“Crow Song”

In the arid sun, over the field
where the corn has rotted and then
swept up, you trick and squat about.
Not much here for you, my people,
but there would be
if
if

In my austere black uniform
I raise the banner
which deemed Hope
and which did not succeed
and which is not allowed.
Now I must confront the angel
who says Win,
who tells me to wave any banner
that you will follow
for you ignore me, my
baffled people, you have been through
too many theories
too many stray bullets
your eyes are gravel, skeptical,
in this hard field
you pay attention only
to the rhetoric of seed
fruit stomach elbow.

You have too many leaders
you have too many war,
all of them pompous and small,
you resist only when you feel
like dressing up,
you forget the same corpses...

I know you would like a god
to come down and feed you
and punish you. That overcoat
on sticks is not alive
there are no angels.
but the angels of hunger,
prehensile and soft as gilets
Watching you
my people, I become cynical,
you have defrauded me of hope
and left me alone with politics...

Margaret Atwood

ADVANCES IN STATE REPRESION

As we look towards another potentially hot summer, the state has already begun preparing for repressing further movement for Black lives and against policing. The following article breaks down some of what we know so far about advances in police technology and state repression.

As of this writing, Biden has proposed a $753,000,000,000 Pentagon budget, a significant increase from Trump’s zero budget. Biden’s administration has also sped up flow of military gear to police departments across the country. In the first quarter of his presidency, he’s given $34 million worth of additional military equipment to cops, compared to $25 million last summer during Trump’s presidency (for the record, none of these figures are anywhere near the $418 million worth of transfers under Obama in 2015, following Ferguson and other uprisings against policing).

The police and military have begun publicly experimenting with robotics. In February and again this past month, the NYPD was seen patrolling with a robot in the shape of a dog. The French military has recently been testing the robotic dog in combat. “Spot” is also being used by the oil company BP to inspect oil rigs in the Gulf of Mexico and to read instrument panels; the National Grid is using it to inspect substations. The firm that is building these robots is called Boston Dynamics; it is based in Waltham, Massachusetts and owned by Hyundai Motor Company. According to Boston Dynamics’ website, the robot’s battery is located in its underbelly and secured in place with a single latch. Testing of a robotic dog has also been observed outside of Pennsylvania, at 34th and Gray’s Ferry in South Philly, where some military drone technology was previously developed. We can expect police and military aircraft to continue to play a crucial role in surveilling protesters and insurgents. Although most flight-tracking services (like flightradar24) censor most police aircraft, the crowd-sourced flight-tracking website ADS-B Exchange (adsbexchange.com) doesn’t filter those out and instead flags aircraft operated by the U.S. military, including National Guard units. The twitter account @lemonodor also keeps track of aircraft that are detected as having a circular flight path over cities.

At least 20 surveillance and reconnaissance military helicopter flights flew over demonstrators during the first two weeks of riots and protests in June 2020; 11 of these flights were in Philadelphia. Footage collected with the Pennsylvania National Guard’s helicopters was transferred to law enforcement on the ground in order to counteract how stretched thin the widespread protesting had caused policing to be. In Seattle, public requests about aircraft surveillance found that “the plane’s FLIR thermal imaging camera was providing intelligence to commanders at the protest with views of the streets and activities happening around the neighborhood. When there were reports of people possibly throwing objects...
Inauguration Day - Two SUVs belonging to ICE and CBP have their tires slashed, their windows broken, and are painted. "It’s imperative that we don’t wait and we support each other with words and actions."

Mid-March - Revolutionary abolitionists in Harrisburg, PA unfurl an anti-prison banner in solidarity with Black political prisoners and protesters facing repression. "Whether a red or blue chain, the chain remains the same."

March 27 - A black bloc march through Center City shouting slogans against racism, police, and capitalism in solidarity against anti-Asian racism. "This kind of relatively low stress action builds confidence, as well as experience moving & deciding together in the street."

March 31 - People show up to the Center City PATCO station, preventing a service day from becoming a homeless camp sweep.

March 31 - Philly ABC hosts a letter-writing event for political prisoner Fran Thompson.

April 7 - Alexander Gross of American Imperial Republicans is doxxed.

April 7 - Fire PPD cops shoot and kill 24 year old James Alexander in North Philly during a traffic stop. One cop is shot in the foot.

April 11 - Anti-fascists protest in Center City against a "White Lives Matter" march that never showed up. Patriot Front and New Jersey European Heritage Association stickers are taken down at Marconi Plaza.

April 12 - Protesters block the street in response to Office of Homeless Services and PPD locking off and sweeping houseless people camping at Reading Terminal Market.

April 13 - Protesters march through Center City and South Philly against the police killing of Daunte Wright in Brooklyn Center, MN.

April 16 - PPD increase police presence throughout the city in the lead up to the Derek Chauvin trial verdict. PA Governor Wolf authorized 1000 National Guard troops to deploy to Philly.

April 17 - Protests against police killings march through Center City.

How to remove the batteries from a robot dog

Locally, Mayor Kenney has announced that the city will not be increasing police spending, but his proposed city budget increases police resources via other departments’ budgets. As we noted elsewhere, the Philly Police Department has also begun preparing for unrest following the Derek Chauvin verdict by recruiting community organizations to assist them in deescalating protests. This move will embolden the white vigilante responses that informally popped up last year; it will between comrades, to attack directly this stinking corpse that attempts to resurrect itself, to further imprison us. Counter-information is an integral part of this international co-ordination, to allow those who want to act for freedom in this world to see the signals of complicity in every language possible, to speak the one language of insurrection and anarchy. There must be a re-energization of the international counter-information network, to once again become a threat internationally, after the repressive reaction that seeks to isolate anarchists from each other, not just around the world but even locally. The 325 Collective continues to move upon this path we already tread; even now, we continue with our publication projects, including a new re-print of ‘325 #12,’ a new expanded issue of ‘Dark Nights’ and further projects for the future internationally. They will not silence or stop us and we will have our revenge.

About the website, we do not know yet whether it will return, it is very clear to us that if it is resurrected as ‘325 anywhere else online, that the authorities will immediately target it once again. This also means that we would put at risk any provider in the future, as well as put other counter-information and movement projects at risk of being shut down as happened with the recent repressive attack. Who knows where all this will take us? What we do know is that we are far from backing down, not one step back, in the face of the enemy. Maybe it might be best to revert to the traditional printed word, to see peoples’ faces, to speak words, to conspire. We will not say never to the site returning, neither to it re-manifesting itself as a new project, only time will tell.

For now, our absolute solidarity with the comrades of nostate.net & Act For Freedom Now! Along with all the other counter-info projects affected.

NOTHING IS OVER, THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!

325 Collective ★
325 ON REPRESSION OF INTERNATIONAL COUNTER-INFORMATION

On March 29, 2021, the Dutch police raided the data center that holds the nostate.net server, seizing the server itself as part of a criminal investigation into terrorism. Nostate.net is a collective that provided a platform for international movement websites from prisoner solidarity groups, multiple campaign collectives, anti-summit pages and international counter-information. Significant sites that used nostate.net as a platform that have been targeted by this repressive attack by the Dutch police are Anarchist Black Cross Berlin, Montreal Counter-Info, Northshore Counter-Info, Act For Freedom Now! (www.resisters.org), etc. (https://actforfreedom.now!/) and 325.

We as a collective are aware that this was not just an attack by the Dutch police, but was done in coordination with the Counter Terrorism Unit of the United Kingdom in connection with their recent repressive attacks upon the anarchist circles in this country. Not only have they been threatening ourselves, but recently threatened nostate.net unless they were told to remove content that we have not. Along with this, they demanded information be given to them of the identity of anyone involved in 325. The extent that the authorities will go to attack us and anyone they suspect of aiding us is of no surprise to us; the examples through history of state forces repressing anyone who dares to stand and fight them are numerous.

This repressive attack should be seen as an attack upon all counter-information, on anarchist circles internationally. Under the present ongoing environment of Covid-19 and the repressive actions of states around the world, it is no surprise that the repressive wave will continue. On an international level: the recent repression against anarchist comrades Gabriel Pomba da Silva, with co-operation between Spanish, Italian and Portuguese states, is a more than obvious recent example. Our minds cast back to the repression of Indymedia in Germany and Greece, as well as not so long ago, the imprisonment of comrades involved in Calzado’s, Parodo, Armantas and Crux Nera Anarchists in Italy. Through time, the anarchist movement internationally has had its modes of communicating to the people attacked with countless anarchist publications having their premises raided, comrades arrested and even publications being destroyed, even burned, as in the not too distant past with Alfredo M. Bonanno’s “Armed Joy” in Italy, even Conspiracy of Cells of Fire’s “The Sun Still Rises” in Greece.

It is no coincidence that this repressive attack occurs now, after our recent publication of “325 #12 - Against the Fourth and Fifth Industrial Revolutions”. This publication that we feel hits to the core of what the states and capitalism are pushing forward, before and even more so now, under the cover of the Covid-19 pandemic, is a direct threat to their plane of salvation, of roboticizing and atomizing everything. Their attack has momentarily affected our distribution of the publication both online and physically, but it has inevitably failed. The technocrats that want to shape our world into one where technological militarized prison society are being exposed, not only by ourselves but by the already growing antagonistic internationally upon their infrastructure. This is what they fear, that this can grow and this is why they have come after us. From what we know, the police who are trying to hunt us down are relying upon tactics from their old repressive book of tricks, attempting to get others to snitch and shutting down counter-information. Ever since their “Operation Rice” aimed at attacking the anarchist circles in Bristol, they have only caught one person involved in an attack, but not anyone involved in the Informal Anarchist Federation or the other countless anarchist attacks. Clearly, they have not repressed any fire of rebellion as the riot, attack on the police station and burning of cop cars last month shows.

It has been silent for too long on this island of conformity, while the world outside starts to burn; those embers are still glowing and we feel their warmth. More than ever, there is an absolute need for co-ordination internationally and also likely exacerbate the divisions within black populaces and counteract the possibility and effectiveness of further rebellions. We can look to Minnesota, which has already been experiencing renewed uprisings and whose police force has employed at least one local community organization (the “Minnesota Freedom Fighters”) to stop protesters from “turning violent,” as an example of what this will look like in practice.

In terms of security culture and surveillance of anarchist activity, it’s important for us to be careful when assessing the information that law enforcement chooses to reveal to us. When police investigations are revealed to be inept or relatively unsophisticated, with some of the intelligence gathering on protesters here last summer, we should conclude not that the police are far from behind what we expected, but that they are deliberately leaking information that might lead us to drop our guard.

In fact, Philadelphia has an entire operation dedicated to advanced intelligence gathering on its people—the Delaware Valley Intelligence Center (or “fusion center”)—is busy dossiering Anthony Smith, just south of Pleasant. When the DVIC was proposed, it was common for opponents to emphasize how little of a contribution the new facility would make to policing in the city, as though it was simply a waste of the city’s resources. The truth, though, is that we don’t really know what is going on in the DVIC. The only conceivable new contribution it’ll be seeking would involve innovations in surveillance (like biometrics) and massive privacy violations, and the state is not going to reveal to the public what technologies and resources it is using to surveil and repress us.

According to local publication The Declaration in April 2013, “One facet of a fusion center’s day-to-day operations involves either civilian or privatized intelligence analysts examining ‘suspicious activity reports’ filed by law enforcement. These analysts then create threat assessments based on these reports” that they then share with law enforcement. We get more of what a sense of this like from the Nationwide SARA Initiative (NSI), which has 16 behaviors that authorities claim are “indicative of terrorist activity.” When an individual is identified with any of these pre-crime behaviors, that makes them eligible for targeted state surveillance. The DVIC has a whole sector that is dedicated to investigating what they call “terrorism.”

Anarchist activity, whether we choose to approach it as part of a broader social movement or as clandestine individual actions, will always be counteracted by some sort of repression, if it proves powerful enough. We have countless examples before us, today and in the past, of how this works, and we have the capacity to consider in advance what the state’s responses to ours and others’ actions might be. Let’s try to study these examples and think in advance about how we might in turn counteract those responses so that our moves forward make us stronger, rather than weaker.

LOCAL REPRESSION UPDATES

Anthony Smith, a prominent Black liberation activist, has released a statement to his supporters regarding his case. His trial has been pushed back to the first week of this year. Anthony is on house arrest wearing a monitor. He is accused of setting fire to a police car during the May 2020 unrest against the killing of George Floyd. Black liberation prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal released a statement thanking his supporters. This follow-up piece was opened and his supporters organized an email and phone zap demanding his freedom. Mumia is scheduled to undergo an open-heart surgery April 19th.

The Philadelphia Police Department sent out emails on April 8th to registered community organizations asking for help policing a platform set up following the Derek Chauvin trial. Up Against the Law has released a statement condemning the emails and is offering support to any registered community organization that wishes to turn down the request without reprisal.

Additionally, PPD is increasing police presence throughout certain neighborhoods and the governor has authorized the deployment of the National Guard. One thousand members of the guard are authorized to remain in Philadelphia for 90 days, a time period that could be extended or shortened at governor Wolf’s discretion. As of mid-April, police have been seen along 52nd St in West Philly and in Center City in higher than usual numbers.

PPD officers Christopher Burton, Charles McCaig, Michel Braun, David Tamamoto, and Matthew Pone- nte shot and killed 24 year old black man James Alexander following a traffic stop in North Philly. Police pulled over a car James was in with three other
people that allegedly ran a stop sign on April 7th. Po-
fice say a shootout occurred as James fled and shot
at them. Police fired on James 28 times. He died at
Albert Einstein Medical Center. One officer was hos-
pitalized after being shot in the foot. It was later dis-
averished that police had misidentifie James Alex-
ander, incorrectly believing that he had a warrant.

Emails obtained through a Freedom of Information Act
lawsuit by a group called Citizens for Responsi-
bility & Ethics in Washington reveal that FPD asked
for help from the DEA monitoring program last year.
The DEA then carried out an on-the-ground and digital
surveillance of protesters. The inter-agency collabora-
tion lasted at least between June 2 and June 7, 2020.

A 2013 law banning the creation of guns on gun parts
using 3-D printers has been amended to include regu-
lation of non-3-D printed gun parts in Philadelphia.
The amendment makes it illegal to buy, sell, or transfer
unfinished receivers (commonly called 80% lowers) and
the tools and machines that would complete said
receivers into functional gun parts without a federal
license. The law does not prohibit the creation of guns
from these materials, or their possession, and does not
apply outside of Philadelphia.

**SOME QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER IN THE HOUSING STRUGGLES**

It seems that housing struggles are the new black. An-
archists and anti-authoritarians in Philly have become
more visibly involved in eviction defense, squatting,
camp defense, and support for houseless people than
ever before. The following are some questions to ask
ourselves as we continue to struggle against housing
insecurity in all the forms it takes. There isn’t a right
or single answer to any of these questions, but pon-
dering them can sharpen our thoughts and actions.

What are our goals participating in housing
struggles? Do we want to contribute to new forms of
archic, self-organized housing, like autonomous
squats and camps? Are we more interested in sim-
ply disrupting the legal and property systems that
make sweeps and evictions happen, defending
�amps, blocking evictions, harassing sheriffs and
landlords? Do we imagine concentrating on a spe-
cific block or neighborhood, or taking a more diffuse
approach that isn’t limited to one neighborhood?
Is the focus on housing another attempt to
find a rupture that can open into insurrection?

How do we want to relate to those we struggle with? Are
we fighting for ourselves, to carve out spaces to live in,
store supplies, and fight out of? Or are we struggling for
others, to stop the system from continuing to further
harm those already marginalized? Perhaps it’s some
combination of the two we’re seeking — housing our-
selves and finding accomplices who want to do the same,
forming networks that can grow up to open housing,
fight evictions, and provide mutual aid around housing.

How do we understand the housing struggle in rela-
tion to other struggles? What would it look like to link
the fights for housing to other fights? Can we connect
the struggle for housing to struggles for policing, or
white supremacy? How much stronger would we be if
we did? How much more spread thin? ★

**DARK CLOTHES ATTRACT HEAT**

It looks like summer could come early this year and
early reports indicate it could be a hot one. When
preparing for a long, hot summer, it’s important to
consider what to wear. This is particularly important
these days. If last summer was any indication, you
never know when you will find a cool spot right outside
your door. For anarchists, wearing all black is often thought
of as an outfit for any occasion. It might be time
to consider other alternatives. Sometimes, instead
of a black balaclava, a grey or light balaclava might be better.

This is not a critique of the black bloc. Every year or
so someone forecasts the end of the black balaclava,
arguing that the tactic has worn out its use, conditions
have changed, and it has become counterproductive.
If the black balaclava was to disperse in response to some-
one prophesying its end, it would have long ago. What
these predictions neglect is the very basic reason for the
predominance of the black bloc: surveillance cameras.
Every time someone says the black balaclava is over for this
or that reason, they are proven wrong and this is why.

The black bloc is one of the best forms of protection
against video surveillance. But what the proponents
of the black bloc often miss is that the black bloc is
more than an outfit. The black bloc has become synon-

ture. It’s basic economic logic, as that infrastructure
would be a wash if it did not produce for at least that
length of time. They won’t willingly take a loss, as it is
literally illogical from the market perspective. Even if
some would; others won’t, as they prop up this dump-
ster fire of a situation farther forward, beyond several
points of no return that we have continued to shout
about.

If we want them to stop, we have to make them
stop. They won’t do it on their own. Certainly not signifi-
cantly enough.

I could continue trying to convince you. Remind you
of the proximity of smelting plants, incinerators, and
landfills to the most marginalized aspects of the popu-
lation. Poor, brown, black, indigenous — utterly
— but we should be past that. Violence is poisoning
us all, regardless of who it’s closer to.

We are hearing more and more about these
public proclamations claiming ownership of the
streets, and more interest in tearing up that suffocat-
ing asphalt tarmac. Frustratingly, the alternative to lanes
is not sharing consumer habits or littering, it is
halting production. We’ve acknowledged that very
few companies and institutions create most of the
trash on earth, and as the saying goes, they “have
names and addresses.” The counter-insurgency proj-
ext of this society, particularly the United States, has
been torpidly successful in recruiting energies other-
wise, and even decentralizing its continuity so that
one less CEO or politician does not crumble the em-
pire. Still, they and their kingdoms are not a bad place
to start. ★

**TO ATTACK IS AMONG MY INSTINCTS**

The only ethical existence in this society is outside of
the law. That’s not to say that crime is inherently ethical, as
there are plenty of heinous acts that are criminalized,
but freedom is particularly criminalized beneath this suf-
focating society. Right down to how we feed and house
ourselves must conform to capitalist notions of prop-
erty and currency, requiring obedience to so many author-
ities. Abiding that law and order help maintain structures
of capitalism, white supremacy, patriarchy, settler-colon-
ialism, hetero-normativity, speciesism, and much more.
Reform is just the rearranging of faces or enforcement
within oppressive structures, whereas those acts that are
liberating strike at the heart of their control — physical-
ly, emotionally, psychologically, and spiritually. Those
means of physical control that are destabilized, in partic-
sular, enable so many more to also liberate themselves.
If someone is not a participant in their own liberation, for
that matter, it will never be authentic. Petty crimes may be
a means of survival, or better yet enable future acts
against society’s control, but are not an end in themselves.

So many people are criminalized right from birth, and already
found themselves in those battles without it being liberatory.
We see it time and again with the police executions of black
and indigenous peoples, with hyper-masculine executions
of trans women and other feminicides. The cycles of poverty
keep so many from coming up, because otherwise the wealthy could
not exist. The very notions of currency and property propor-
tate these dynamics — the symbolic values of civilization
and they alongside mass society require policing to continue.

If we wish to live deliberately, rather than beneath the coer-
cions and false auspices of this society, we can not remain
civil — or anything that entails. We can abscond to the mar-
groove, finding fulfillment among ourselves, and attack this so-
ciety as barbarian hosts until it’s only potential value lies
with archaeologists and their grave-robbing landfill ob-
session. Anything less is complicity in empire’s massacres. ★

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your emotional state, your mental state, so I feel like if I felt that like and I know there’s way worse blocks than mine, if they got cleaned up they would probably feel a lot better. This is why many researchers have come to the belief that the body needs to connect with the earth – quite literally the soil beneath the asphalt, even. This is most often presented as taking breaks from work to come in contact with those natural elements, touching soil for the mental, emotional, and physical health benefits – only justified in the reports by increasing the worker’s productivity, that likely de-stress that soil, in turn. Activist worthwhilc for their own sake become further commodified and confined by cringe-worthy terms like “earthing.” Recuperation feeds the machine.

Landfills, cities and industry only further our separation from the earth. All of them form distinct barriers between us and other natural elements, filling the land with trash, and reinforce the misconception that we are separate from them. They divert water in destructive and poisonous ways, increasing flooding and leaching toxins into groundwater. These leachates prevent sufficient cycling too – that is the breakdown and reabsorption of organic matter that sustains and promotes new growth. Composting is a reasonable alternative on a small scale, but does nothing when faced with ever-renewed production, particularly of inorganic materials on an industrial scale.

"It feels like a Manhattan trash heap in here," my roommate says. Their radiator seems to be broken. Even though the thermostat reads in the low 60’s, the radiator is scalding hot. Trash generates heat. Asphalt retains it. Cycles of human-generated overheating persist.

The Fresh Kills landfill in Staten Island was closed in 2001 after threatening to become the highest point on the east coast, after some decades of operation. It was intentionally placed to smother wetlands in order to create firmer ground to build on. Many airports and malls throughout the area have also been directly atop wetlands, as they provide a large flat area to suffocate, though many of them have begun sinking in course. After closing Fresh Kills, the last of New York City’s local landfills, their trash is now shipped elsewhere in the country – exporting the negative effects and responsibilities onto others, including in Pennsylvania.

Seven years later, a plan for a nearly thirty year construction project costing hundreds of millions of dollars began to convert the landfill into a city a park. This plan consists of burying the trash beneath dirt and grass to make the land hospitable. A system of buried pipes within the landfill allowed the built-up Methane from trash decomposition beneath the surface escape and potentially be collected for further fuel, in its own way illustrating the excess of maintaining society as it is. That’s before noting that a great deal of plumbing infrastructure was built while the landfill was still operational to collect the rainwater that filters through the trash to be treated through a variety of chemical and biological processes. The New York Times report continues, "The clean water is discharged into the Arthur Kill and the remaining sludge is dried, formed into cakes, and shipped to a landfill in Pennsylvania." Yes, the landfill is creating even more trash.

PBS and NPR reported last year that oil and gas companies, as producers of plastic, were in on the nuke that plastic could be recycled. "Reduce, reuse" should be feeling more applicable right about now, as they’re the only things resembling sustainable practices within the tri-state. The attempts to ban plastic bags in a few cities speaks to that acknowledgment, including Philly before it quickly suspended it when faced with the pandemic, but it’s always been so much bigger than individual choices or authority’s solutions. Standing downwind of an aluminum smelting plant could also begin to discourage faith in "green" industry, and other allegedly new deals.

The logic of legislation fills the landfills with worn out turbine blades and plots overthrows of foreign governments to maintain its latest toxic battery obsessions (i.e. lithium mines in Bolivia), reinforced by the logic of the market. The graffiti along the bike trail last month that read, "for sustainability, for freedom, against civilization," gets closer to the point.

It’s well known that 70% of the world’s emissions are generated by a small number of companies. Industry, and particularly the Pentagon, have toxic hands – thumbs pointed against the earth like so many emperors proclaiming death sentences. In kind, they are the largest creators and users of these products that litter the landscape – and regardless of increasingly intentional consumerism, it continues to be profitable and they continue their practices. Even if no new infrastructure were produced from this day forward, these practices would still continue 20-40 years into the future with wearing all black and a mask. In the United States, anarchists sometimes use the term "bloc" interchangeably with the clothes. Someone might say "You should throw away your bloc after the riot."

In case it has become necessary to explain, a bloc is not a set of clothes; it is the grouping or gathering of people, acting together for a common purpose. In the case of the black bloc, it is, of course, the group of people wearing all black. In fact, the group is what makes wearing all black protection against surveillance, confounding observers about who is doing what. It is not as simple as "no face, no case." This may seem obvious since everyone knows a black bloc isn’t a single person. But when anarchists lose sight of the bloc as group and fail to consider what kind of group works best, it can defeat the purpose of the black bloc.

Sometimes the occasion calls for a grey or light bloc instead. Grey bloc and light bloc are two names for the same thing – I prefer to call it light bloc since "grey" incorrectly implies wearing monochrome grey. There is a lot of discussion about light bloc among anarchists last year after light bloc was written about in it that is readily available, so it might need explanation: like the black bloc, you cover your face, hair and other identifiable features, but, unlike the black bloc, you don’t wear uniform colors or the same colors as other people in your bloc. The key is that your bloc is wearing clothes they wouldn’t wear anywhere else (doubling layers to shed also helps). This shrouded set of tactics are what makes it a bloc. The light bloc tactic is especially useful if the gathering you want to join is a riot or other cases where your bloc wants to blend into a large crowd. The main benefit of shedding the all-black outfit is that your bloc doesn’t appear as separate from another, larger group.

"Sometimes it is harder to pin down and there is just the feeling that the black bloc has become separated from the other people taking similar actions."

When to adopt light bloc depends, for the most part, on the group dynamics and the composition of the crowd. For example, your black "bloc" turns out to be just a small affinity group and, as a result, you can easily be singled out by police and pacifists. Or you arrive in a new neighborhood and feel people there are suspicious, giving everyone in black a wide berth. As a result, the bloc remains separated from the crowd. These are good occasions to consider a light bloc. In addition to internal group dynamics, you might consider a costume change when the police start preemptively targeting black bloc, making it more difficult to take the actions you planned.

Sometimes it is harder to pin down and there is just the feeling that the black bloc has become separated from the other people taking similar actions. Ultimately, the best way to learn the limits of black blocs is from experience. All this article is meant to do is remind you that there are alternatives, so you don’t get stuck in a rut.

That being said, the all-black uniform has its use. Wearing indistinguishable clothes still seems to be the best dress code for confusing police, media, or whoever, and it shouldn’t be cast aside lightly. At the same time, it’s good to remember that black blocs are not foolproof. The police can still identify you with biometrics, use surveillance foot traffic to track your movements, or employ classic methods like informant. This is made even easier if your black bloc outfit isn’t all that different from your daily street-wear, you forget to cover your shoes, or you hang your teargas-infused mask in your closet after a long night. Clothes can be used as evidence no matter their color.

Like anything, light bloc is a calculated risk. Depending on the situation, what you lose in anonymity by wearing identifiable clothes can be regained by blending into a much larger crowd. A black bloc depends on the size of the group but it’s a group that can be isolated, singled out, and surrounded. A light bloc can blur its own boundaries and appear to dissolve into a crowd. Consider adding some light clothes to your wardrobe this summer.★
MORE THAN A THREE-WAY FIGHT

Whatever clouds gathered around the Capitol on January 6th have long since parted. No Storm — or coup, or insurrection — ever materialized. Now that the news cycle has moved on, it could be time to shed some light and reflect on what happened. Since the Capitol riot, anarchists have debated the significance of this event and speculated on the intentions of the rioters. While there have been fierce disagreements, there has often been a shared underlying assumption that we can treat this enemy as a unified crowd on a common mission. If pressure is applied, one would admit that the crowd was made up of a diverse set of groups with opposing — sometimes incommensurate — goals. What gets trickier is holding this complex picture in mind when interpreting the riot itself. While anarchists can be certain that this crowd was made up of countless, it is very difficult to tell how that all held together and in what direction they are going.

The far right's next steps will likely be determined by the successes and failures of the “Stop the Steal” rally. However, their understanding of what they accomplished will widely differ depending on their intentions and newfound ideological framings of the events. For some, it was probably an attempted coup. For others, it could have been a dry run or practice coup for when the time is ripe. Others still likely saw themselves as reinforcement to protect their right-ful ruler, Donald Trump. All of these interpretations that have been thrown around and debated are likely true — because they can coexist. These competing visions converged on the Capitol steps accompanied by participants who aimlessly followed the crowd. Insurrectionary fantasies aside, the rally led to a riot that led to an occupation — a takeover of the Capitol.

I realize that the generic term “occupation” can be deceptive or risk downplaying the threat the occupiers posed to the Capitol. After all, some entered the Capitol armed with flappers, pepper spray, zip ties, tasers, and guns. Yet, there are two reasons to avoid the sensationalist media terminology like “insurrection” to describe this occupation: 1) these terms define the occupation only by its extremes, flattening the crowd under the umbrella of its most militant elements and 2) it equates any form of militancy with insurrection based on a pacifist understanding of an occupation. Anarchists can attend occupations armed, but that doesn’t magically transform an occupation into an insurrection. Of course, we should not equate armed anarchists with the occupiers of the Capitol since anarchists would have entirely different aims and the opportunity to do so. The comparison here is only meant to help illuminate the diversity of the crowd — against those who would see the Capitol rioters as generic “insurrectionists.”

The rally at the Capitol might be better understood as part of the trend identified by Endnotes — following the example of the Antifa movement and the development of “non-movements.” In contrast to a traditional social movement organized into a coherent collective, a non-movement is made up of a disunited group that takes a collective action. As Endnotes points out, this disparity can still be expressed through the presumed unity of a shared identity even without shared organization. Of course, Endnotes is concerned with oppressed identities and non-movements that struggle for liberation. But couldn’t a similar descriptor be used to describe the white nationalists, western chauvinists, Christian fundamentalists, conspiracists, and nihilists that found a loose harmony in MAGA?

“Their obedient, bootlicking feitization of hierarchy sometimes means we miss the ways they are decentralized and able to act autonomously.”

In this way, what we face is much more than a three-way fight. That the far right tends to multiply battle lines would not, I think, be disputed by the authors who popularized the concept of a three-way fight. For these antifascist theorists, what is important is that the right is divided between a right wing loyal to the powerful and a far right that (at least currently) opposes them. For anarchists, this would mean fighting on two different terrains against our enemies in power and the far right — a good reminder that the enemies of our enemy are far from friends. Yet, it is difficult to place the Capitol riot in one of these two categories. For the proponents of the three-way fight concept, this event could be understood as the moment MAGA became clearly oppositional. However, the rally was, on some level at least, a pure expression of loyalty to the system, to the president.

Calling the Capitol riot a non-movement might imply a similarity to the horizontal, decentralized mass movements seen on the “left” since at least the anti-globalization movement. This would be misleading, since part of what makes the far right decentralized is competing relationships to hierarchy. The fact that theolulu gives the opportunity to do so by my view, confuses observers into thinking of MAGA as a coalition with a shared goal. From this vantage point, the aftermath of the Capitol riot will be seen as in-fighting and a series of splits within a hierarchic movement. Looking at the Capitol riot as a non-movement means recognizing that these divisions were already there and the fighting is not between insiders. What this means is that the Capitol riot was never dependent on the harmony of its participants and, therefore, neither will their next action.

The fact that the far right can continue on somewhat unaffected by the divisions in their non-movement doesn’t mean that this event won’t change the shape of things to come. We can already perceive a change in relationship to the police. When footage taken at the Capitol initially circulated, many seasoned activists were shocked by the lack of police presence and speculations arose that the rioters would not be arrested for their actions. While white people will predictably be treated preferentially by the American justice system, at least 400 people have been charged for their participation in these events. The arrests, plus the inevitable street fighting with police, will continue to lead more factions of the far right to an anti-police position. Will this unify far-right street demonstrations in opposition to the police? Doubtful.

The far right will likely adapt to anti-police elements within their ranks and employ this sentiment opportunistically whenever police stand in the way. Ultimately, those who were shocked to discover that the far right can be met with police brutality and arrests will be less shocked to discover that the State’s response to this event will be directed at “extremism” in general. It will come as no surprise when legislation and strategy suppos edly designed to repress our enemies comes down on the heads of Black Lives Matter or antifa instead.

The State is predictable. The far right has a tendency to surprise their enemies. Their obedient, bootlicking feitization of hierarchy sometimes means we miss the ways they are decentralized and able to act autonomously. We tend to see their actions as failed attempts to produce a unified, organized coup following a traditional fascist strategy. Certainly, there are some among their ranks that see it that way too. But if we get distracted by the fascists’ fantasies of what ought to happen, we might miss the power they discover in relatively horizontal and ad hoc networks of non-movements. If there is anything definitive to say about a complex assembly in the Capitol riot, it is that they shared a willingness to experiment together to see what worked, whether it perfectly fits their ideology or not. We might see them trying something similar again or they might experiment with something closer. Either way, they in some form will be back.

PHILADELPHIA: ON LANDFILLS AND CITIES

Pumping hydraulics, grinding metal, crushing glass — I wake to the sound of garbage trucks. Peering outside I watch the workers empty recycling bins and trash cans, both, into the same truck. For it to be a charade they’d have to at least put them into different cans. It’s all been hashed and burned. Philadelphia and the whole United States — has had difficulty in recent years maintaining contracts for recycling programs. China long ago began refusing the already environmentally costly ships filled with plastic from the United States. Domestically, even towns that trash was shipped past by train have lodged complaints about smells and mess, as landfills overflow across the planet. The way landfills cover the ground with human-made debris, in fact, is not so different from the way cities suffocate the earth.

Philadelphia was rated the “dirtiest city” in America, recently. Local sanitation worker Terrill Haiger took umbrage with this, taking it upon himself to go beyond the call of his already laborious duties and taking up a platform to “better the city.” One person who already works in the most dangerous civil service profession in the country taking a great deal more weight of society’s shortcomings upon his shoulders for the sake of aesthetics and pride — when, in fact, cities are no better than landfills. He embodies the overworked sentimentality of the non-profit industry, and the short-sighted conclusions of activism, without ascribing to either.

In his battle to overcome the litter in the city, Haiger did rightly say, “Your environment can be attached to