from the alt-right to the military to politicians — get punched or maced as well, but it's nice to see anti-authoritarian attacks spread in all flavors and egg sizes. ★

## WHITHER THE INSURRECTION II

~ a response to a response ~

As the author of “Whither Insurrection?” in the April issue of Anathema explains, Philadelphia never caught the wave of insurrectional rebellion against white supremacist authority that spread across the U.S. only a few years ago. Instead, now that another upsurge of street protest following Trump's election has died down, we once again find ourselves in a period of relatively unsatisfying activity.

There is as always plenty of community organizing around radical reformist campaigns in Philly, which usually seem to dampen antagonist struggles against power rather than encouraging them. And then there's its opposite — the proliferation by anonymous insurrectionaries of small actions against power. These inevitably fall short of most definitions of insurrection, which involves a much broader spreading of anti-authoritarian disorder. The Left insists on mass organization and recruitment as the path to revolution; insurrectionaries have successfully rejected this model but seem to have failed to develop our own methods for escalating and extending our struggles. This leaves us with the question: How do we get to insurrection from here? Have we oriented ourselves so completely around rejecting Leftist mindsets that we've stopped asking ourselves how what we're doing now gets us to where we want to be?

Briefly, the answer is yes. We could also note that some of the insurrectionary actions that have happened here have had material as well as symbolic consequences, including ones that we will never hear about because they make the authorities look bad; that practicing actions builds skills that will be crucial in insurrectional or social collapse scenarios; and that such actions are signals of disorder that remind one another that it's still possible to rebel, and which spread ideas about how to do so that may get taken up by others later. But for now, let's address this question about the status of insurrection in the U.S. today and how anarchists can better push our insurrectional prospects.

The most recent cycle of insurrectionary struggle peak-

ed with the two-week-long riots in Ferguson in 2014 and lasted off and on up to at least September 2016 with the uprising in Charlotte, NC. It's no coincidence that these insurrectionary rebellions against the police and systemic racism ended right around the President Trump's election. From the perspective of the state, the purpose of Trump's election was to introduce a new threat — fascism — to divert people who were becoming increasingly aware of the coercion and exploitation at the heart of the democratic system itself. Rebellions that once directly attacked the enforcers of the state became, for the most part, protests and attacks that targeted non-governmental types of white supremacists, whose influence was indeed spreading due to Trump's election. Radicals have since then had to push the discourse just to remind people that the police — who are often all that's separating us from fascists — are not here to protect us. So it's 2019, and many people are back to arguing with leftists and activists.

Four years after Ferguson, that type of insurrectional possibility probably seems to many of us like a distant memory. But in the U.S. prison system, this most recent cycle of insurrectionary struggles against white supremacy and police never ended. From the riots that broke out in addition to work stoppages during the nationwide prison strikes in 2016 and 2018, to the Vaughn prison takeover in Delaware in February 2017, to the latest struggles around Metropolitan Detention Center in Brooklyn and DeKalb County Jail outside Atlanta, prison organizing has not really slowed down, the oppression has certainly not stopped, and uprisings that could also be called insurrections keep happening. And to the extent that they can, prisoners and their actions are speaking to and inspired by one another.

If anything has changed since the first nationwide prison strike in 2016, it is that state repression against prison rebels has become even more severe. But resistance continues. One thing we as insurrectionaries can do is form connections with those prisoners, support them against the brutal repression they face when they rebel, facilitate them making connections with other prison struggles and histories of rebellion, and give any other support that will nurture rebelliousness and keep rebels alive.

Contra some of the wackiest ideas of identity politics, those with the least to lose still seem to be usually the ones most likely to rebel on a broad scale. That's partly why prisoners continue to rebel while the rest of us have mostly been pacified by the latest maneuverings of the global economic system and its wily distractions.

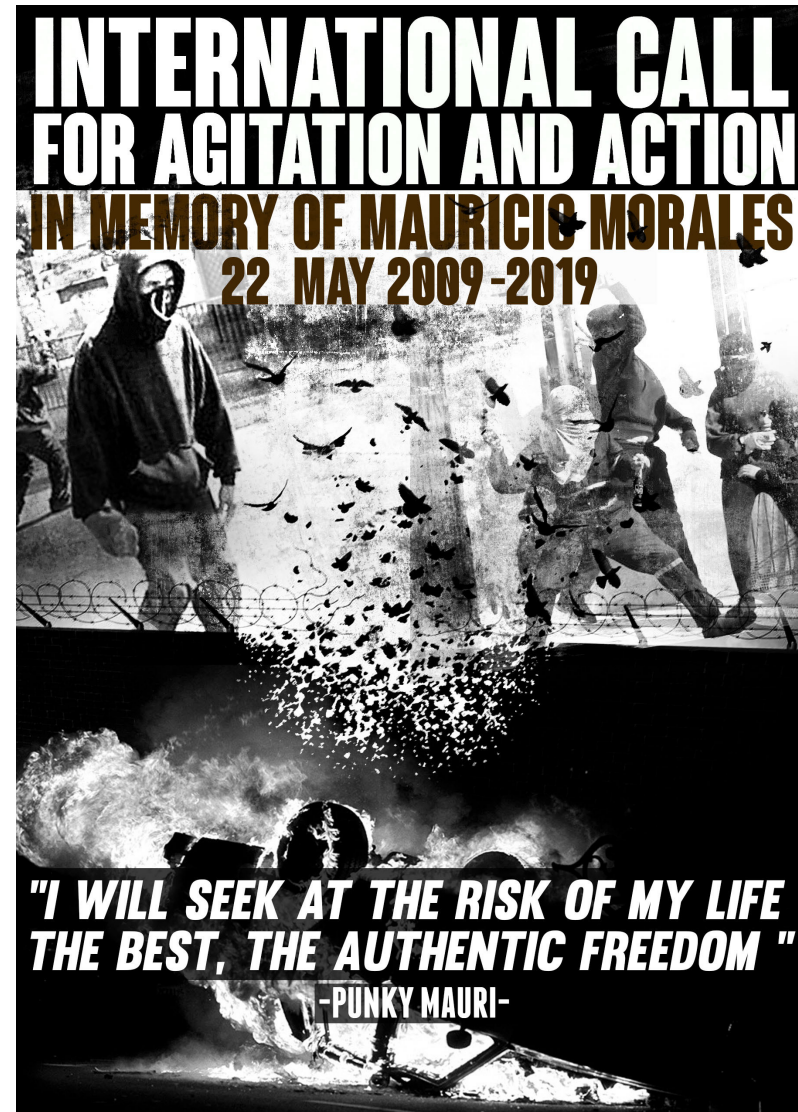
If we're not going to be the ones to rebel, or to try to build connections that would support rebellion and move it towards the total destruction of capitalism and the state, maybe we can do better at supporting those who are already doing so. The insurrection is still here — its latent signals manifesting imperfectly as anarchists' small actions, rambling anti-system sentiments on the internet, and the rumbling of rebellions continuing in the human cages. The question is how we as individuals choose to engage with it.

Moreover, now that we've successfully separated ourselves from leftists and activists, maybe it's time to push back against the isolation that's resulted and think about who else shares our animosity towards the system. Despite the tendency of the Trump era to push radicals into a kind of emergency harm reduction response mode, it is not just activist outrage against the latest policy injustices that is growing, but also anti-system sentiment itself. This sentiment is already getting channeled into electoral fervor, which may be temporarily assuaged by the election of a Democrat in 2020. But this is only because the state is desperately doing whatever it can to hide its illegitimacy and make sure people continue to believe they have no other options. Maybe it's time to emerge from our hole and talk to people about what those are. ★

## REPRESENTATION IS INDIRECT ACTION

Another election is upon us, it seems, and we at the newspaper are eagerly anticipating another round of public shaming of anarchists who choose not to partake in selecting our latest colonial overlords. In advance of the election, I'd like to take this opportunity to discuss some common anti-voting critiques in more depth. One example I'll engage with is from last fall, when a local anarchist publicly advocated voting as harm reduction and shamed all those who didn't vote - hoping to ride a blue wave into some sunny shore, presumably.

Such a position, where one advocates life without government (anarchy) and participation in the maintenance of government (voting) is incoherent. It literally advocates for two opposing ideas at the same time, doing a disservice to anarchists everywhere. If it's not clear to me that you're an anarchist, how are other people supposed to understand that and what it means — what we're fighting for? This is most confusing (and insulting) when the call-out in question refers to "self-proclaimed 'anarchists.'" Are the quotation marks



We raise an anarchic and iconoclastic memory, that far from seeking the continuous reaffirmation or the bitter dispute over the property of memory, is directed offensively against this world.

We call the various companions scattered throughout the world, the tendency which is always a minority, that seeks the destruction of what makes us slaves, the restless minds that contribute to a memory of action against domination. This May, we are aware of the existence of a double dimension, on the one hand, the pretext for anarchic combat and on the other hand the honest sadness for the loss of a beloved companion. We believe that in a complementary way we can multiply and reproduce the gestures of memory: Activities, publications, murals, actions, fires, combat in the streets. Everything works, because nothing is left aside.

This call is to take back what has never been left behind, giving life to that continuity of practice in the current scenario, contributing so that our deaths remain dangerous to the ears of the powerful, actions which

are impossible to recuperate by the "progressive citizens" that separate us and rejecting any victimizing expression that seeks to impose a distorted image of our comrade.

These words are a call to action and propaganda, to multiply the gestures against Power, gestures that destroy the door of forgetfulness that is sought to put on Mauri, but it is also an invitation to strengthen our capacities, to multiply the instances of memory, to reproduce the combat and generate a contemporary fight against dominion.

To 10 years: For the offensive memory and a black May in memory of Mauricio Morales.

Our black memory will continue to resonate in the ruptures of this precious social peace.

Nothing has finished, everything continues!

Memory is attack. ★

## WORLD NEWS

### Italy: TV & Mobile Phone Tower Torched in Solidarity with Anarchist Prisoners

Local newspapers have reported that a TV and mobile phone tower was set on fire in Terragnolo, in the Potrich (Trentino) area on April 16th at around 10PM. Painted slogans reading "Solidarity With Anarchist Prisoners", "Stop Video Conferencing" (which replaces prisoner transfers to court hearings), "Stop Blocking Mail" and "The Spirit Continues" were found at the site.

Of the four incendiary bottles used to start the fire, only one managed to ignite the cables, the other three that were located inside the electrical transformers failed to ignite due to 'lack of oxygen' according to the carabinieri [paramilitary police] in charge of the investigation. A person who lived nearby spotted the flames from the street and notified the fire brigade, however they arrived too late to prevent many of the cables from burning. This location is also part of a region that has been selected to experience the 5G network in the near future.

Technicians were able to restore TV service during the night, however mobile phone reception is still not properly restored.

Freedom For All,  
Fire To The Prisons

lectual property” like a credible or recognized group name. But it is all the more apparent when there is shared property like an anarchist space. For example, LAVA (the Lancaster Avenue Autonomous Space) recently experienced a quasi-coup when former collective members forcefully took over the space for their profit-based enterprise.

Less straight forward are the recent events at A-Space Anarchist Social Center on Baltimore Avenue where the ejection of a former volunteer has led to calls for an independent committee to be set up to monitor and modify collective decisions. It is hard to see what this committee’s goal would be other than the formation of a bureaucratic structure for the space, basically a board of directors. This board would likely be made up of activists who are experts in the domain of long meetings with twinkling fingers, appointing themselves to a specialized role of developing policy to govern the collective. As usual, this group of experienced activists will make these decisions in the name of the “community”—an undefined category, to be sure, and certainly with no prerequisite to foreground autonomy, decentralization, or anarchy. For our purposes, what is important is not whether or not anarchists care about this particular space but whether the collective form—the form that currently is used to organize most anarchist spaces—has any residual value for anarchists.

In the case of the A-space, it seems possible that an adherence to collective form can inoculate against the kind of bureaucratizing and hierarchizing we associate with formal organizations. Although a formal organization itself, a collective has more potential to open itself to autonomous and informal activity. At its best, a collective is a formal organization that allows informal groups to share resources. But, in order to remain friendly to individuals and informality, the collective form must resist cooptation and even cooperation with other formal organizations. It must resist becoming a tool for base-building, profit, and reformism—in short, it must remain autonomous.

We can’t always be informality purists. Whether our shared resources are an anarchist space or a mailing list, anarchists interested in long-term projects will require some semblance of a permanent organization. The question is: can we develop collectives that resist the impulses and tendencies of formal organizations? ★



## INT’L CALL FOR AGITATION AND ACTION – FOR AN OFFENSIVE MEMORY AND A BLACK MAY IN MEMORY OF MAURICIO MORALES

via 325

*“I will seek at the risk of my life, the best, the authentic freedom ...”*  
– Mauricio Morales

Ten years ago, on May 22, 2009, an explosive device transported by anarchist comrade Mauricio Morales accidentally exploded before it could be installed in the Gendarmerie School in Santiago, Chile, making itself felt in black hearts. He made that institution and those who compose it visible as an objective to attack, thus generating a close relationship of solidarity between prisoners and action. But at that time the enemy did not receive a blow, this time the roar did not shake the jailers’ infrastructure; at that time the powerful explosion took Mauri’s life during that early morning.

Quickly the vultures of the different police, prosecutors, journalists and ministers came to scavenge and feast on the blood and body of Mauri. On this occasion, the death of an anarchist was the excuse to develop new thrusts in hunts against anti-authoritarian environments.

Since then memory has crossed different paths in different languages, continents, from the street, to words, actions and fire. His memory has remained alive in the multiform action that keeps us united with our dead. It is with these gestures that the machinery of oblivion, silence and repentance has been continuously attacked and sabotaged, preventing the decisions of comrade Mauricio Morales to be consumed in time or in the vortex of over-information.

It’s been 10 years, it’s true sometimes it seems like an eternity and sometimes it’s just a couple of seconds. Today we return strongly to the gestures that have been made permanent during this time, seeking to imbue new energies and transform them into an excellent reason to sharpen our denials of this world: Memory today as yesterday is attack. We do not seek to collaborate in exacerbating a distant, spectacular and super-heroic image of our comrade; As always, Mauri was one of those who rejected this world, a companion, not an icon, who, using his ingenuity and will, decided to take action by the confrontation against this imposed reality. That night it could have been him or another compañerx that decided to arm himself with their denials.

being used to infer that those who don’t vote are not anarchists? Or to distance the author from anarchists while simultaneously flying a symbol of anarchy?

One argument that we see in this particular public call-out, as well as elsewhere, is that “opting out of participation [in voting] is white privilege.” While those who make this argument are likely trying to be accountable to their privilege, most notably to their peers who are seeing this piece of writing, others of our peers are anarchists. All across the marginalized spectrum these anarchists proclaim that the entirety of government exists “to disenfranchise poor and POC folks.” From this perspective, many anarchists see voting here as upholding the legitimacy of this white supremacist settler-colonial nation.

Elsewhere among our peers, I find recognition that changing the face of the official doesn’t change the fact that government exists to oppress people. Making that oppression more equitable is not a goal of mine. Making people feel more represented by government (seeing faces like their own in power) is useful for those in power in maintaining their control of the populace. In fact, the fallacy of celebrating electoral and legislative results as victories can only either invest people further into those processes, or disenfranchise them from whatever you’re representing when those policies fail to make them free.

Now, it would be one thing to participate in the electoral process to cover your bases. During a local election or referendum, due to the size of the election alone, your vote carries a bit more weight and can make minor changes in peoples’ lives. But history teaches us that it is a moot point on even a slightly longer timeline. And making a personal choice to vote locally for harm reduction reasons is very different from publicly advocating voting as though it were an effective and exciting form of political action.

So long as we respect the processes that elect officials into power over us, that manifestation of power will swing from right to left, back and forth, over time. And in the case of actual fascism – well, you can’t vote fascism out of power. There are at least two occasions where Democratic Socialists held power in Europe, and when the people decided to get rowdy with the goal of liberating themselves from rule entirely, the leftist government handed power over to fascists and signed on to their program (this happened in Germany and Spain in the 1930s). The third fascist country on that continent at the time, of course, was ruled by a man who abandoned socialism for fascism when it suited him.

And when the Democratic Socialists finally came around to fighting within a popular front against Franco in Spain, they joined forces with authoritarian communists to disarm, imprison, and murder anarchists across the country – the same as every authoritarian communist regime before and since.

My experience has shown me that voting doesn’t matter one way or the other, so I don’t particularly care if you do it. But those who advocate for voting beneath a black flag are actively obscuring what anarchy means and obstructing what anarchists are striving to do. Governments exist to prevent freedom, despite whatever they might say to the contrary. I know we all cringe on Independence Day when the landscape is swallowed up in patriotic fervor, celebrating our “freedom.”

As anarchists, we pursue authentic freedom – in moments, spaces, and long-term struggle – through practices such as mutual aid, voluntary association, and direct action. To push people toward participating in representative government is to advocate for rulers. It is an attempt to use their authority to indirectly pursue goals – which is contrary to any anarchist principle. Compromise with a system of control always improves that system of control – the way environmentalists’ compromise with developers always results in less trees, or the way organizing on social media improves the algorithms (and policing) that attempt to dictate our existence.

Let’s remember that life without government, and without social hierarchies, is the path toward liberation. ★

## GALLEANIST CENTENNIAL

In the final hours of June 2, 1919, bombs exploded in eight different cities across the country – damaging a church and private residence in Philadelphia alone. Flyers printed on pink paper and entitled “Plain Words” were distributed in the areas of the bombings and called for an end to the tyranny that prevented the pursuit of freedom and revolution. The devices were hand-delivered, similar to the infernal machines that were distributed to the homes of a few prominent officials in Philadelphia on the preceding New Year’s Eve, but unlike the mail bombs that were mostly discovered en route in the lead up to May Day of that year.

Last month, Time Magazine chose the centennial of the aspiring May Day parcel bombs to reflect on the so-called Galleanists of that time, sharing some anecdotes

of interest:

*“The fact that anarchism by its nature was a decentralized movement made it difficult to prove direct links to Galleani. But his talent as an orator seemed to inspire devotees to follow his call...”*

*“Hot on the heels of the mail bombs came more violence associated with anarchists, including riots at May Day celebrations. In Boston, a police officer was stabbed to death...”*

*“At the time, anarchists were a challenge to law enforcement everywhere...”*

*“They followed no master and belonged to no organization...”*

*“This was only the beginning of a tug-of-war between anarchists and the U.S. government, which would unfold into the first Red Scare.”*

These notions of decentralization as strength should be a reminder that anarchist principles are not only what we advocate, but what we use to successfully undermine the idea (and very control) of authority. Any appeals to abide the methods of governance (i.e. voting and other reforms) undercut our own validity and effectiveness.

What sort of active expression of anarchist principles and conveying of them to the public could make us an equal or better threat to figures of authority today, and a promise to those seeking another way of existence? ★

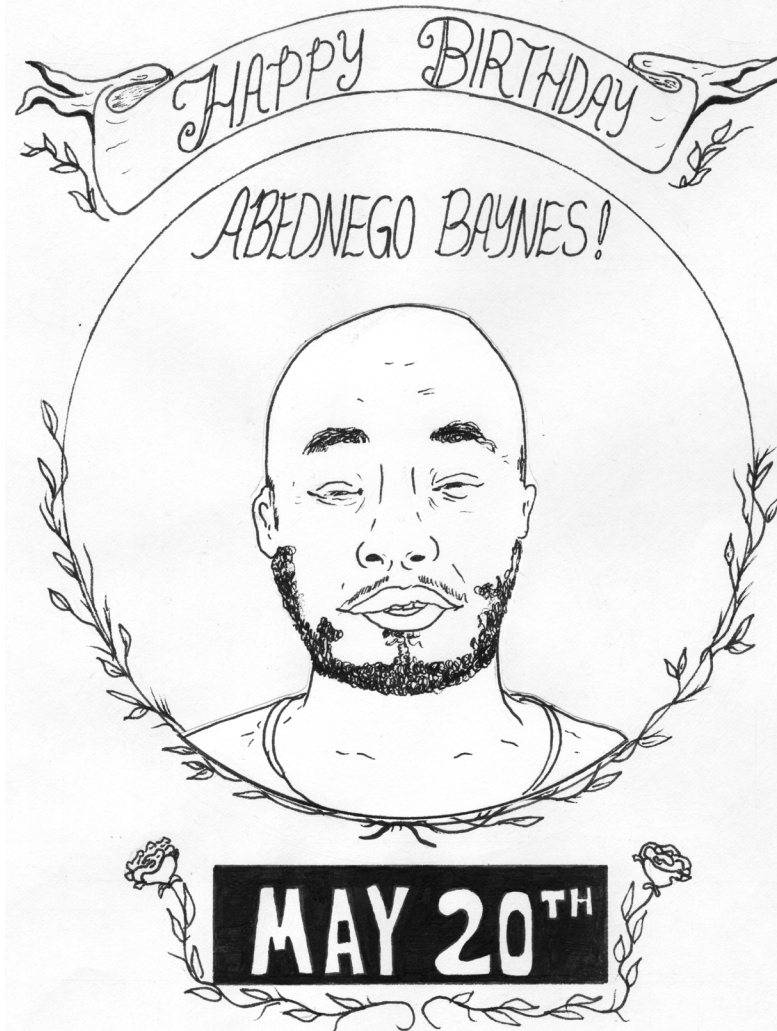
## DELAWARE’S ATTEMPTS TO PROSECUTE THE VAUGHN 17 CONTINUE

*“I was told by people to let this place be, it’s a lost cause. [...] My relentlessness in pursuing this objective started off alienating, then it gained momentum through the collective.”*

At the time of the prisoner uprising at James T. Vaughn Correctional Center in 2017, Roman Shankaras was scheduled to go home in a little over a year. Two years later, Delaware is trying to put him away for life — even though the state itself admits that Roman never held a weapon and remained in his cell throughout the takeover.

Roman is now the lone defendant in the third of a series of trials in this case, each of which has been more embarrassing than the last for the state. This time, they’re trying to hold Roman responsible for everything that happened during the uprising — including

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the death of a corrections officer — by alleging that he helped plan the takeover. In addition to the same old unreliable testimony by cooperating inmates, the prosecution claims to have physical evidence in the form of two prison letters (“kites”) sent by the defendant to the state’s star witness, Royal “Diamond” Downs.

Under accomplice liability law, a person who agreed to commit a crime can be criminally liable for any additional crimes committed by their accomplice, even if they did not personally commit them or plan for them to happen. Since the state of Delaware still has no idea who actually murdered Sergeant Floyd during the uprising — and now admits that no one blow in particular killed him, but a combination of attacks over a long period of time — they have been leaning heavily on accomplice liability throughout this case in an attempt to punish prisoners for Floyd’s death.

Over the course of these first three trials, the state’s colossal failures and horrific abuse have surfaced during testimony, despite the prosecution’s best attempts to cover them up. Police on the prison’s CERT team could have stopped the uprising early on and freed Floyd; instead they fled the building in fear. The governor and inept negotiators prolonged the takeover and left Floyd to bleed out alone in a closet.

Immediately after the police eventually breached the building, they beat all of C-building’s remaining prisoners immediately after the takeover until the prison yard was covered in their blood. They continued their abuse of C-building’s prior inmates until several prisoners cooperated with the investigation, making up stories in order to stop getting treated like suspects.

There were no cameras in the building, and prisoners destroyed any potential DNA and fingerprint evidence. The investigation failed to send most of the weapons and clothing they found in for testing, and tossed indictments — and years of abuse — at prisoners if more than one other inmate claimed they were involved.

Seven defendants, six dropped cases, and only one murder conviction later, the state is losing. Nevertheless, it is still attempting to prosecute three remaining prisoners, including Roman. As usual, the state would rather use its resources to violently repress resistance than to let any cracks in its legitimacy appear. ★



## WHAT IS A COLLECTIVE, CONTINUED

or tool for achieving a goal that we abandon at the end of the day like so many black t-shirts. It is perhaps because our affinity groups rarely last longer than it takes to mount an attack that we can understand what makes collectives different. Crimethinc once simplified it: the affinity group is temporary whereas the collective is more permanent, closely related to an institution.

Understandably, anarchists hate institutions. We are trying to destroy this society not add more structure to it. However, there is a way to understand collectives as participating in this destruction or at least its de-structuring. Historically, anarchists developed collectives as an alternative to state socialism, attempting to decentralize organization into local groupings based on shared land. This decentralization allowed anarchists to shift their point of reference from the Left, unified around the industrial worker. Collectives could be based in other modes of life, including peasants or even, as anarchists later learned, the unemployed, students, drop outs. There is no direct line from a peasant communes to a zine distro but the collective form opened the possibility with small groups based on shared resources.

Decentralization is not enough to prevent hierarchies from forming, especially when there are shared resources at stake. Land-based collectives can easily be fitted into a municipalist framework that, in turn, can mobilize the collective as a form of government—“directly democratic,” sure, but still a governing force. What is more these local collectives do not automatically replace the State—it has become clear that these collectives can coexist with the State and, as we can see in Venezuela, sometimes become enmeshed with the State. On a much smaller scale, our collective projects can be turned against us even if the only resources we share are an anarchist space, a photocopier, or groceries. This happens when our collectives become tools of an activist campaign, small business, or simply bureaucratize to increase membership.

Insurrectionaries have been the most vocal about the problems of formal organization but anarchists in general can recognize the dangers of creating impersonal institutions that prioritize their growth and perpetuity above our goals of autonomy and freedom. It is a recurring problem that individuals or groups try to channel our skills and collective projects into whatever organization or campaign they think will best reform the system. We recognize this pattern even when our shared resources are merely a contact list or “intel-