

PURE BLACK. AN EMERGING CONSENSUS AMONG SOME COMRADES?

The term "black" anarchist has been thrown around recently in a number of international milieus and journals. Indeed during the last few years of my travels throughout North and South America and Europe I have noted repeated attempts to define, through action and theory, the ideas associated with black anarchy. Following is a brief, incomplete outline of some of the more common aspects of what black anarchists think and do. These tendencies are numbered for convenience, and not to show priority or importance.

Red Excursus: I will not discuss "red" anarchy as it seems well defined by the collectivist, syndicalist, communist variants of anarchist ideas that were developed more than a hundred years ago and still enjoy a great deal of popularity and adherents. I emphasize that I don't see the two various strains as being mutually exclusive, opposed, or even necessarily very different at the macro level. The old sectarianism and exclusion, a gnawing symptom of Marxism and the Social Democracy, plays no role in this essay. I am attempting to describe and provide some topography to a growing, relatively new agreement among a particular group of my comrades, in doing so I support and encourage those who follow different anarchist ideas and paths. No one is wrong, no one is right. The best we can hope for is clarity, not hegemony.

1) Violence: In this context violence is defined as a tactic, whether applied to insurrection, riot, attentat, or simple refusal. There is an almost overwhelming consensus among the black anarchists that the use of violence is necessary, indeed desirable, perhaps essential. The international growth of the various FA(I)-IRF cells, the example of the Greek CCF and Revolutionary Struggle, the concomitant growth of the non-anarchist but equally engaging actions of the eco-extremists in Mexico, Chile and Brazil, and the myriad anonymous burnings, ATM destruction, and attacks that populate the current global anarchist media echo this resonance. Whether it is the Molotov arching gracefully through the night air, the flaming barricade, or the flagpole-turned truncheon--crashing into fascist bone, the black anarchist greets all with approval.

2) Individualist: There is a strong individualist strain in black anarchism, mostly as a function of activity and less due to long nights breathlessly reading Stirner. In essence when engaged in actions it's easier to work in small groups, and sometimes alone rather than attempt to build large or even medium sized organizations. These small groups which I'll call teams, a word taken from our Athenian comrades, bring into clear relief the importance of individual initiative, they decentralize decision and action, they emphasize clearly that while there is no I in team, there is an "m" and an "e."

3) Nihilist: In this instance nihilism I'll interpret as the

realpolitik of anarchism in 2017--all the various ideas, concepts and conceits of an anarchist victory via revolution or insurrection in the current context are nothing more than political heroin. Once this simple, obvious fact is accepted there are two courses, resignation and lassitude or savage attack without any real hope of success. The black anarchist chooses the latter, always.

4) Illegalism: A part of the black anarchist consensus is the desire to completely reject any compromise or cooperation with nation-state, Capital, and markets. Leading many in the milieu to undertake consciously political illegal activity. This varies from place to place but includes the positive activities of squatting, occupations, shoplifting, out-right store robbery, burglary and more. In terms of negative activities this new variant of illegalism includes refusal of all taxes, tolls, welfare, NGO handouts, and state-run free clinics.

5) Informal Organization: There is a real and healthy fear among the black anarchists of formal organization. The anti-organizational tendency is not new in the historical anarchist milieu, nor in the various anarchisms that saw first light since the 1970's in the USA, Canada, and parts of Western Europe. The open espousal of informal, temporary, limited adherence to organizational tenets is very new. This loosening of the organizational form, the inclusionary laissez-faire stance adopted by black anarchists and their organizations may be one of the tendencies most lasting contributions. In most historical cases anarchists have constructed organizations that virtually ooze the ideas and characteristics of the dominant society. In a few short years the black anarchists have done a great deal of theoretical violence to such organizational nonsense, in the future I hope they do more.

This outline of black anarchism is brief, incomplete, and a piece of journalism, not conjecture. This is what I saw, what I experienced in the past several years visiting and working with anarchists on three continents. It is both memoriam and prospectus.

Paul Z. Simons

SPORTS

Il Sbrigati Brigato won the inaugural Philadelphia Camover Anti-Competition with a total of 24 cameras disabled, 19 of which will never see the light of day again. 40 cameras were disabled in all. This was part of a larger set of games in which all participants were winners.

ANATHEMA

Volume III

May / June 2017 - Free

Issue IV

AN ANARCHIST RESPONSE TO THE ANTI-GENTRIFICATION ATTACKS IN PHILLY ON MAY DAY

What do vandals get out of destroying a neighborhood? Why do people resort to violence to send a message? Are those who allegedly participated in such an action our comrades? Won't this kind of action alienate people at a time when we finally have the opportunity to build a broad movement against fascism? Since all these questions surfaced in public forums following the May Day demonstration in Philly, in which expensive condos and cars in a gentrifying area of Northern Liberties/Kensington were smashed, maybe the answers are still not so obvious.

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SOLIDARITY WITH ANARCHIST PRISONERS & A CALL FOR A DANGEROUS JUNE

Every year on June 11th, anarchists around the world take action to show solidarity with long-term anarchist and environmentalist prisoners. Originally started to support Jeffrey "Free" Luers during his imprisonment as part of a wave of state repression known as the Green Scare, the day has expanded to include all long-term anarchist and environmentalist prisoners, with a recent focus on Eric McDavid (now free) and Marius Mason

[Cont. pg. 2]

KRASNER WINS PRIMARY

Prison abolitionists celebrated on May 16 as Larry Krasner won the Democratic primary for District Attorney, becoming slated to be next in charge of sending people to jail on behalf of the state. Despite Krasner's already extensive campaign funding, abolitionists and anarchists also poured their own resources and desires into electing Krasner, who they hope will reform some aspects of incarceration from within the genocidal criminal justice system. Morale is reportedly low within the police department following Krasner's election, with commentators warning that Krasner's campaign promises will wreck havoc in Philadelphia, a city that has been at the forefront of

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WHAT WENT DOWN

April 7: Neo-Nazi Cliff Warby and his daughter Aryan Warby are beat up and sent to the hospital after a punk show.

April 8: MAGA March organizers are pepper sprayed and beaten following a meeting to plan another pro-Trump march.

April 22: Anti-fascists stop fascists from flyering a pro-science march in Center City.

April 25: South Jersey Antifa pose with banner in solidarity with anti-fascists in Berkeley, California.

April 27: Anarchists and communists pose with a banner in solidarity with French rebels.

April 30: Neo-Nazi Mark Daniel Reardon, responsible for posterizing University of Pennsylvania's campus, is doxxed and subsequently evicted.

May 1: Eleven OCF townhouse construction sites are damaged by a fire, two of which completely collapse. The fire is deemed an arson by authorities.

May 1: May Day and anti-president graffiti sprayed on a bridge in West Philly.

May 1: Numerous protests converge on City Hall and march together for May Day, including an anti-fascist black bloc with flares, shields, and anarchist banners.

May 1: A night march against gentrification vandalizes new buildings, construction sites, surveillance cameras, and high end cars in Kensington causing an estimated \$100,000 in damages. ★



["Solidarity..." cont. from pg. 1]

(currently serving a twenty-two year sentence). It's important that we remember they are still part of the struggle for a world free of authority and environmental devastation, even as prisoners. There are ways for those of us who aren't imprisoned to participate, from publicly reading an imprisoned anarchist's letter, to materially

supporting anarchists behind bars, to attacking the systems that cage them.

Some June 11ths in Philly have included benefit shows and meals, postering actions, discussions, and movie screenings. This year there will be a barbecue from 4-6pm at the Grey's Ferry Crescent Skatepark.

To learn more about June 11th visit: june11.org

To learn more about Marius Mason visit: supportmariusmason.org

At the end of April, anarchists in Italy put out a call for "a dangerous June." The call is the result of meetings in Rome, at which ideas were shared regarding solidarity, repression, and conflictual anarchist struggle. Dangerous June is intended to be a time of coordinated actions in solidarity with anarchists, revolutionaries, and rebels dealing with repression around the world.

To learn more about a Dangerous June visit: actforfree.nostate.net/?p=27129

Eric King - a vegan anarchist serving ten years for an incendiary attack in solidarity with the 2014 Ferguson, MO riots - was sentenced on June 28th of last year. His support team is calling for June 28th to be a day to show Eric, the state, and each other that anarchist prisoners will receive international support and solidarity. Eric's support team suggests fundraisers, letter-writing nights (Eric is interested in hearing news about anarchist and political prisoners), and awareness raising activities such as printing and distributing his support flyer.

To learn more about Eric King visit: supportericking.org ★

HEALTH

"[A] suspect who robbed a dunkin donuts in North Philadelphia was caught on video getting in a good stretch before committing his [sic] crime."

HEALTH IS IN YOU

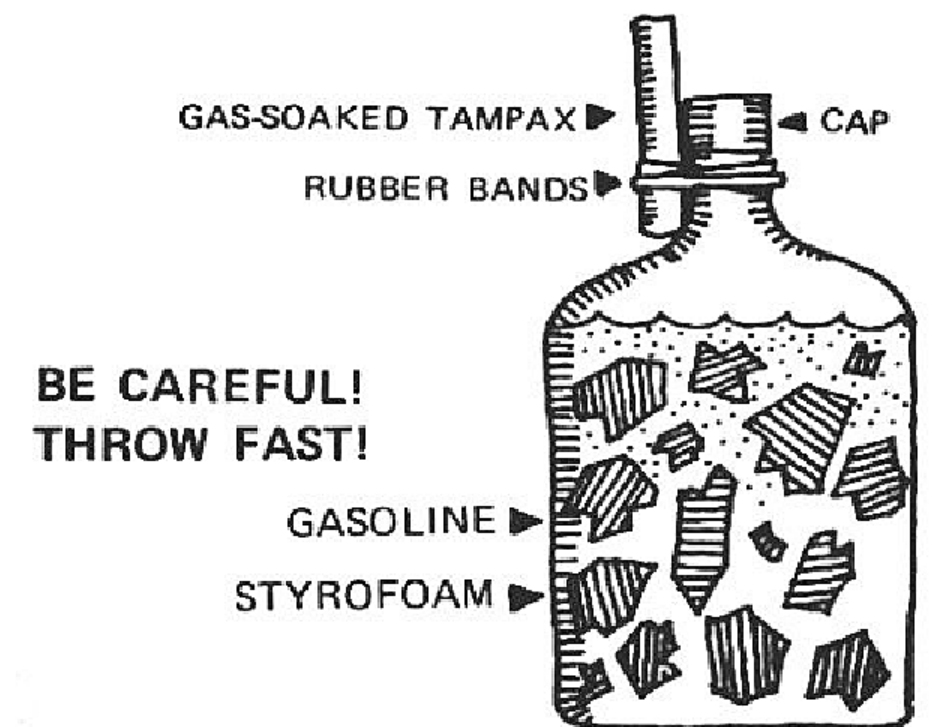
The original Health is in You, published in 1905 by anarchist Luigi Galleani, was meant to fix the problem of advocating for destructive tendencies without providing the means to do so. As an explicit bomb-making manual, it provided accurate and practical means to produce nitroglycerine, and was sold from the pages of the Paterson, NJ based anarchist newspaper, Cronaca Suvversiva. It did have one flaw that, until corrected, may have resulted in premature detonations.

Contemporary anarchists the world over have had similar discussions on disseminating the means to safely produce explosive and incendiary devices in recent years, in an attempt to proliferate these means in order to escalate conflict and the effectiveness of their actions. Falling far from the mad-bomber-anarchist personas, which were based in the caricatures painted of turn-of-the-century anarchists Ravachol and Severino di Giovanni, these discussions have advocated the utmost precaution. As one anarchist wrote:

"It is very important that the compañerxs who risk their lives to deliver, with their homemade armaments, blows to the icons and ideology of the dominant system take every measure of precaution to not injury or damage people who have nothing to do with the target of the attack. And by precaution we mean not using means or tools for the attack that we don't know or understand well, such as the chemical reactions that a device produces at an internal level. But this doesn't mean that other means can't be used, that are easier to handle like (correctly armed) molotovs, rocks, etc. The same goes for incendiary devices with mechanical and/or chemical activation (slow or homemade fuses) since these tools of the guerrilla arsenal are made by processes that are simpler and easier to understand. The life of a warrior is worth more than the lives of thousands of soldiers or police!"

To our South, they have advocated for plastic bottles filled with flammable liquid with a sponge soaked in flammable liquid attached to the outside. The sponge is then lit with either trick birthday candles (ones that don't go out when you blow on them), windproof matches stuffed in bundles of incense, or a burning cigarette, in order to provide a delay. To our East, portable canisters of butane or propane (such as camping stove or barbecue fuel) attached to the equivalent of an M80 firecracker (sometimes used in combination with cigarette delays) can be a make-shift grenade, or commonly available fire-starters for camping or fireplaces strategically placed in the grills or on the tires of cars as incendiary devices.

MOLOTOV (FOR THROWING)



Domestically, the Earth Liberation Front has used basic kitchen timers to light buckets of gasoline – cigarette use has likely dwindled after the conviction of an anarchist whose DNA was found on that type of delay, however.

Incendiary devices are illegal to manufacture or possess in many regions. Their use against people is typically covered under battery, actual or grievous bodily harm, manslaughter, attempted murder, and murder, depending upon their effect and upon local laws. Their use against property is usually covered under arson charges. In the U.S., Molotov cocktails are considered "destructive devices" and regulated by the ATF. ★

WE WILL NOT WIN

Current and former military bases are said to have contaminated drinking water across the nation, including in Philadelphia suburbs, where about 70,000 residents have contended with tainted water running from their taps. In Philadelphia proper, there are approximately 50,000 homes with lead service pipes connected to water mains. New oil pipelines are ramping up toward installation, with pipe being delivered in Huntingdon, PA just outside the anxious Camp White Pine treesit, and town officials demanding the eviction of a Ramapough-Lenape camp opposing the proposed “Pilgrim Pipeline” in North Jersey. Pipelines continue to leak all over, with the infamous Dakota Access Pipeline among the latest, before it has even become operational. The DAPL project pushes forward despite the great deal of public support and funding given to native resistance at Standing Rock, furthering a long-term colonial and ecocidal agenda. Additionally, the World Wildlife Fund predicts that 2/3 of species will be extinct within three years and others anticipate this to be the hottest summer ever on record due to global climate change.

“We need healthcare, healthy food, access to housing, a clean environment? Of course. But what are we actually doing to achieve these things? There’s an alarming lack of projectuality.” - P. Gelderloos

The Guardian reports that climate change is not only affecting the food/water/security of marginalized peoples, but has also increased the incentive to join ultra-right terrorists who can provide these things to them. If anarchists did more to aid the provision of such necessities in our communities, as we’ve seen done with some success in autonomous neighborhoods in Greece, we could likely see a more substantial growth, too – but it would likely be too late, anyway. Anything built, likely a reform of oppression into more palatable forms, would perpetuate the same trajectory we are already on, and only slow the absolute destruction of the environment we know slightly. Much in the way that those Philly-based antifa who recently traveled to Boston focused on building alliances with left organizations that won’t fight for what we want, and prison abolitionists campaigned for a D.A. in the form of Krasner that will send fewer people to prison, it simply puts the brakes on the descent into war that would be necessary to accomplish anything worthwhile. And the only thing worthwhile I can imagine is the absolute destruction of every infrastructure that maintains this civilization.

Yes, as opinions grow more polarized around a

scandalous presidential administration we do find more people sympathetic to our ideas and tactics, as we do enemies, but most people are still floating around in the middle. There’s no popular advocacy of prison or police abolition, and those who do often look towards hierarchical medical treatment and community policing in its place. Similarly, there’s relatively popular support of pipeline and fracking resistance, but also advocacy for “responsible” consumption or “green” industry in its place – that is to say, continued exploitation and degradation of the environment dressed up in minimalisms and further land-consumption for non-edible/medicinal mono-crops.

If we are to take seriously the threat of Trump’s executive orders and, to be realistic, the similar atrocities of his predecessors, we would need to mount an at least equal response. We call these policies a war on earth and all its inhabitants, but we do not mount anything resembling a war against them in the least. Trump has more to fear from the rest of the government than he does from us. Hell, local fraternities have largely assaulted the population with impunity, but are still left standing. The whole of this society is built on raping, imprisoning and killing the marginalized, amounting to genocide in many cases, but our responses fall terribly short of addressing that seriously.

“If we don’t have any useful skills, we’re really just wasting our breath when we talk about self-organization, direct action, and mutual aid.” - P. Gelderloos

While no excuse should be needed for action, if we cared to appear more organized and intentional, there are several calls for the month of June and a history of higher-level retaliations locally such as the anarchist bombings in June 1919.

As the world heats up, physically and politically, we must visit the heat of an OCF rowhome fire on those that impose this destruction upon us. We must tear up the streets that retain the boiling heat, even if the forests never again cool. We must assassinate those who condone our murder, and destroy the sanctuary of those who make walking down the street a dangerous activity. Escape your tiny rooms into the heavy summer night, invoking Zo d’Axa’s guillotine.

If this is war, let it be war.

Toward the pure black.★

[“An Anarchist...” cont. from pg. 1]

The black bloc is not symbolic. Unlike symbolic actions, which intend to convey a message, its reason for being is practical – wearing similar styles of all-black outfits allows people to stay anonymous while taking action. One of the more compelling aspects of anarchist tradition is its belief in direct action – we try not to accept other peoples’ control over our lives, and we don’t expect authorities to act in our best interests, so we try to accomplish what we want ourselves instead of asking permission from politicians or anyone else who seeks to protect the social order. Unfortunately, for many anarchists today, direct action remains more of an abstract belief than a way of life. In Philadelphia, we’re more used to seeing anarchists doing support work or lobbying for reforms than attacking institutions or businesses they believe shouldn’t exist. But some anarchists still respond to the violence of everyday life in the U.S. by directly fighting it.

Though invisible to most people, the U.S. has been waging a war since its inception on indigenous peoples, black folks, the poor, and all the other populations that it’s dispossessed and marginalized. As a settler colonial nation-state, it cannot exist without exploitation, slavery and genocide, and it continues to try to crush and control those populations that it’s oppressed and those who resist, while proceeding with its ongoing project of capitalist and colonial development.

This war between the social order and those it seeks to contain is called the social war, and one of its major fronts in Philly for years now has been gentrification. While the city was originally developed by displacing and devastating Lenape peoples and land and accumulating capital through the slave trade, for the past two decades Philadelphia’s economy has grown through displacing black and brown people and rebuilding their neighborhoods for wealthier people to move into. This process of gentrification, which is happening at the most rapidly accelerating rate in the country, has been so obvious that it’s produced widespread public outcry and relative sympathy for those using “violent” means to attack agents of gentrification. While attending community meetings with developers and politicians has accomplished nothing, and forming nonviolent community organizations against gentrification has done very little to stop it, vandalism has successfully demoralized and deterred development in many areas of the city.

History, and personal experience, have shown that

nonviolent social movements and activist campaigns for reform can’t fix or win against a fundamentally violent state – this is why some engage in “violent” tactics that more directly move towards accomplishing their objectives. Concerns within radical circles about how such actions will alienate the public seem unfounded so far, since the mainstream media has been unusually understanding of the May 1st demo. Because the demo exclusively targeted expensive cars and new condo developments, it’s hard to mistake its intentions. Such actions will attract some and alienate others, and this is not a bad thing – it’s good to know what side people are on. Unlike symbolic marches and

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peaceful protests, actions like the May Day demo offer people the opportunity to deepen their capacity for anti-capitalist, anti-social offensives and open up space for new people to get involved who aren’t interested in more symbolic forms of action.

At a time when global capitalism and the society it’s created are more and more obviously disastrous, it seems important to push these initiatives and build our capacity to fight, rather than watering down our goals. As to the question of whether those who participated in the May Day demo are our “comrades,” or deserve our support – those are some of the people in Philly going the hardest against the forces of domination and exploitation, and risking state violence and social marginalization in order to do so. Such actions are not above critique, but to condemn them and those involved wholesale in the name of hypothetical concerns about public opinion puts you on the side of defending and replicating a violent social order, rather than amongst those trying to get free from it.★

[“Krasner...” cont. from pg. 1]

controlling and enslaving black people through the prison system. But it remains to be seen if Krasner’s election will actually be as disastrous for the criminal justice system as we might hope.

This particular local election has garnered national attention, as the mainstream liberal media has attempted to co-opt the local grassroots efforts to elect Krasner by claiming that his election resulted from a (Democratic) backlash to Trump’s presidency. Meanwhile, nonviolent social movements and local organizations are being credited (by themselves) for producing this victory, which they view as implicit evidence of their success in raising awareness about mass incarceration and police brutality. Memories of the violent fighting against cops that actually originally forced national attention towards those issues in 2014 in Ferguson and elsewhere seem to have faded, even though some of the most visible agitators in Ferguson have been being quietly and gradually murdered over the past three years.

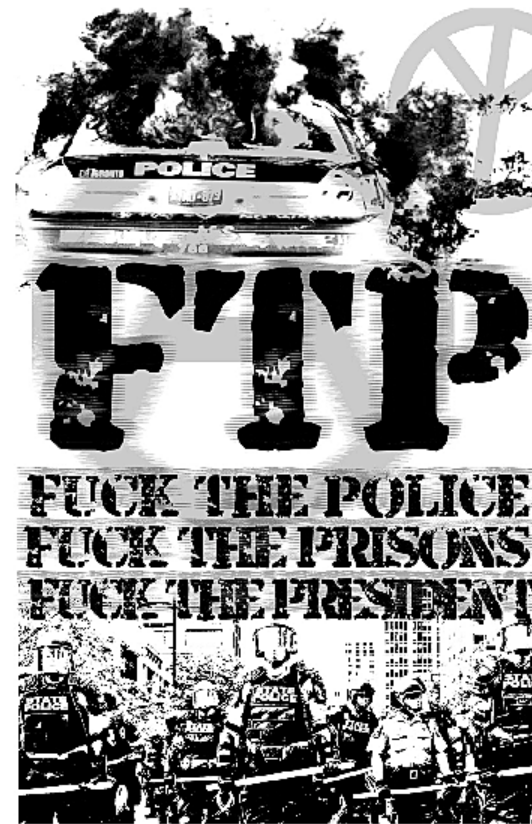
While grassroots efforts and public outcry against Trump are doubtless factors in Krasner’s election, the city of Philadelphia has already been implementing reforms to its criminal justice system for years. Former Police Commissioner Charles Ramsey’s overhaul of the Philadelphia Police Department’s public image led him to be named to President Obama’s task force on community policing. The city received a \$3.5 million MacArthur grant last year to reduce its prison population, which has fallen around 12% over the past year. These bids to regain public trust by reigning in the blatant local excesses of what is in reality an inherently violent criminal justice system have been very successful so far, with Pew polls showing that 60% of Philadelphians now believe that Philadelphia police treat blacks and whites equally, higher than the national figures (with a substantial and increasing gap between black/Hispanic and white populations on this issue).

Krasner’s election will likely contribute to Philadelphia’s longterm strategy of putting forth its image as a bastion of progressive values, quelling public outcry while continuing to maintain the same basic systems of control and exploitation. His proposed reforms are also in the city’s financial interest – the Philadelphia D.A. office spends hundreds of thousands of dollars defending death penalty verdicts, which is now widely recognized as a waste of money, and cash bail reform

will save Philadelphia taxpayers millions of dollars. As the collective Endnotes noted in 2014, “softer reforms” like decarceration of low-level drug offenses are not necessarily a sign of social progress, but rather produce “a more surgically targeted version of the carceral state.”

Hailed as a “revolution” in Philadelphia, the election seems to have produced little critical reflection, from a radical perspective, about whether it is actually extraordinary that the most liberal candidate won in Philly, whether Krasner will be effective in implementing his promised reforms, or whether these reforms are in fact radical. Philadelphia is a progressive city, and each of the seven candidates for the D.A. Democratic primary ran on progressive reformist campaigns, so Krasner’s election doesn’t seem shocking or something that the city couldn’t possibly have let happen without being pushed by activists.

On the other hand, as many have noted, Krasner will face intensive opposition from the Fraternal Order of Police, the Philadelphia Police Department, the judicial branch (which actually decides on sentencing), and the at least 30 veteran prosecutors in his own office, opposition that would seem to severely limit his ability as an individual to create change from within a system rigged against him. An entire political party can run on anti-establishment promises with the very best of



IN REPLY TO THE SCIENCE MARCH

Anarchists and atheists once dogmatically advocated science against the rule of religion in people’s everyday lives. That dogmatism has since brought science into that role previously held by religion of reinforcing, if not furthering, the enforcement of the rule of law. Today’s reversion to classic reactionary policies by the U.S. government has brought an equally reactionary liberal population to the forefront of public debates, claiming that relying on science is the key to opposing those policies epitomized by Trump’s executive orders; claiming, in fact, that reverting to science would save the earth.

The reality is, however, that the rule of science – that began its trajectory during the era of immensely violent socioeconomic reorganization known as the “Enlightenment” – is not only more biased than its liberal advocates purport, but has advanced the brutal weaponry of warfare that reinforced hierarchical rule, contributed to the overpopulation of the planet by humans, and industrialized the landscape to the point of decimating the earth. After all, let’s remember what engineers studied in order to design and create pipelines in the first place, what was studied to streamline the extraction of oil from the ground, or the methods utilized to develop all those fossil fuel-reliant products, from plastics to combustion engines.

As one internet commentator stated, “[r]ace eugenics was once considered a science. Homosexuality was once a mental disorder. Letting people die of syphilis was once a study,” so illustrating that this role of science to manage life for some and death for others isn’t just a thing of the past.

There is a path that listens to the land and bows to no authority. Expertise is the method of compartmentalizing knowledge in categories that limit understanding and interrelation, while also suggesting that someone knows everything about a particular subject, causing undue reliance on their ideas. It puts faith in those who intend to separate themselves from the increasingly reified Nature they claim to protect – to say nothing of those who blindly invoke spiritual, political and economic authority to fulfill their personal quests for wealth and power through government and religion. Marching for Science will do nothing to save the land or people – it only protects the next opportunistic bid for power in an age-old quest to control and discipline a restless earth. ★

DELAWARE MAY MURDER AGAIN

At the time of this writing, a bill attempting to reinstate the death penalty in Delaware, sponsored by Representative Steve Smyk, has passed in the House and is on its way to the Senate. As the bill has been introduced amid public outcry over the recent killing of a state trooper and the previous killing of a correctional officer during the Vaughn Uprising, we are finding out just how at odds many of us are with much of the population. More than 2000 Delawareans were estimated to have come out to donate money for a “thin blue line” sticker to be applied to their car in support of the police, after said trooper’s death.

Meanwhile, local news reminds us of the violence incurred by police, not only institutionally, but also at a higher-than-average domestic rate. Five Philadelphia Police Officers have faced dismissal in the last month for such activities as firing into a Temple Hospital Lobby, starving a dog, possessing child pornography, striking and killing a pedestrian while drag-racing, and allegedly punching one officer’s wife and chasing her while on duty and in a patrol car. But cops get acquitted of murdering black and brown people (Betty Shelby being the latest), and are coddled by state officials, for example by Arizona Senator Steve Smith’s attempts to further criminalize assaults of off-duty officers under the title “Blue Lives Matter.”

Critics in Arizona called Smith’s bill title “disrespectful and an affront to issues concerning Black Lives Matter.” Legislators in Delaware that oppose the reinstatement of the death penalty cite that it doesn’t deter crime, is too expensive, is morally wrong, and is also applied in a racist manner. This is a state that has hung someone to death as recently as 1996, continued executing by lethal injection through 2012, and keeps the hanging option open should lethal injection become unconstitutional. Liberals have tried to point toward “model” police units because it allows them to never address the fundamentally racist purpose of police and, similarly, prison.

Representatives of law enforcement have voiced overwhelming support of the death penalty bill, but critics note that it doesn’t actually make them any safer. Much the way surveillance cameras don’t deter crime, the death penalty doesn’t deter murder – let alone of law enforcement. A Wilmington resident, and critic of the bill, even spoke to the divergence of funds from police training, and other “evidence-based strategies for keeping officers safe,” toward ever-expensive death row provisions as dangerous. To do so, she says, is to be “complicit in future deaths of law enforcement officers.”

Let’s take a look at which Delaware Representatives voted in favor of reinstating the death penalty: William Carson, Ed Osienski, Trey Paradee, Quinton Johnson, Pete Schwartzkopf, Melanie George Smith, Earl Jaques, Valerie Longhurst, Larry Mitchell, Michael Mulrooney, Richard Collins, Danny Short, Timothy Dukes, Ronald Gray, Kevin Hensley, Deborah Hudson, William Outten, Charles Postles, Steve Smyk, Jeff Spiegelman, Harvey Kenton, Ruth Briggs King, David Wilson, Lyndon Yearick. ★

VIOLENCE EXPOSED AT LOCAL FRATERNITIES

Fraternal brutality is attracting local attention again after two sexual assaults were reported at Drexel University fraternity Tau Kappa Epsilon in early May and another rape was reported at Pi Kappa Alpha two weeks later. Drexel has suspended Tau Kappa Epsilon and issued a public safety advisory to the university community, and police are investigating the incidents.

These assaults come on the heels of widespread outrage following Penn State University fraternity Beta Theta Pi's indirect murder of one of its own pledges, Tim Piazza, in February. After his brothers forced him to drink heavily at different stations during a pledge activity called "the Gauntlet," Piazza fell down a flight of stairs. He then fell several other times, was slapped, had liquid poured on him, and was left on a couch, according to a grand jury presentment. He died from a head injury, ruptured spleen, and collapsed lung.

Public outrage has especially centered on the fact that Piazza was left injured for 12 hours before anyone called for medical assistance. But reports indicate that the situation was much worse than that. One fraternity member apparently did suggest calling for help, and was shoved against a wall by another brother and told to leave the house. Other fraternity members had physically assaulted Piazza in ways that certainly contributed to bringing about his death. One brother, Joseph Ems Jr. of Philadelphia, had punched Piazza hard in the abdomen sometime after Piazza's fall. He is being charged with a misdemeanor count of reckless endangerment.

18 of the fraternity members, including Ems, have been charged by a grand jury for charges including involuntary manslaughter, aggravated assault, hazing, and reckless endangerment. Beta Theta Pi was permanently banned from campus. Penn State plans to publish a "report card" on fraternities in the fall, but this effort would not have worked with fraternities like Beta Theta Pi, which looks on the outside like a model fraternity.

Between 2005-2013, there were more than 60 fraternity-linked deaths in the United States, according to a 2013 Bloomberg News report. So far this year, there have been three other deaths resulting from hazing at fraternities on the east coast, including at Alpha Phi Delta at Stony Brook University and Sigma Alpha Kappa at Ferrum College in Virginia.

Hazing, which represents the excesses of men's violence towards their own, consistently receives harsher punishment than men's violence towards women at fraternities. This disproportionate reaction was notoriously evident last year, when Brock Turner, the star Stanford University swimmer who raped an unconscious woman behind a dumpster, served only three months in jail for his felony charges. Now Stanford offers a mandatory alcohol education program for freshmen with a section on "partying smart."

Nevertheless, the root causes of hazing also go unaddressed by the solutions offered by university administrations. In the U.S., fraternities originated in the 19th century in order to distinguish students on the basis of wealth and "good breeding." Fraternities serve to consolidate class power in the university context, providing a coded way of delineating class amongst peers at an early stage of adulthood and training young men to internalize and uphold modes of relationship predicated on violence and hierarchy. They are then able to carry these over into their lives and careers that maintain relationships of exploitation and domination. Activities that normalize and encourage the development of these kinds of relationships typically involve doing stuff to women without asking, harassing those outside the fraternity with lower status (this especially manifests in racist aggression), and ritualistically punishing one another in order to gain recognition and acceptance within the fraternal organization. Fraternities are part of a violent social project that includes the universities that subsidize them.

Over the past few years, responses to rape culture that go beyond the official university channels have risen in popularity, including attacking fraternities and the universities that protect them. This past September, feminist students at UPenn put up flyers all over campus that exposed rape culture and warned, "We are watching you." In the spring of 2014 and again in January of 2016, graffiti appeared all over Cornell University's campus reading "Kill Your Rapist." In Spring 2013, several attacks against fraternities occurred at University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill after the university suppressed information about sexual assault on campus. The attacks included waves of graffiti and wheatpasting as well as breaking fraternity house windows.

Tau Kappa Epsilon is located at 3421 Powelton Road and Pi Kappa Alpha is located at 210 N. 34th Street in Philadelphia. ★

intentions and end up structurally being forced to do exactly the opposite, as we've seen most disastrously recently in the case of Syriza in Greece, when their goal is ultimately to improve or hold together the system rather than to destroy it – and Krasner, who does not even pretend to not be a liberal, does not want to destroy the system.

Nevertheless, Krasner, a powerful white man backed by resources of the likes of \$1.45 million from George Soros, is being treated like a hero by abolitionists because he has publicly stated some correct facts about systemic racism in the state's prosecution office. He hasn't even promised to do anything dramatic, unlike New Jersey gubernatorial candidate Bill Brennan, who has at least vowed to use the power of his individual office to pardon all nonviolent alleged offenders and restore their right to vote if the state legislature is unwilling to free the state's prisoners.

Each life that can be wrenched back from the grip of the state is precious, and efforts to empower those facing death by incarceration, as abolitionists have done during this campaign by coordinating bringing lifers and their families into Krasner's campaign and pushing him to make good on his campaign promises, are crucial and should not be altogether dismissed. While so many radicals in Philly invest their energy in an already widely validated and well-funded electoral campaign for someone who seeks to improve (that is, maintain) the social order, though, others are being punished and hunted by that same social order for daring to fight back in ways that obviously threaten to destabilize the city's ability to keep developing and functioning, and receive relatively little social recognition or support for doing so.

Liberals will probably never be willing to fight the state or support those who do, which means it's up to radicals to do so. Fighting the state, supporting those who do, and making efforts to extend that struggle to others is what will produce revolutionary change, and fighting is not the same thing as raising awareness of social issues, a nebulous project that seems to be able to justify use of all sorts of more liberal means, but which somehow rarely involves practical efforts to destroy the institutions and relations of power that we so bitterly want to destroy.

Liberals and progressives certainly won't fight the state or support those who do, which is not exactly the same as their respective relationships to electoral politics, so it is up to radicals to do so. ★

MARCH FOR IMMIGRANTS

May Day events in Philadelphia this year continued their popular contemporary tendency towards advocating for immigrant rights, along with other major causes such as Black Lives Matter, tenants' rights and workers' rights. Juntos organized a march beginning in South Philly and rallying with other groups at City Hall before heading to Independence Mall. Juntos is a local group that has previously focused its efforts on closing the Berks County Residential Center. That immigrant family detention center remains open after Administrative Law Judge David Dudley overturned Pennsylvania's decision to close it in February. This decision could have been repealed by May 5th, but was not.

Days before the May 1st march, which emphasized identity politics alongside anti-ICE messaging, a mother and young child who were housed at Berks were deported. This happened despite an ACLU lawsuit on theirs and others' behalves last winter, advocacy for protective status for the child in Philadelphia's Federal District Court, and Senator Casey's last minute pleas to all the government position-holders who could halt the deportation of a family facing a death sentence from a gang in Honduras. It's a wonder if the legal channels haven't clearly reached their absolute limits.

The march pushed on from City Hall, empowering those driven to chant, and led by a number of people carrying Mexican flags – that same nation-state that has waged war on the indigenous Zapatistas, has disappeared dissenting students known as Normalistas, criminalizes women after they're murdered in cold blood, murders journalists, and continues to repress our Anarchist comrades, as reported by the Mexican Anarchist Black Cross. Some of these apparent nationalists cheered the arrival of a black bloc earlier in the day, after the bloc's short march to metaphorically "Block Out the Sun," which then brought up the rear of the procession heading back to Independence Mall.

Organizers of a demonstration in Reading earlier that day had also validated the often-controversial black bloc tactic by requesting a bloc to provide security at the demonstration - a request that seemed reminiscent of the way black blocs have defended striking teachers from violent police in Brazil in recent years.

What this implies for the future acceptability of militant formations and thoroughness of critique remains unclear, especially in combination. ★

PHILLY ANARCHISTS FUCK UP GENTRIFICATION ON MAY DAY



Lots of people said they went harder than they ever had, and learned and experimented at this demo. At least four large condos both finished and unfinished were smashed up so bad that it felt like a competition to get a swing in. People described feeling terrified and thrilled participating. Compared to the J20 march on South St, this demo is an escalation and a step up. The successes

of this demo feel like they're a result of the lessons learned on J20. Shout out to everyone who came prepared, brought things to share, and showed up on time. Cars, condos and cameras were hit with everything: bricks, porcelain, hammers, slingshot marbles, spray paint, and paint bombs!

All the above is a testament to the demo's ferocity, since the neighborhood was challenging to say the least. There weren't many little dip spots to duck into, there were many cameras around (fewer now). Neighbors were quick to snitch and formed ad-hoc vigilante groups that pursued participants. At one point someone was tackled by a good citizen; a comrade with

a hammer intimidated them, allowing the demo-goer to escape. Let's remember to look out for each other, even when the cops aren't around, especially in white, yuppie, or right-leaning areas.

The meet-up chosen by the organizers felt ideal; it was dark, wooded, and off the street. Organizers regret not having distributed a legal support number that had been set up in advance of the demo. Due to technological and communication failures, as well as unforeseen circumstances, two intended targets were not hit. Towards the end of the route, an unintended split between a smaller group with a banner and a larger group further back took place, causing the march to end early.

It feels like in recent months we've all been learning a lot, and it shows — things are happening harder and more often! There are a few things we can do better next time. To lessen confusion and worry, let's choose crew names that keep us anonymous, let us find each other in hectic situations, and also don't sound like or rhyme with words for police. Let's be careful with each other while we get dangerous, let's throw from the front of crowds, making sure we don't accidentally splash paint or rain glass on comrades in front of us using hammers.

See you in the streets,
<3 bitches with hammers <3 ★

EXCERPT FROM "WHY DID ANARCHISTS DESTROY DOWNTOWN OLYMPIA?"

"With that out of the way, let's begin with the long standing myth of the white anarchist. The crowd that assembled on may day was far from all white or male. People of all different ages, races, and genders — and some who cast aside gender altogether — assembled to celebrate May Day in the streets. It's very easy to levy the charge of being all men and all white on a group using a tactic meant for anonymity against police surveillance and repression, and perhaps that speaks to it working if a group like the one that assembled can be cast as all male and all white. But on another level, this charge speaks to a failing in social justice discourses that says people who are white or who are male are not ever to go on the attack, never to wield violence against the system that wields an unimaginable amount of violence against us every day — from the violence of working our lives away for scraps to try and pay for the bare necessities of life to the police that enforce this system to the courts and prison system; the violence enforced by capitalism, racism, hetero-patriarchy, settler-colonialism — that people who are white or male are to never levy violence against these systems and their defenders, even next to people of color who do, is mind-boggling and a recipe for constant failure.

The next point we'd like to address is that saying that there was no message, that it was just mindless vandalism. To address this in it's full we need a short history lesson about the origins of May Day. May Day has long been a special day for Anarchists for over 150 years starting with the wrongful execution of 8 Anarchists accused of throwing the bomb that kicked off the Haymarket riot in Chicago in 1886 in which 4 people and 7 cops were killed, and many more wounded. From there on out it became a day to commemorate our fallen and to strike against the police, the state, and capitalism.

It has historically been celebrated by anarchists, communists, and socialists around the world since then with strikes, walk-outs, occupations, and riots. (For a more complete history of May Day). The main message of the day was that we are not protesters not activists, we are revolutionary anarchists against hierarchies, capitalism, the state, the police, white supremacy, settler-colonialism, antisemitism, hetero-patriarchy, uncompromisingly against all forms of oppression and hierarchy. We are not asking for reform, we are not asking anything from our enemies because the only things we want — total freedom for all peoples — they cannot grant. We carry out our critiques in action; we pelt the police with rocks to declare they are not welcome or wanted, we smash the windows of banks and businesses to declare we want a world without bosses or capitalism."