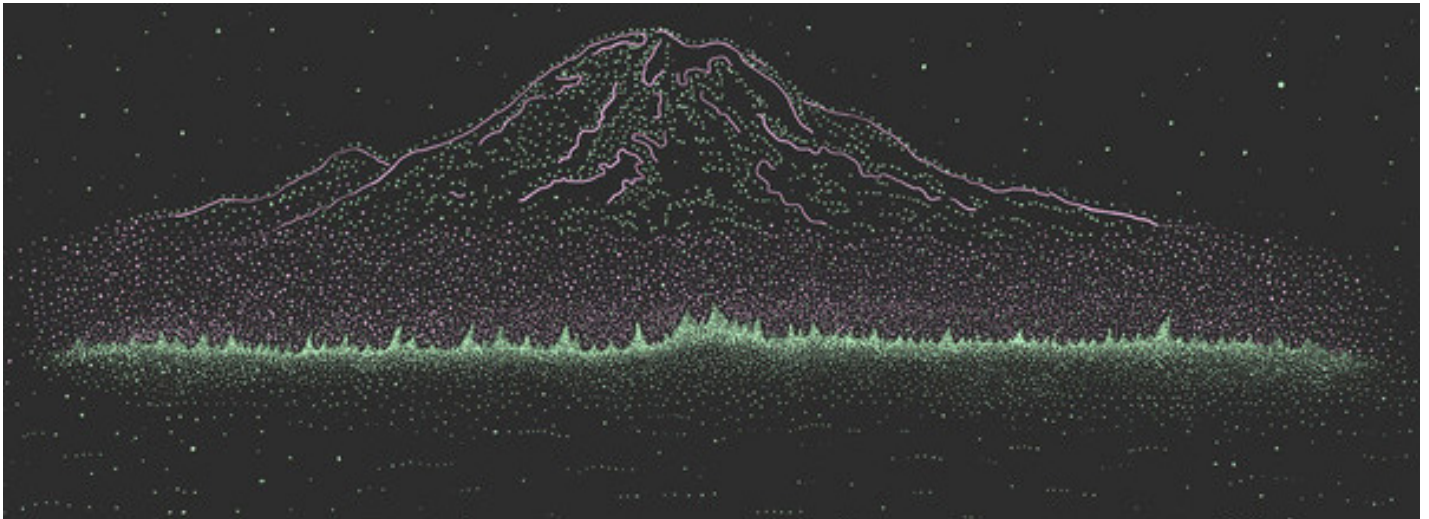


# Storming Heaven

seattle anarchist periodical

issue 5 spring 2014

*"Though I had not managed to commit the crime, I had at least been gently bathed in the fringe of its' dawning."*  
-jean genet



## Grand Jury Resister Returns Home

Hi, my name is Steven Jablonski. I am an anarchist and Grand Jury Resister.

After living in exile in Canada for about a year and a half, I returned to the United States about a month ago. My return was not meant to be secretive but I felt the need to take some time for myself to collect my thoughts and decompress before I releasing an official statement. I now feel ready to break the silence and clarify some of the confusion around me being subpoenaed for the Seattle Grand Jury investigating May Day 2012 in Seattle.

In July of 2012 several people in the northwest received subpoenas to testify for a Grand Jury investigating anarchist activity and property destruction that occurred at the 2012 Seattle May Day Anti-Capitalist Demo. In late July I received a phone call from someone claiming they were an FBI agent who stated that I had been subpoenaed to testify in front of Grand Jury and how they could deliver that subpoena to me. A subpoena only goes into effect once it is "served" to a person, which means the physical subpoena must be hand delivered to the person. I made the decision to resist

## A Means To A Means To A Means...

In August of 2012 voters in King County approved a tax levy to fund the construction of a new Juvenile Detention Center at 12th and Alder. Those in opposition to this re-build began to organize themselves amid a flurry of activity and conversation. In the end, some posters went up, an anarchist analysis of the new project was published in the local anarchist periodical, a few meetings happened, a few noise demos? and then nothing but the same old activist strategies, the same old campaigns.

Recently a call has been issued for the re-emergence of an anarchist response to the construction of the new jail. This is an effort to begin to ask ourselves why and how we would answer this call. It is not an attempt create a program for struggle or an outline for how conflict should play out, but to share a process of reflection with a broader group of anarchists in the Seattle area. The struggle against prison society is comprised of many on- going and specific battles against existing prisons and attempts to disrupt the building of new jails and detention centers. We seek to reflect on some of the ways that conflict against prison society has manifested in the past and to apply lessons learned in the Northwest and elsewhere to the context that is unfolding before us. This text is our humble contribution towards the development of an ongoing project of (self) critical analysis and attack.

**continued on page 6**

to be firm in my belief of noncooperation with the State. I was fairly certain that if I refused to answer the Grand Jury's questions that I would be held in civil contempt and placed in prison. Without passing any judgment on the decisions other Grand Jury Resisters have made, I did not feel comfortable presenting myself to the State for a prison sentence. I understand that jail and prison are a fact of life for many people in this world and I also understand that by engaging in anarchist activity one can also risk imprisonment. I want to do everything possible to resist cooperation with the state and I also refuse to willingly walk into my own prison cell.

I arrived in Canada on August 4th, 2012. By November I had started living in Montreal, Quebec. Throughout my time spent in Montreal I was fucked with by both CSIS(Canadian Security Intelligence Service) and the SPVM (Montreal City Police). Over the course of my time in Canada I was routinely followed and approached by name on the street and outside of my house. During these interactions I was told to go back to my home country and that they were just waiting to deport me. I was placed in a SPVM car multiples times including been picked up by cop car a block away from my house at 2 in the morning and driven to the outskirts of the city where they took my phone, cash, shoes and jacket. A couple months later I was suspiciously jumped by two unknown people 2 blocks from my house that made no effort to take any of my belongings, but kept calling me an "American Faggot". In each of these interactions it has been clear that these people knew of my legal situation.

Despite all of the harassment I was also able to have the love and friendship of great people in Montreal. I essentially showed up in Montreal not knowing anybody and these people made sure that I had everything that I needed. Quickly through both highs and the lows of these relationships transformed into bonds that I am sure will be long lasting.

Clearly the State is not happy with my others decisions to not cooperate with this investigation. Despite this, all except one of the people involved in the investigation have maintained strict noncooperation with the investigation. But the investigation is now coming to a close. The past year and a half has most certainly been the most interesting and difficult year of my life. With the help of both old friends and



new friends, anarchists both near and far, and the inspiration I have felt from my fellow Grand Jury Resisters and comrades, some things are finally coming to a close.

My exile has also turned out to be rather expensive but due to the financial support I received from a whole lot of people I was taken care of very well. I want to specifically thank the Committee Against Political Repression and comrades in Vancouver BC and Guelph ON and friends in both the Bay Area and New York. I also want to thank my friends in the Puget Sound, the closest friends I have in the world. Their support and encouragement has been insurmountable in my resistance, mental health and emotional health. I also want to speak about how inspired I have been by the countless solidarity actions that took place all over the world, as well as anyone else who has offered any gesture of support.

I also want to be clear that I stand in full solidarity with those anonymous vandals who attacked the William Kenzo Nakamura Courthouse in Seattle on May 1st 2012. There are few things I desire more than to see institutions of power targeted and attacked. I strongly identify with the insurrectionary anarchist tendency and believe that those acts of crime and rebellion that occurred on that day in Seattle serve as a small example of how people can physically attack institutions of Capital in their never-ending quest for liberation.

As excited as I am to be home, like most things in life the experience is bitter-sweet. I have had some wonderful experiences over the past year and a half and returning home has not been an easy thing to do. As frustrating as the past nineteen months have been, I know I am coming out of this experience as a stronger person with stronger bonds, and clearer idea on what affinity, friendship, and anarchy actually mean to me. But ultimately, I'm just glad to finally be home.

Solidarity with all other Grand Jury Resisters and those in Exile!  
Freedom for Amelie, Carlos, and Fallon! (The 5E3 Prisoners)

Long Live Anarchy!

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## An Interview with Steve on His Return Home

**SH :What are some broad reflections about your time in abstention?**

SJ:Repression works. I say this not to be demoralizing and act defeated, but I want to be really honest that this is something I have been thinking about frequently for the past two years. While I was gone I had a lot of time to reflect and share stories with new and old friends and this was a pretty constant topic of conversation. Granted I'm only 25 so I have only been around for so long but I feel like the fall out from things like the RNC in 2008, The Asheville 11, G20 repression in Toronto, etc, are important to analyze. These are all things that very clearly took a hard toll on anarchists involved in these actions. I think it's real to say that some people are still recovering from these things but also that some people still have no idea how to recover from these things. I don't say this to victimize myself or others as simply being targets of state repression but to be real about the fact that repression really does fuck people up.

That being said, repression works, but it's by no means the end all be all of a situation, and there are definitely lots of positive things people can learn from experiences of repression. Also everyone is already fucked up from this world to begin with, so it's not as if repression just creates these problems out of nowhere, but I would argue it definitely does expand whatever issues/problems a person is probably already dealing with. And though repression works, resistance inspires. Not to get all rhetorical but I think it's totally true. Repression does beat people

down and dis-empower people but acts of resistance can be something that keeps people struggling against domination.

Obviously I have also been reflecting on a lot of other things like the relationship between friendship and affinity, the concept of strictly anti-social anarchism, the horrors of direct democracy and combative syndicalism. But, I'm trying to keep fairly positive with the first question, so I think I'll leave it at that.

**SH:While we have all had comrades taken from us in a variety of forms, as US anarchists, we are unaccustomed to the notion of interacting with those displaced but not imprisoned by the state. Leaving us with little skills to articulate solidarity and show support. What were some of the major failings of US anarchists in terms of responding to exiled comrades over the last two years?**

SJ: Yeah, there definitely are some failings that have happened over the past two years, but I do want to say that I think this is in large part due to anarchists in the US not really knowing how to interact with the idea of exile. I feel like for all parties involved, and most importantly myself and others that have been exiled, it has been extremely confusing to not only articulate but also communicate what solidarity and support we need. I'm doing my best to view this all as a learning process and have hopes that if and when something like this does happen again people

will be better equipped to deal with this form of repression. But there are certainly some critiques I have.

I feel like most of my critiques relate to personal relationships rather than the US anarchists as a whole. But I definitely felt fairly isolated from people and things going on with a lot of my friends back home, and I think with more communication and support that could have been different. My brother actually ended up passing away a few months into my exile. Some of my friends dealt with it in a really amazing way which I really appreciate it but there were others who I thought would have reached out and offer some kind of support. I think one thing I've realized about supporting those in exile is that the everyday things of life are still happening and it's still nice to be able to share some kind of connection with the people you care about back home. It feels good to have those relationships feel like they are continuing in a different way rather than just being put on hold for however long the person might be gone.

As far as less personal forms of support, I think it's a really hard thing to figure out. In my case I determined early on that I wanted to be fairly public about the way I was dealing with shit. As time progressed and the repression hit me pretty hard I decided that continuing to be vocal about my situation was what I wanted to do. But everything is contextual and I had a pretty unique situation, I was subpoenaed but not served. So I didn't even have any legal obligation to show up, I technically was not and have not broken any laws. There are other people like Kerry and Dennison who got served and just decided to not show up, they are off the radar now but this shit is definitely not over for them yet. So I would say that getting the word out about supporting people in exile is definitely something that US anarchists need to work on, but I'm still not quite sure how to do it in the most effective way.

**SH: Were there dynamic or unique responses to not only your situation but to the NW Grand Jury that you think should be expanded upon or recreated in the future?**

SJ: For sure, I think the sheer amount of solidarity actions was really inspiring. Just thinking off the top of my head I remember some courthouse in the Seattle area getting smashed just a few days after the first subpoenas went out, and I found that really fitting. There were some international actions that happened which were really cool too, I think some stuff in France and Athens. But yeah, just the way people responded so quick with a plethora of solidarity actions definitely emboldened and raised my spirits. Once I did start writing things I tried to be pretty clear that I support any and all attacks that target institutions of power, So it was nice to see that I was on the same page as a decent amount of people. Not that all the important actions were attacks, I thought the info nights demos/speak outs were really cool

things too. I also thought the pizza tagged on a billboard in Oakland was hella cool.

One solidarity action that really stands out though is the arson of the green condo in the central district in Seattle. I was really happy to see that post when I came across it. I think that the green anarchist/anti-civ perspective is something that influences a lot of the anarchists in the northwest, and definitely me as well. It was really cool to see the link people made between state repression and green condos as a new form of capitalism restructuring itself. Obviously it's also a pretty risky thing to do so I think it's really great that at a time of such intense repression there was someone(s) who stepped it up and set fire to some gross greenwashed bullshit.

**SH: Currently no one is imprisoned in response to this grand jury. Of the 6 of people subpoenaed there have been many responses. While you have maintained direct solidarity with those who chose imprisonment as their method of non-cooperation yours was a different tack. What brought you to the decision to not show up?**

*I don't  
give a  
fuck  
about  
rights.*

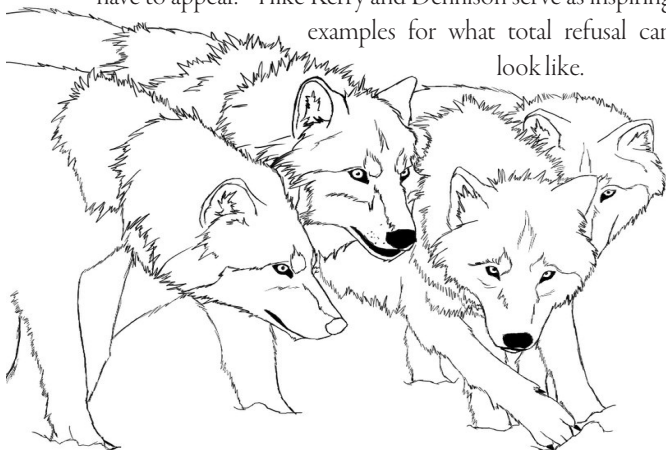
Well as said before I had a pretty unique situation. They never served me my papers so I was not legally bound to appear. But when all this shit first went down I started talking to my friends about it. After thinking for a few days I decided it was better to take the risk of trying to get out of the country rather than just presenting myself for a prison sentence. I mean in short, fuck prison, at that point I was like why would I want to be there if I could avoid it and have no legal repercussions. I definitely understand prison as a part of reality for a lot of people's lives, including my own giving my anarchist affiliation or whatever you want to call it. I can't say for sure in the exact ways my opinions have changed over the past two years but I can say that I wasn't really expecting to be gone for so long. Overall, I'm still happy with the decision I made about not showing up and not walking into my own cell. I'm also really inspired by the defiance both Dennison and Kerry have shown in their refusal to show up. Because those two can definitely face legal repercussions for their refusal but they did it anyway.

**SH: Since that decision, there has been two years of outside support done for all of those subpoenaed. Recently it would seem that outside supporters are placing an emphasis on those who chose jail. For us, this focus highlights a dramatic rift with a more left tendency in creating martyrs and thus be more capable of pushing a political agenda. For example, the idea that there is a 'legitimate' or correct way to resist this or any grand jury. What are your thoughts on this trend?**

SJ: For me it hit pretty hard when everyone got out of jail, obviously I was excited that everyone was out but a lot of people seemed to think that it meant supporting people was over. After people got out was when I experiencing the most intense repression as well, when I started getting picked up by the cop cars and routinely harassed on the street. I think most people didn't look down on not showing up and fleeing the country, but I think a lot of people just didn't really know what was going on because that method of resistance did not get as much attention. It's hard to say who the blame lies on for not spreading that information enough but it's something I have been thinking about a lot. But yeah, I did choose to resist in a different way and part of that could be because I do have different politics than some of the other people who were held in contempt. I'm glad that I didn't have to even think about whether to plead the Fifth Amendment or not, because to me that's some bullshit. I remember saying it in one of my first statements; I don't give a fuck about rights. I was not resisting the grand jury so people can have their rights protected or because it violates the constitution. I resisted the grand jury because I didn't want anyone to get charged with the crimes that happened on May Day 2012. I thought the courthouse, Niketown, Starbucks, Chase Bank, etc. getting their windows smashed in was great. I thought people fighting back against the cops and having each others back when the cops tried to snatch people was amazing. These are things I would like to see spread as much as possible. I did not for one second feel I was unjustly being targeted for my politics because my politics are in direct opposition to the FBI's. I thought it sucked, and that it was and has been stressful and defeating but I also know the world I want to live in can't have an FBI or a Niketown or a constitution. These are all the things I want to destroy. I'm not going to fault anyone for appearing and refusing to answer questions by asserting their Fifth Amendment, but it's not something that sounds very desirable to me.

So yeah, I definitely do think there is a rift between some people associated with the left and the way I chose to resist the grand jury. I think it's unfortunate that people think this way, but I also think a lot of the other ideas some of the leftists have are unfortunate. I'm not interested in speaking truth to power or becoming a martyr by going to prison, I want myself and everyone else to be as free as possible. I also want people to know that there are different ways of resisting grand juries and just because someone gets subpoenaed for one doesn't mean they

have to appear. I like Kerry and Dennison serve as inspiring examples for what total refusal can look like.



# June 11th

## International day of solidarity with Marie Mason, Eric McDavid, and all long-term anarchist prisoners

June 11th is quickly approaching. As a revitalization of the day of support for eco-prisoners, the International Day of Solidarity with Marie Mason, Eric McDavid and Long-Term Anarchist Prisoners has seen a huge outpouring of support and love for both Marie and Eric from all corners of the globe over the past 3 years.

To this end, for June 11th this year we're making a specific call. While in years past we may have emphasized certain aspects of long-term prisoner support (i.e. material support, building international ties, etc), this year we want to make it explicit.

As the June 11th organizing crew, we've often used the term "active remembering" to describe a process that feels crucial to us in doing long-term prisoner support. That is, we've come to see the necessity of not simply passively holding onto a set of names to "honor and remember," but to work towards a mode of support that ties our relationships with long-term anarchist and environmental prisoners into action in our/ their ongoing struggles.

Marie and Eric, being the focus of our June 11th organizing efforts, are both dedicated vegans imprisoned for acting in direct opposition to the destruction of the earth. In an effort to "actively remember" them and to engage with them in the present by connecting them to a continuance of their fight, we're encouraging people to tie their June 11th events into actively ongoing eco and animal liberation struggles.

This call is not proscriptive in any way; read what you want in these words and put them into action as you and your crew see fit. But remember, what we're calling for is not a ritualistic expression of solidarity, a once a year party in which we, for only an instant, call to mind those captured by the State. Rather, ours is a call to live the history of our imprisoned comrades, to take their names, their actions, and their struggles and to turn them back on the world that locks them up.

Ours is a call to action.

In solidarity with Marie and Eric; with all long-term anarchist prisoners; in defence of the earth; until all cages are empty!

[june11.org](http://june11.org)  
[supportmariemascon.com](http://supportmariemascon.com)  
[supporteric.org](http://supporteric.org)

## Context

The Pacific Northwest has a history of resistance to prisons and the police. The current focus on the Children and Family Justice Center (CFJC) is only the most recent iteration of a long struggle against the prison society in which we live. This new direction comes on the heels of the occupation movement, a winter of resistance to the police after the murder of John T. Williams in 2010 and 2011, a concerted campaign of resistance to the Northwest Detention Center in Tacoma between 2008 and 2010 and years of diffuse attacks against the police.

While resistance to police and prisons has been evolving over the past few years, the state has also been developing new strategies for control. The construction of the CFJC is part of a much larger project of 'community policing' that is becoming prominent in the Seattle area and around the country. Newly Elected Mayor Ed Murray declared, "Community policing must be the department's operating philosophy, not merely a series of special projects."

Neither a new or particularly dynamic concept, community policing is a direct response to liberal campaigns and calls for more oversight and accountability into local police forces. On their surface, such calls are obvious and worthwhile responses to the horrific brutality and inequalities of incarceration aimed at more marginalized communities. Unfortunately, these campaigns only end in driving the root of these issues deeper into hiding. Like a well-run bid for public office, these community-policing efforts create the facade of change. These reform efforts merely make the role of the police more insidious. The jail proposes to provide a variety of community-based alternatives to incarceration, increasing the influence of prison-style control within society. The jail is a concrete manifestation of this new logic of policing and therefore an interesting focal point for a continued struggle.

### *A means to a means...*

Often anti-prison struggles prioritize the goal of preventing the construction of a new prison and build a campaign towards this end. To us, a 'campaign' is a form of struggle that aims to make a specific change to a single issue with a linear goal oriented strategy. A well-organized strategy sets up a series of means that lead to a clear and static end, making it easy to declare victory or defeat. Often defeat. This defeat will eventually lead to an abandonment of that particular issue for another, or a scaling back of goals until the most impotent and useless gestures of conceit made by the enemy can be called a victory. We are surprised that the constant repetition of post-campaign burnout and the obviousness of failure, even when it is named something else, still manage to entice anyone to this form of struggle.

An important distinction between what we are calling for and campaigns is that their ends and not their means define them. We are not suggesting that individual tactics that have been used in past campaigns be thrown out in whole, but only adopted as a means when they make sense for continuing or enlarging the conflict we are engaged with. This is not an argument against trying to stop the jail from being built; rather it is an argument against seeing that as the only worthwhile pursuit inside a broader fight against prisons. If the state decides not to build the jail, the old one will still be sitting right next-door full of prisoners, the police will still be on the streets and millions of people will still be behind bars.

Soft policing, restorative justice, etc are all the logical outcomes of liberal reform campaigns. At times this is based on the recuperative nature of the state and at other times it is an inherent quality of campaigns that are in reality, pro-state and are just asking for a different and kinder way to lock people in cages. Attempts to improve the material conditions inside facilities or to decrease the frequency with which people of color are stopped and arrested are obvious and worthwhile endeavors. By the nature of our critique, anarchists could never be satisfied by these goals. If people fight for cheaper phone calls, better legal access, more nutritious food options, etc, that is great, but we refuse to limit our struggle to these goals alone. Although we present no solutions, it is through our desire for the negation of all forms of domination that we find a constructive path that is more in line with our critique.

We are not naive to our insignificance. It is unlikely that we have the agency to prevent this prison from being built. We also do not have a realistic strategy that guarantees the generalization of popular revolt, but it is in the means we employ, not the ends that we will find strength. It is daunting and confusing to decide how to engage with the asymmetric nature of this struggle and the diffuse nature of our enemy. We are strong precisely when we learn how to collaborate with each other in moments of attack, in moments of solidarity, in moments of support (materially as well as interpersonally). As we build affinity in this struggle, our experiences will be carried into the next, whether it is against another new prison or coal train or whatever.

### *Reproduction or contagion?*

The rejection of activism is not a new point, nor is the rejection of some sort of 'insurrectionary campaign', however, these distinctions can easily become muddled and we can quickly find ourselves either sliding towards a single issue, or losing steam over the lack of results we are able to produce. Just because we're critical of campaigns, formalized structures and single issue organizing, does not mean we're invulnerable to falling into these traps. Formulating this critique is a first

*Although we present no solutions, it is through our desire for the negation of all forms of domination that we find a constructive path that is more in line with our critique.*

step in avoiding this problem. However, critiques are only useful to us in their practical application. It is therefore crucial that this critique is consistently used as a reference point as we decide how to act.

While anarchists in recent years have emphasized the importance of reproducible attacks, we prefer to emphasize the contagion of autonomous struggle and perceive a qualitative difference between the two. The emphasis on small reproducible acts can easily lead us to rhetoric conducive to the construction of an ideological program for struggle that can be signed onto and copied without analysis or imagination. We understand that the sharing of tactics is important for the spread of antagonism and that all acts of rebellion against the dominant order are exciting and inspiring. However, we are interested in organizing our own struggles and encourage others to autonomously organize their own. This is the contagious outbreak of rebellion, which is not reliant on a unity of means. Our goal is not reproduction and repetition but the intentional action that emerges from a contextual analysis of the situation. To consistently engage in this difficult challenge can lend itself to a self-critical and permanently developing projectuality.

### *Disintegration*

Experience and historical analysis has shown that moments of rebellion inevitably disintegrate. This is not necessarily a problem that can be fixed. A projectual struggle does not take place in a single moment shared by friends, but over many years and in a broader context. The results of these experiences can rarely be seen in the short term, especially when things are falling apart. This disintegration is often characterized by court cases, jail time, interpersonal conflict and burn out. However, if we are not expecting revolution as an end goal, an end that anarchists alone do not have the agency to create, then we can prepare ourselves to face this disintegration with integrity by continuing to create a stronger network with an increased capacity to create conflict. It is not our intention to present a vague proposal, but to try to understand where we want to be when the current form of struggle comes to a material end. How do we develop and strengthen new and old relationships of affinity? How do we develop real relationships of care and support that last through moments of inactivity? How do we avoid fragmentation of autonomous groups along aesthetic or interpersonal lines rather than discovering and engaging with the very real hostility or camaraderie that can exist along political or tactical lines? How do we create the space to flesh out critique and analysis in order to develop new ideas and experiments? These are not passive, abstract questions. If nothing else we hope that this text serves as a call for anarchists to discuss these questions now.

Our means of struggle are not a means to an end, be it revolution or failure, but a means that lead inevitably to another means, thus continuing the struggle. Within the framework that we are proposing the only goal is conflict and the opening up of more conflict. Contagion is not the 'end' that defines our purpose; it is but one potentiality that we desire.

## Banner drop in solidarity with Tacoma, WA hunger strike

On Friday April 11th, three banners were dropped from different highway overpasses in Seattle. This is in solidarity with the hunger strikers held in the Northwest Detention Center in Tacoma, WA, a facility that currently imprisons and deports immigrants from around the United States. This is also for those on hunger strike in a similar facility in Texas, also run by GEO.

The banners read as follows:

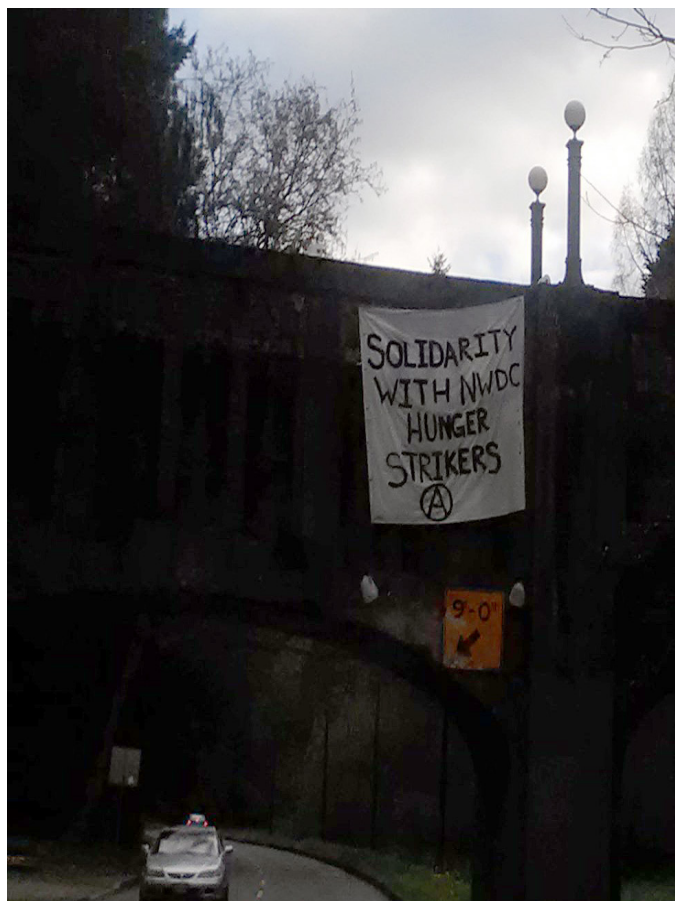
Destroy Borders, Chinga la Migra;  
Solidarity with NWDC Hunger Strikers;  
and

Set Fire to ICE, Solidarity with the Hunger Strikers.

With this small act we send strength to those who refuse the authority of their jailers. We send the message that they are not alone and their struggle is not isolated.

Death to the Jailers,  
Fire to the Prisons!

-some anarchists



# MayDay Roundup

a preliminary and non-exhaustive list

*Banner drop* A banner reading “Raise the Minimum Wage (A)” was hung at a busy intersection in the Capitol Hill neighborhood of Seattle. Fliers detailing the history and significance of May Day as well as a brief analysis of gentrification were also distributed and thrown. The slogan on the banner is in reference to the debate over the potential raising of the minimum wage in Seattle to a \$15/hour minimum. An orange smoke bomb was also tossed into the street.



*Ominous Graffiti* Police say someone spray-painted “Kill SPD” at a bank at 13th Avenue and East Madison Street. Also, “smash this” was painted on a restaurant window at 12th Avenue and East Madison.



*Anti-Capitalist March* A several hundred person anti-capitalist march wound its way through downtown from capital hill. Without specific aim or representational status the march confused but simultaneously enthralled its participants and spectators.

*a few highlights...*

*Bad Day For a Drive* Multiple luxury cars were attacked as they attempted to drive through the anti-capitalist march. Again, the SPD used bike cops to surround and protect the vehicles.

*Superheroes* A Seattle peace vigilante dressed in a red power ranger suit was attacked by the crowd during the anti-capitalist march. The super hero was hit with sticks and fists as well as being unmasked and finally rescued by SPD.

*Property* Despite massive police presence a city bus window was broken during the anti-capitalist march at 6th & Pike. Other attempts at attacks on property were made, most being unsuccessful.

*Arrests* A total of ten arrests were made over the day. Charges ranging from obstruction and malicious mischief to property damage and assault. The police report that they recovered a gun from one person arrested at 6th & Battery. A number of officers were injured during the march and arrests, but a total number was not available.

*Projectiles and a Fire* Pepper spray was used on the crowd at 6th & Battery after they reportedly began throwing batteries at the cops. Later at Broadway & Pine the crowd managed to start a small trash can fire. Police were able to douse it, but were hit with rocks as they did so.



# Seattle May Day 2014: An Anti-Capitalist Tradition!



For the third year in a row, an explicitly anti-capitalist march was called for in Seattle for May Day. This year, there were two, one beginning on Capitol Hill and the other at the Youth Jail in the Central District. The two both began in the early evening and converged together, weaving from the Hill through Yesler Terrace, a site of ongoing gentrification, on through downtown. The march included hundreds of anti-capitalist demonstrators, some masked up, some carrying anarchist banners, and others chanting or yelling at the police. The overall atmosphere was one of celebration as well as antagonism.

May Day itself was born out of an antagonistic struggle against working conditions and has since become a symbol of celebration, for the fight for a better life, a life without the State or capital. In Seattle, the Immigrants' Rights March organized by El Comité, has kept the May Day momentum alive for the last several years. However, since Occupy Seattle reinvigorated the spirit of rebellion in thousands of people, May Day has again become an explicitly anti-capitalist holiday for many.

The first anti-capitalist march occurred in 2012 as part of the final hooray of Occupy Seattle. The march was wild, full of riotous behavior and targeted property destruction including much of the commercial downtown area and a federal courthouse. However, many people forget that there were two more spirited marches later that day. There was a 'Honor the Dead, Fight for the Living' demonstration in which people called to the memory of those killed by the police such as local Native man, John T. Williams, as well as anarchist martyrs such as Louis Lingg. The march was full of scuffles with the police. Later on, there was an, 'Anti-Border, Anti-Prison' demonstration that shared the same heightened energy from the previous two demonstrations of the day.

Last year, the second annual anti-capitalist march was called in the wake of the previous year's momentum. It was a passionate affair. A couple hundred anti-capitalist demonstrators marched through the streets of Seattle, dancing, fighting the police, breaking a few windows and chanting together.

The police and the media attempt to paint the revitalization of the May Day tradition by anti-capitalists as a marginalized effort. Yet, the

past three years have proved that May Day is in fact not a fluke, but a tradition that still contains the power of the anti-capitalist struggle that flourished in May 1886 in Chicago. Police, media, and enemies alike, often question the purpose or intent of a wild demonstration with seemingly no aim or demand. They themselves live inside a shortsighted framework, a stunted world. As anarchists, rebels, and antagonistic we have a history that extends hundreds of years, a proud history. Our struggle has been and will be endless, as long as the State, capital and all those that attempt to suppress and oppress us exist, we will remain uncontrollable. This is the reality we live in, one where our enemies are so vast and dominant that a simple demand or action on one day could never destroy them. Instead, the destruction of the State and capital will have to come from generations and centuries of undying bold conflict.

Yesterday, we marched through the streets, chanted slogans, danced in intersections, de-arrested each other, fought off the superheroes, threw bottles and bricks at the police, lit fireworks and flares, gathered around a bonfire in the middle of the street, and shared a collective moment of communal existence and freedom that we do not often experience in the banal existence of our daily lives. In these moments, we share a look into what the future could hold, what we hold in ourselves and with each other, and what our fellow rebels held in the past. Regardless of the level of our attack or activity, we were able to find each other last night and hopefully many of us are now reminded that we are not alone and that we never were. In the future, we may take over the empty condominium buildings, tear up the concrete and plant gardens, push out the police, occupy the schools, destroy the banks, and experience a long-lasting freedom that we have yet to imagine. Yet in this moment, we should be proud of where we stand today, as enemies of the State and capital, and as lovers of freedom and autonomy.

Here's to building a long-lasting tradition of an anti-capitalist May Day in Seattle!

Freedom and Anarchy!  
Long Live the Memory of those Killed  
by the Police and the Borders!  
Long Live the Haymarket Anarchists!

# Why Riot?

*Excerpts of an article taken from ultra-com.org*

Two years ago in Seattle, on May 1st, 2012, roughly four to five hundred people engaged in the largest riot the city had seen in more than a decade. Hundreds of thousands of dollars of property were destroyed, a minor state of emergency was declared, and the next day's headlines were filled with horror stories of crazy, "out-of-town" anarchists run amok.

This event, occurring on the tail end of the Occupy movement, also quickly became the post-facto excuse for extensive federal, state and municipal investigation, surveillance and ongoing repression of political dissent. Several anarchists in the Pacific Northwest were put in prison without charge in the fall of that year, only to be released months later, still with no charges filed. Houses were raided in search of anarchist literature and black hoodies. Up to a year later, people were still being followed.

I was one of the five people originally charged for crimes on May Day 2012. I've since pled guilty to slightly lesser charges, in order to avoid going to trial on two felonies. I pled in the fall of 2013 and completed the bulk of the sentence in the winter, spending three months in King County's Work-Education Release (WER) Unit. Technically an "alternative to confinement," living in WER effectively means that you are imprisoned at all times that you are not allowed out for work, school or treatment (for mental health or drug offenses).

This puts me in a unique position. Since I am one of the few people who has pled guilty to certain crimes from May 1st, 2012, including Riot, I do not necessarily face the same risks in talking about—and defending—the riot as a tactic or the impulses behind it. This by no means makes what I say below an exhaustive or fully representative account of why others may have engaged in that same riot. They mostly got away—a good thing in and of itself, though federal charges may still be pending for one window that was smashed in an empty courthouse. But this also means that they cannot speak of or defend their participation without risking repression.

To be clear: I'm not speaking on behalf of any groups who wound up engaged in the riot that occurred on May Day 2012. To my knowledge, the riot was by no means planned ahead of time, and the anti-capitalist march that the riot grew out of, technically an Occupy Seattle event, was itself planned in public meetings. I'm not even speaking on behalf of this specific riot, but instead on behalf of rioting as such, in the abstract. The question "Why Riot" is not simply: why did you engage in this riot, but, instead, why riot at all? And the perspective given here is that of a rioter.

So I'm writing here for simple reasons: to defend the riot as a general tactic and to explain why one might engage in a riot. By this I mean to defend and explain not just the window breaking, not just "non-injurious violence," and certainly not just the media spectacle it generates, but the riot itself—that dangerous, ugly word that sounds so basically criminal and which often takes (as in London in 2011) a form so fundamentally unpalatable for civil society that it can only be understood as purely irrational, without any logic, and without possible defense.

I aim, nonetheless, to defend and explain the riot, because we live in a new era of riots. Riots have been increasing in absolute number globally for the past thirty years. They are our immediate future, and this future will spare Seattle no less than Athens or London, Guangzhou or Cairo.

*So in all the media's talk of "outsiders," "anarchists" and other terms meant to make the rioting subject opaque to those not immediately engaged in the riot, the one fact that was consistently distorted was the simplest: the thieves in the palace were, in fact, the servants.*

At the time of the riot, I was working for ten cents more than minimum wage in a wholesale kitchen in South Seattle, where we produced tens of thousands of pre-packaged sandwiches and salads for consumption in upscale city cafés and office buildings. It is not an exaggeration to say that my full-time work schedule (for the duration of Occupy Seattle, which I attended every day after morning shifts at work) amounted to me feeding hundreds of thousands of Seattleites over the several months that Occupy was a present force in the city. It's likely, then, that those hysteric KIRO-TV commentators claiming that I was part of some "outsider" gang come from the heart of chaos (or Portland, maybe?) to fuck up Seattle have themselves regularly eaten the food that I was paid poverty wages to make.

There's a fundamental spatial problem within capitalism: despite the outsourcing of the dirtiest, most dangerous jobs in manufacturing and resource extraction, the rich can never entirely get away from the poor. The extension of surveillance, incarceration and deportation, the militarization of the police, and the softer counter-insurgency of philanthropy foundations, social justice NGOs, conservative unions and various other poverty pimps are all methods to manage different dimensions of this problem. The riot is what happens when all these mediations fail. And in an era of crisis and austerity, such mediation becomes more and more difficult to maintain.

So in all the media's talk of "outsiders," "anarchists" and other terms meant to make the rioting subject opaque to those not immediately engaged in the riot, the one fact that was consistently distorted was the simplest: the thieves in the palace were, in fact, the servants.

I, the terrifying, irrational rioter, am you.

On the surface, riots appear to produce little in terms of concrete results and, when you add up the numbers, often do less actual economic damage to large business interests than, for example, blockading the port. They produce a certain spectacle, but so does Jay-Z.

And it's also not a sufficient tactic unto itself. The function of the riot is less about a religious or petulant obsession with the act of breaking shit and also not entirely about winning any given demand. This was apparent in examples like Occupy, which had no coherent, agreed-upon demands, aside from a general rejection of those in power. This demandlessness was a feature not only of Occupy, however, but of nearly every one of the mass movements that began in 2011, starting with the Arab Spring. In each instance, the only thing that was agreed upon was that the system was fundamentally fucked, and it was this aspect alone that transformed the riots from mere attempts at reform into truly historical procedures.

The riot is most important, then, not in its traditional ability to win demands that progressives can only drool over, but instead when it takes on a demandless character. This absence of demands in the riot and occupation implies two things: First, it implies a rejection of existing mediations. We do not intend to vote for fundamentally corrupt political parties or play the rigged game of activism. Though it may be important in particular instances to fight for and win certain demands, such as the demand for \$15 an hour, these reforms in and of themselves contribute nothing to the ultimate goal of winning a better world. They can contribute to this project only in very particular contexts, and only when superseded by forms adequate to that true project, as when the growing spate of strikes in Egypt in the years leading up to 2011 was suddenly superseded by a mass insurrection.

The riot, then, is not a hindrance to "real" struggle or a well-intentioned accident where people's "understandable" anger gets "out of control." Getting out of control is the point, which is precisely why the riot is the foundation from which any future worth the name must be built.

And we will be the ones to build it. Our generation: the millennials, generation fucked, or, as we've taken to calling it: Generation Zero. Zero because we've got nothing left except debt—but also nothing to lose. And zero because, like the riot, it all starts here.

In the end, then, you can lose the economics, you can lose the spectacle and the moralizing and the god-awful appeals to cute and fuzzy "social/racial/environmental justice." Throw all of this in the alembic of the riot, and it boils down to the simplest of propositions:

Our future's already been looted. It's time to loot back.

—Phil A. Neel

## Wells Fargo Attacked in Solidarity with NW Detention Center Hunger Strikers

Early in the morning of April 28th we ran up to the Wells Fargo bank in the Madison Park neighborhood of Seattle. In just a couple of brief joyous moments we chucked a couple of rocks through their windows and left. It was easy, fun and exhilarating.

We were inspired by the defiance of the detainees in Tacoma's ICE Prison on hunger strike, who are demanding better pay, better food, better treatment, lower commissary, and fairness. We were excited to hear that 70 more strikers have joined the hunger strike as of Monday.

Wells Fargo was chosen as a target because it is one of the main funders for the GEO Group which owns and operates the Tacoma ICE facility.

As long as borders and capitalism exist, human beings will be caged, dehumanized, and treated as nothing more than a means by which to make a profit. Deportation is an example of the inherent violence of capitalism and the state. Borders are arbitrary lines drawn for the purposes of maintaining white supremacy and imperialism.

Smash Borders  
Smash Banks  
Smash ICE  
Smash Prisons

## *3 Bank ATMs Sabotaged*

*During the evening of Wednesday April 9th, 3 Bank ATMs in Seattle had their credit card slots sealed shut. This was done in solidarity with the hunger strikers at the Northwest Detention and for Amélie, Fallon and Carlos.*

*- Some Anarchists*

*submissions can  
be emailed to:*

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*archives of the paper  
can be found at:*

*stormingheaven.noblogs.org*

*copies can be found at:*

*left bank books  
(downtown)*

*92 pike St. Seattle*

*black coffee co-op  
(capitol hill)*

*501 E. Pine St. Seattle*

*pipsqueak*

*(central district)*

*173 16th Ave. Seattle*

# Pugetsoundanarchists.org is back

After a short period of inactivity, pugetsoundanarchists.org is active once again. The site has served as an open space for discussion, dialog, and reference over the years. It is meant to function as a space that is open to all tendencies of anarchism in the Puget Sound area. The site is in no way the meeting point or result of one group but rather a forum and tool for anarchists of all stripes to engage with one another.

Although, the space is online, over the years, it has proven to be a force for regional anarchists as a place where anarchists can see parts of the local struggle and activity reflected through a neutral medium.

In light of the Seattle Federal Grand Jury and its subsequent intimidation, it is necessary to continue to act and reflect as anarchists regardless of the consequences of repression. This site is just another simple tool that can be used by comrades and potential comrades to carry out their practice against the State and Capital and in solidarity with those in exile, prison, or otherwise resisting the hands of the State.

