

Accounts & Accomplices

## "The intensity of revolt that began this time in Minneapolis has since spread across the country like a wild fire. The wide-spread level of generalized revolt, the intensity of the resistance, and a complete loss of faith in reform and patience in the system is unlike anything l

have ever seen in my lifetime."

## **June 2020 / Anonymous**

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# **QUESTIONS & ANSWERS**

A Compilation of Voices by Anonymous Comrades and the Revolutionary Abolitionist Movement / 2020



"Being an old farm boy myself, chickens coming home to roost never did make me sad; they've always made me glad."

#### - Malcolm X

The following is a presentation of questions and answers regarding the insurrection against white supremacy in the USA in 2020. The uprising was sparked by the murder of George Floyd by police in Minneapolis, MN in May of that year. Anonymous comrades and members of RAM (Revolutionary Abolitionist Movement) are responsible for the answers. These conversations took place between June and November of 2020, and were originally intended to help inform an international audience on the ongoing uprising in the USA. **Questions and Answers June 2020:** 

#### What is happening in the USA right now, and how is it different from other recent uprisings that have happened in response to police violence such as Ferguson, MO in 2014? Is there a different feeling in the streets?

This uprising in the US is mainly different in its fury and its magnitude. Other moments, like Ferguson or the LA riots in 1992 were significant and laid the groundwork for this moment, but today we are seeing a movement that is radically different in a lot of ways. The youth in the streets are very knowledgeable about abolitionist politics. The youth have dismissed patience and hope for reform, focusing only on immediate and direct action. A lot more people also seem to realize that reformism is a dead end this time around. The level of intensity is extraordinarily significant. The fact that people burned down a police precinct in Minneapolis, chased the police out running for their lives, and continued as the military was called in, is unprecedented. The other fact that the majority of the country supported burning down a police station and the plague of pacifism has lost its foothold on protest, has really reshaped the type of dialogue we are used to in the states. Support of insurrection and riot from unexpected groups and individuals is shocking at times to the say the least. Predatory fence riders are essentially being forced to come down and pick a side. Are you a racist or are you an anti-racist?

The intensity of revolt that began this time in Minneapolis has since spread across the country like a wild fire. The wide-spread level of generalized revolt, the intensity of the resistance, and a complete loss of faith in reform and patience in the system is unlike anything I have ever seen in my lifetime.

#### How are anarchists and/or anti-fascists in the states showing solidarity during this insurrection?

Anarchists and antifascists have participated from the beginning of these rebellions. The movement has explicitly focused on policing, prisons and its appendages for quite some time now. So this moment of rebellion is very special for us.

But we should be clear; this wasn't an uprising sparked by anarchists. The rebellion is driven by black youth who are tired of being dehumanized and murdered. Anti-black violence and white supremacy is the cornerstone of US political, economic and social life. It is so entrenched that reform is impossible. We as anarchists have long held this position and have fought and organized to destroy this situation, but we are just one of many political tendencies that have been taking part in this insurrection.

#### How is it that some people claim to support the rebellion in the USA but backtrack due to so-called "violence"?

In the US, the concept of "non-violence" as practiced by Martin Luther King Jr., a civil rights leader in the 1960's, is held up and celebrated, in hindsight, as the perfect expression of activism. By extension, protest is seen as an expression of activism. Thus, all legitimate and supposedly "effective" protest should bare a lot of resemblance to these principles of non-violent protest which are reported in history for single-handedly achieving civil rights in America. In reality, the situation was much more complicated and frequent insurrections in major cities also played a very big role in the state passing new laws that abolished formal/legal segregation in the southern US (Jim Crow; only to eventually readapt methods of oppression). Nevertheless, the official narrative gives non-violence all the credit. Furthermore, the narrative is that every protest must be to advance a legal cause, not a revolutionary movement. Sometimes even revolutionary sounding rhetoric (Such as Killer Mike of Run the Jewels, known democrat and son of a police officer using deceptive language to denounce protesters following attacks on CNN headquarters and the police) is used when talking about changing laws or achieving other basic reforms. Any American action in the streets that is truly revolutionary or is violent is generally considered illegitimate because of the aforementioned beliefs about what legitimate struggle looks like that is culturally very powerful. This is another reason why the events that have happened are so inspiring because they totally reject this logic and this narrative. The degree to which the uprising spread to such a diverse array of cities shows how widespread the dissatisfaction with this narrative has become. A partial explanation is that the people acted before any formal leaders had a chance to try to assert themselves as representatives of the movement. The truly organic nature of the movement has been its strength from the beginning and what has allowed it to break free from what otherwise would have been protests carefully orchestrated by professional activists and politicians.

People are conditioned from a young age to seek faith in the theater of democratic politics. Violence is the negation of such a faith. Violence is a demonstration of self-determination, it demonstrates a desire to seek a world beyond the present.

We are taught that we have rights, but rights are choices that can be taken away, as they are set by a social contract that is maintained by authority. Rights are nonsense, deceptive options that are used to instill the fear that lies at the basis of today's social peace. You have your rights, your freedom(s), and if you behave according to the laws of the box that contain these choices, you will not go to prison. Rights are imaginary, and typically only assumed to have validity by the included and beneficiaries of a stratified society. This is a very important thing to remember when judging the voice of a proclaimed ally contesting political violence or self-defense.

Violence and physical revolt recognizes a rigged playing field. It demonstrates a will to go further, a desire that can not be controlled by a system that can at any moment take away such rights. The voices that take an issue with violence are speaking a language of faith in the justice and politics of a system responsible for inspiring revolutionary violence to begin with. These voices will encourage you to plea, to wait, and to hope.

Activists, liberals, and so-called allies supporting from the bench are quick to denounce violence because they have faith in the options the current theater of politics present for change. They want to re-appropriate the existing powers, as oppose to demolish them. In some cases they are also afraid, and instead of humbly recognizing their fear of being punished for courageous risk and resistance, they huddle like cowards behind various critiques of violence.

On the other hand you can wonder why we grow up learning about Martin Luther King and Ghandi, rather then such historical figures of the same time and place such as Malcolm X or Bhagat Singh. The right, the powerful, or the systematic and calculated methods of self-preservation by capitalist society will always denounce revolutionary violence and insurrection. This is simply because this type of resistance is what they fear, this type of resistance threatens their status and the system that maintains it.

Violence is a neutral subject. Two people can be holding a gun, and it be a totally different situation. One person (Patrick Crusius, for example) can hold a gun in order to murder immigrants and people of color at random in El Paso, Texas, while another person (Chrystul Kizer, for example) can hold a gun to kill a man who raped and trafficked them.

One may say we are only discussing George Floyd because he was fortunate enough to have had his lynching caught on tape. However this is not why we are still discussing George Floyd. People are tortured and murdered across the United States every single day. And in many cases it is caught on video. But the real reason we are still talking about George Floyd after his death, is because this particular incident sparked a generalized revolt of what I would consider a positive type of violence that the police could not control.

### Has the coronavirus played a role in the current insurrection?

The coronavirus definitely played a role in the rebellion. There are several main factors here. The economic fallout has left millions of people helpless. There are millions without work in the US. Having a job in the US also does not mean escaping poverty. The unemployment rate does not truly reflect the percentage of people struggling to survive; those working jobs that do not cover their day to day expenses are considered to be employed. The level of precariousness is enormous. Then you have an entire country stuck inside and restless, particularly the youth.

Black people in the US have died of the coronavirus at at a rate three times higher than white americans due to a consistent lack of access to quality healthcare. There was a huge lack of testing in poor communities, but this is intentional. People have little access to healthcare in general, and quality medical assistance is reserved for more affluent communities. People in working class communities continued working and taking public transportation during the pandemic in order to survive. This made the virus spread in more extreme ways, but particularly to marginalized communities.

Quarantine also highlighted divisions and privileges in society. The rich were able to escape dense cities and isolate in luxury. People who lost their jobs and were offered scraps by the government as huge companies and the rich received unprecedented bailouts. The richest few had their wealth increase by over half a trillion dollars, while everyone else was home wondering about the next week, the next bill, or the next meal.

Poor people, black and brown people, native people, and the excluded demographics of the United States took a massive hit from the virus. There was no pretending anymore about whose life matters and whose didn't as the state contained oppressed peoples inside petri-dish like virus-filled prisons and immigrant detention centers – acceptable death zones populated by capitalism's expendables. Furthermore, the workers who were deemed essential during the pandemic to keep society functioning were among the least rewarded and most exploited in society prior (Nurses, agricultural workers, grocery store workers, and so on). This allowed people to realize the absurd logic of capitalism and begin asking questions that many americans have never even considered. Instead of raises and protection, these workers were only greeted with patronizing praise from the rich and powerful as "heroes", while such petty appreciation is obviously insulting when someone is risking death and the spread of the virus to their loved ones. People's eyes were open to a point that no deception offered by the supposed american dream could distract people from the nightmare that is most american's everyday life.

When the Trump administration also began noticing that non-white and lower class demographics were being affected by the coronavirus at much higher rates then his almost exclusively white fan base, he and his media apparatus began a blatantly racist push to reopen the economy and as Trump put it: "let the virus wash through".

So due to these systemic, structural reasons the black community was by far one of the most affected by the coronavirus in the country. On top of all that, when the state demanded people begin social distancing the police immediately began terrorizing black communities for not following orders. Even as the country was in lockdown, police found a way to keep the numbers of people murdered by them as high as they were in recent years. And with people being home, many had all day to view videos of police murder and torture in the streets as they happened.

The coronavirus became a formula that helped to turn the country into a powder keg.

#### Is race the only issue driving this uprising?

The insurrection is predominantly about white supremacy, policing, and the prison system (the film 13th on Netflix is a surprisingly quality film on this subject). Heinous murder of black youth is the norm in the United States, and people finally had enough. Class also plays a fundamental role in the uprising, as it does in all capitalist societies. However, this uprising was totally driven by the black working class which has a very different character than the activist movement in the US which is often from bourgeois backgrounds and approaches politics as a hobby as opposed to indispensable struggle. Due to this reality the character of the original uprising was pretty open to whoever wanted to participate, and acted without fear of judgment by the racist morality of the status quo.

It should also come as no surprise that while the unemployment rate has skyrocketed to levels not seen since the great depression, people are now fighting back against the system. If the movement can retain this working class ferocity and fluidity the potential for revolutionary change is greater than it's been in a lifetime.

### What are some of the origins of white supremacy in the USA?

The origins of white supremacy in the US are the origins of the country itself. The US was founded as a white supremacist project explicitly. Built on the backs of the enslaved African population and the genocide of the indigenous, the US established itself as the model nation for white power. In its early laws they claimed black people were only three fifths of a human and were viewed as property until 1865. After that the government did everything in its power to ensure the foundations of slavery remained, transferring the process from plantations to the prison industrial complex.

But this process started with early European expansion around the world. The US, in actuality, is a project built from European thought and politics. Both continents are historically entangled with extreme racial regimes and mass slaughter and genocide. Additionally, the status of economic and political power maintained on both continents come at the expense of historical colonialism that has come to define the global mapping of the 1st and 3rd worlds today.

#### What does it mean to be against white supremacy? Are there elements of reverse racism in this struggle?

First off, reverse-racism is not a thing. It is an oxymoron.

Racism isn't simple prejudice but a system of oppression and because there is no racialized system of oppression that whites are subject to, they cannot be victims of racism.

"White" in American society is an established demographic that has some pre-existing advantages on its own. For example, while many white people in America suffer due to poverty, there are still inherent advantages to being white. One great example is the ability to go jogging at night without being seen as fleeing a crime.

The ruling class has determined throughout history that there is to be a calculated delegation of suffering. The notion of the savage, the inferior non-gentile / dark skinned populations of the world established by European conquest is a critical origin as to the demographics chosen to suffer in the world today. Approaches and language used by oppressing/ruling populations have been modernized and adapted, but the foundation remains the same. White means to be included, to have a better seat in the stadium without condition.

While overall black people in the United States have a 250% higher chance of being murdered by police (that's according to official numbers, the real number is likely higher overall, and varies by region and level of diversity), many of those murdered are also poor white people. The ruling class does not spare the excluded white population, and having a critique of white supremacy does not forfeit a recognition of white people suffering under capitalism. But it is essential that we recognize that a contempt for being white is a frustration with the race that has been chosen by this system as included and defended. White people are included and defended, at the expense of, and from, so-called inferior non-white demographics. While the oblivious or racist make claims of reverse-racism, others have recognized the same gestures of frustration against white supremacy as logical contempt.

There are some Black separatist groups\* that exist, but their calls for separation stem from a desperation to escape the relentless infliction of misery that comes not from a diverse society, but a diverse society that has been stratified based on race and ethnicity. Such a desperate call for black power through segregation comes from the experience of knowing a diverse society that has one race delegated to reign supreme.

Across the United States, as diverse as it is, and regardless of its deceptive civil rights acts, people remain brutally segregated. Whether by class or race, the United States presents some of the most intense close-proximity segregation in the world. Look at New York City for example, where you have some of the poorest parts of the country and wealthiest neighborhoods in the world existing side-by-side, separated by the beast of the police and their judicial system. Many non-white communities do not even interact with white people in daily life unless it is white police invading their neighborhoods and maintaining their poverty. In no way at all am I ignoring the plight of white working class communities, but there are volatile disparities that scream back at those claiming "all lives matter" with an acid that will seal their racist lips. Two and a half million people are in prison in the United States, many innocent, many white, and many poor. In no way do we dismiss the poor white people, but in a country roughly 13% black, and a prison population almost 40% percent black, the gaslighting efforts behind claims of reverse-racism or "all lives mattering" are mathematically invalid.

What is falsely deemed "reverse-racism" is actually an understandable frustration with a demographic that has power due to the suffering of another demographic. You can be white and despise what it means to be white in the world today.

There have been instances in past riots, such as the 1992 Los Angeles riots, of whites being randomly attacked for simply being white. While this was in the minority of overall inspiring events that happened, they were one unfortunate result of an explosive situation. This is not something that has been present in the current uprising. The current uprising has been remarkably diverse right from the beginning in all its expressions and despite the participation of millions, there has been no real serious examples of inter-racial violence occurring. On the contrary, at least prior to the involvement of false leaders, there has been a remarkable sense of unity, even in spite of individual disagreements on strategy and tactics and people coming from different political backgrounds. Serious objections to violence, looting, etc. have almost exclusively come from outsiders who have not been on the streets and from some of the peaceful protesters now filling the streets, following a narrative the media has handed them about what "legitimate" protest looks like. Many of those peaceful protestors are now being subject to widespread police violence, which will hopefully radicalize many of them. In this way, the system is helping make our points for us to these newer more peaceful demonstrators.

\* Many Europeans appear at times to fetishize any semblance of the original Black Panther Party, especially in the form of using images of the New Black Panther Party posing with weapons to proclaim solidarity with black struggle. It is important to note that the New Black Panther Party is not the same as the old Black Panther Party or the Black Liberation Army. It has been rejected by almost all surviving members of the original Black Panther Party and Black Liberation Army, including those still serving time in prison for their actions. The New Black Panther Party is a viciously authoritarian, antisemitic, pro-segregation, and anti-gay organization. The guns they carry are all legally owned firearms in the USA.

#### How do anarchists in the states find solidarity with people who are not formally anarchist?

We do not have the numbers in the USA to function with blinders on. Additionally the sincerity of rage and passion for freedom that come from experience can outweigh the alleged enlightenment of any theoretical understanding. We also live in an intensely diverse society, and have to challenge ourselves to break out of the insular thinking of classical anarchist organizing.

In the states we must adapt to the circumstances we face, and challenge ourselves to focus on deeper elements of tension and discontent, that transcend the superficiality of political identity.

We find our solidarity standing horizontally with a discontent of experience. When the streets escalates resistance we look to board ship . Anarchists in the states seek a solidarity of shared enemy and shared frustration. Maybe those we seek to fight alongside do not have recite the same rhetoric or proclaim the same ideology, but our priority is to seek the hand of those that share our rage with this system and act accordingly.

#### Is looting something perceived as revolutionary? Do you support the looting politically? Do you take issue with the judgments of liberals regarding the ethics of looting?

No I don't take issue with looting. Nor do I show any respect to the morality that lies at the foundation of capitalist society. To take issue with looting implies a non-issue with the status quo needed in order to "appropriately" purchase products.

Let me put it this way: the wealthy of New York City looted stores across the city in order to be prepared for lockdown and quarantine as the Coronavirus Pandemic loomed. Generally speaking, it was only in some small stores in very poor neighborhoods that some home essentials for quarantine could be sparsely found. Many poor people are unable to purchase in bulk, as most work paycheck to paycheck and the notion of investment of any kind, even an investment into the coming days of a quarantine, is not an option. Stores across NYC were emptied of toilet paper, disinfectants, personal protective equipment, food, and whatever the rich could get their hands on. The rich "legally" looted the stores, and hoarded safety. They did this on their terms; the same terms that define purchasing power within capitalism. The terms that calculate and delegate suffering.

Looting is an act of defying these terms. It is an act that exposes the fragility of these terms that the police and justice system exist to maintain and enforce.

No product accounted for by global capitalism can be measured against an everyday life of suffering with origins in formal slavery. To denounce looting in the context of a social insurrection gives praise to the notion of purchasing in accordance with the terms defined by the ruling class's putrid morality.

Looting in the context of a social uprising, in most cases threatens the reification of the 'sacred' purchase; essentially breaking the barriers we are conditioned to accept that exist between poverty and life. However, looting and the social violence of an insurrection is not always perfect. There have been some small businesses burned in Minneapolis for example that certainly didn't deserve compared to other available targets. As Alfredo Bonanno has said, insurrection "is a blow of the tiger's claws that rips and does not distinguish. Of course, an organized minority is not the insurgent people. So it distinguishes. It has to distinguish."

As far as I'm concerned, to take issue with looting (especially if it targets big businesses and exclusive commodities) is to advocate for purchasing. It resembles a voice that comes from a position of privilege; the privilege to not feel desperate. It also stems from a position that is concerned with the judgment of the included and benefited in this society.

Looting can be beautiful and sad at the same time. I understand also the concerns regarding the materialistic elements of some types of looting, but I don't think this outweighs the broader revolutionary implications. I am sad to see a small business owned by a struggling family be scooped up by the vacuum of rage that is a riot, but on the other hand I smile seeing poor people sporting fashion symbols of the rich and shopping at Wal-Mart without a wallet.

As an anarchist, with a limited voice in the world of politics, I refuse to even for a second, consider denouncing an uprising due to looting.

There are plenty of voices on the right and in power that believe in the sanctity of the purchase, and use such a belief to demonize, divide, and degrade an insurrection. These are well funded voices that are preserved by this society in order to support the genocidal normalcy that inspired an insurrection in the first place. If you use your voice to degrade or demean gestures of self-determination and rebellion you can not sincerely claim to be an accomplice to an uprising. Those in power protecting the status quo will use their well-funded media apparatus to demonize and divide the insurrection; the so called participants/supporters should not.

If you take moral issue with looting it may be important to look within your own claim to support an uprising against white supremacy, capitalism, and the state. Because you are asserting a logic that rewards institutional looting, domination, and exploitation, and looks to punish or be cautious of any grassroots efforts of revenge and/or self-preservation.

A very eloquent defense of looting in the context of a black uprising was put forth by the situationists as early as 1965 and is as relevant as ever:

"The looting of the Watts district was the most direct realization of the distorted principle: 'To each according to their false needs' — needs determined and produced by the economic system which the very act of looting rejects. But once the vaunted abundance is taken at face value and directly seized, instead of being eternally pursued in the rat-race of alienated labor and increasing unmet social needs, real desires begin to be expressed in festive celebration, in playful self-assertion, in the potlatch of destruction. [...] Looting is a natural response to the unnatural and inhuman society of commodity abundance. It instantly undermines the commodity as such, and it also exposes what the commodity ultimately implies: the army, the police and the other specialized detachments of the state's monopoly of armed violence. What is a policeman? He is the active servant of the commodity, the man in complete submission to the commodity, whose job it is to ensure that a given product of human labor remains a commodity, with the magical property of having to be paid for, instead of becoming a mere refrigerator or rifle — a passive, inanimate object, subject to anyone who comes along to make use of it. In rejecting the humiliation of being subject to police, the blacks are at the same time rejecting the humiliation of being subject to commodities."

Situationist International, "The Decline and Fall of the Spectacle-Commodity Economy", 1965

#### Why are there so many accusations of conspiracy theories behind the protests, and also this claim of outside agitators?

The US is an odd country. The prevalence of conspiracy theories is shocking. People who are often for the status quo often believe really outlandish theories here. In many ways this is indicative of the rapid decline of the US as a power. Its population is now so tremendously misinformed they often don't know very basic facts. For instance, there's a growing, and sizable group of people that believe climate change is fake, antifa is funded by George Soros, and the world is flat.

Furthermore, people are so detached and so fixated on their devices they have a hard time believing anything is ever real. So whenever anything happens many people think it's fake. However the state also understands how to leverage this. Over 150 cities/towns had protest activity. The government claims outside agitators have launched the rebellion even though it makes literally no sense. Historically the government has always said this about black liberation movements. Part of it is racist. The state believes, or wants people to believe, that black people are incapable of doing anything without a white hand. And on the other side, if it is "outsiders" then the state can argue the movement is illegitimate.

Following the first and second world wars, a relentless terror campaign by the FBI to eradicate the left, anarchists, and anyone challenging the status quo went into full effect. This lead to future generations of apolitical people knowing nothing more then democrat versus republican. Periods of political resurgence appear throughout history since this period (Anti-war movement in the 60s, armed struggle groups in the 70s, anti-globalization movement in the 90s, and so on), however most people in America are not taught to be political the way most are in rest of the world. Generally we are taught to be culturally liberal or conservative, and embrace political variations of the right wing. Most jump into prescribed political narratives that don't challenge much of anything. So the appealing shock and awe of conspiracy theories is fairly understandable, and sadly these help keep people divided and distracted, fixated on trees as opposed to the forest.

#### In europe these kind of extended riots go hand in hand with big strikes. Are there big strong unions (maybe leftist some of them) during this period that could start a big strike?

The U.S. unions have generally been coopted by a right wing mentality and barely resemble their radical roots. Of course wildcat strikes of transportation could considerably damage the powers that be, but the country was already at a sort of surreal standstill due to the quarantine, with very few working at all, and only "essential" U.S. infrastructure being used. Some gestures of solidarity were made by bus workers refusing to drive demonstrators to prison for example, but generally unions and wildcat strikes are very rare and equally unlikely in the USA. In a consumer economy with most industry automated, the few manual jobs are usually done by the most exploited of immigrants, and if they were done by union labor, such jobs typically end up being exported to a country where labor is cheaper. However, what did happen leading up to this was massive coordinated rent strikes due to massive unemployment, and huge networks of mutual aid being built across the country. Whether coincidence like the virus itself, or a precursor of organizing towards general revolt, any wild cat strike in the complicated economy of the USA is typically done on an organic social level as opposed to through coordinated union effort.

#### **Questions and Answers November 2020**

#### The concept of antifa or the tactics of black bloc has been demonized and attributed the status of 'terrorism' by even president Trump. What is your take on that?

Repression for anarchists in the USA is historical and has always been harsh, including capital punishment.

While Trump brings up anarchists more then past administrations, the American state has always dealt a very heavy hand to militant anarchists. This repeated distraction of supposed anarchist terrorism is to perpetuate the racist claim that all street riots are conducted by "outside agitators," not discontent black and poor communities exhausted with white supremacist terror. It also implies that these communities couldn't be capable of self-defense unless given instruction by professional agitators. The rhetorical focus on anarchists, while perhaps flattering, is a misleading trick that allows politicians to denounce resistance without acknowledging the everyday nightmare of the American reality many in this uprising face daily.

Over ten thousand people have been arrested that we know of. We also know that in the streets you not only havelocalpoliceforcesbuttheDepartmentofHomeland Security, the FBI and various other agencies tracking, surveilling, and interrogating arrested demonstrators.

Trump and his "law and order" response is a call for his forces, official and unofficial, to escalate their already intense counter-revolutionary and state repression campaigns against grassroots revolutionaries. He wants anarchist and anti-fascists to bleed. He also wants all marginalized people in the USA to suffer, but anarchists are by far his easiest target to denounce publicly.

Sadly liberal activists and media have been part of the attempt to cast out anarchists and anti-fascists as well. Many liberals have blamed "violence" on so-called white provocateurs, posting information online about suspected rioters, and even tackling demonstrators who commit property damage and turning them over to the police.

Instead of recognizing the solidarity in the actions of anarchists and anti-fascists participating horizontally in the riots, many of the middle- and upper-class politically-correct world, as well as liberal black leaders pandering to the white mainstream, degrade the courageous violence against the police by dismissing it as political opportunism by white "agitators." Regardless of this absurd claim that falls in line with other conspiracy theories, we all know that anarchists and anti-fascists play a much less significant role in the severity of resistance than informally political black, brown, and working class people simply fed up with the misery of everyday American life. As anarchists we do however dismiss the accusations of coopting black struggles, and will forever be accomplices to any insurrection against white supremacy... as opposed to "allies" supporting from the safety of computers and ballot boxes.

With time though, this liberal infestation within the streets has become weaker. The black proletarian backbone of this uprising also sees the hypocrisy of liberal leaders and pacifists and finds far more common ground with militant anarchists and anti-fascists regardless of the denunciations by Trump and other politicans.

We are terrorists to Trump and his supporters regardless of our efforts in mutual aid, community organizing, prisoner support, immigrant support, and so on. However many see Trump as a terrorist, and follow the famous phrase: "my enemy's enemy is my friend." We are enemies of the state, and whether he calls us out or not, we are inherently terrorists in the eyes of all states, especially the American one. The FBI was built out of the repression of anarchists and leftists. One benefit is that being constantly brought to the spotlight as the imaginary boogeyman behind all the violence in the streets may lead people organically sympathetic to gestures of insurrection to take a new interest in anarchism.

To rally his fascist base, Trump has started grouping together all of his political opponents under the same tent of antifa and anarchist. This extends to putting Joe Biden, for example, a moderate right wing politician, in the same category as anarchists in the streets of Portland. Even more ridiculous, Trump's administration has gone so far as to delegate certain cities such as Portland, New York, and Oakland as "anarchist jurisdictions." They define these areas based on local policies Trump opposes such as sanctuary for immigrants, initiatives by some local politicians to reduce police budgets, or refusals to prosecute misdemeanour arrests during Black Lives Matter protests. Calling New York City, one of the richest places in the world, an "anarchist jurisdiction" should highlight the absurdity of this symbolic gesture by Trump's administration.

It is part of a larger aim to group together anything opposing him as far left or anarchist. It also plays out from conspiracy theories such as Qanon where his supporters believe that there is a "deep state" plot to uphold a pedophile ring of Hollywood celebrities and Democrat politicans and that only Donald Trump can save the children from this secret ring that the left is protecting.

While this theory endorsed by Trump and believed by his followers is absurd even to describe, it has instigated real-world violence by the right and inspired Trump's base.

For the right, there is an intensely hysterical reaction. Barely a week goes by without a story about a small town somewhere that worked itself into a frenzy over Facebook rumors that antifa was coming to attack innocent white families, leading to groups of local lunatics standing around with rifles waiting for mythical enemies who never appear or harassing a random stranger wearing black. In the instance of wildfires in southern Oregon that recently caused some of the most significant devastation in the state's history, rumors were spread by Trump followers, including in local law enforcement, that antifa set the fires. Armed militia patrols set up checkpoints to search for imaginary antifa arsonists.

This actually led to disruption of some efforts by firefighters and the movements of community members fleeing to safety. This is just one example of the consequences that can come from something that might seem laughable to many reading this.

While Trump has sent his own federal forces into the streets of Chicago and Portland to try and arrest anarchists, most of his intense rhetoric against antifa and anarchist "terrorists" is more to inspire his base and demonize his enemies than it is formally escalating the state repression that already exists in the USA for anarchists and insurrectionists. We were terrorists under Obama as well.

Around the world there is an impression that things have turned very violent in the U.S. right now. White supremacists killing comrades and also racists being attacked/shot by antifa plus other kind of escalations. Are these isolated events or the level of violence rises dramatically as we speak?

It would not be entirely accurate to say that things have "turned" violent here in the U.S., but more that we are in a moment of heightened political violence. It was police violence that brought us all out into the streets in May, and that specific violence has not slowed, especially not against Black communities across the country. The far right has shown itself a reemerging physical threat since early 2016, but of course their attacks before then were plentiful. What many can attest to in this moment though is that things feel more violent and more people are worried about this violence more regularly. With the U.S. being as large as it is, the ways far-right political violence is ramping up shows itself differently in different places. In the Pacific Northwest the boots-on-the-ground brawler violence has been pronounced recently, culminating in several deaths, but for places like Portland this is a reoccurring theme; this was the case back in the '80s and '90s as well.

The far right is reactionary. They rarely mount group attacks or assaults that aren't in reaction to something, whether that be a political event or a personal slight. It is rarer that the "lone wolf" style of attack happens, but when it does the effects can be devastating. The mass shooting in El Paso, Texas that targeted the Latino community along the U.S. border is one example. More often the violence in the streets is a mix of fighting and theater between two opposing crowds. Two things have made the situation in recent monthsmuch more dangerous though: vehicle attacks and the proliferation of firearms.

Car caravans of Trump supporters can be found across the country at this point, and while they are mostly made up of average Trump supporters, more violent and virulent anti-Black and anti-antifa elements are often a huge part of these caravans. Sometimes organized groups like Proud Boys and "militia" style patriots remove their license plates and ram their cars through the downtowns of major cities to scare and maim BLM demonstrators. Sometimes these lead to more brawl style engagements but generally a crowd on the street is left scattering after a F-150 attempts to murder its defensive line.

Guns have always been an issue in the U.S., and the internal arms race is in full swing. Recently the right has shown itself more willing to use them than in the past. This is partially due to the re-emergence of militia-style organizing and its approval by local and federal law enforcement. This was nowhere more clear than in Kenosha when a 17 year old "patriot militia" member who came to the Kenosha riots shot several people. He was given safe passage before and after the shooting by local police and has been lionized by even the mainstream right as a hero. Several different groups have raised hundreds of thousands of dollars for his legal defense and his face and name grace many websites, twitter feeds and t-shirts as a soldier for "justice."

With each event such as the Kenosha shooting the right becomes more emboldened-- quite literally they are getting away with murder. Their ranks are solidifying, having gained the approval of most local law enforcement all the way up to the current president. This became abundantly and glaringly obvious when an anti-fascist, Michael Reinoehl in Portland, shot and killed a member of of a far-right group called Patriot Prayer during the aftermath of one of the "car caravans" in downtown Portland. Not less than a week later Reinoehl was ambushed by a federal fugitive task force and gunned down in the street under the auspices of serving an arrest warrant. No one thinks this was anything but a political assassination by the U.S. government, and we can guess that Reinoehl knew he was doomed when he gave an interview to Vice news the night before his death. The president crowed about Reinoehl's extrajudicial murder approvingly.

What has become more obvious to those in the street is that the violence from the far right really is paramilitary violence and it has the approval and backing of law enforcement across the country. Every and any demo can now be attacked and every position in the street is a target. A recent response to a Proud Boy demo called for in Portland brought a thousand plus out to counter it. The bloc was in the hundreds and the majority wore some kind of ballistic body armor. The medics, the people pulling the carts full of snacks, the media, everyone wore a bullet proof vest, because while the violence is certainly on the rise what is more clear is that it is now indiscriminate. Anyone and everyone can be a target. Thanks also to open and unambiguous statements from the president that it is open season on BLM and antifa, combatants on the left have a clear understanding that we no longer have an "outside" and that the engagement really is all the time.

So, it has not become more violent purely in the sense that all the sides are bringing more violent methods, but more violent in the ways that power and the state are more openly backing the "civilian" right's use of that violence, and in some instances more clearly using its own power to attack the left in much more broad terms when the right is unable to enact the violence itself. This is the history of policing in the U.S., a structure in place primarily to subjugate Black communities and those who stand with them. The most recent uptick in violence and death is exposing that open wound for more to see. The reality of the violence often enacted in secret is now in the open, and the danger is more real for more of the country that once held a position of relative safety. Beyond that, everyone is gearing up for a further level of violence as the presidential election approaches.

### Where does the uprising/movement stand at this particular instance (November 2020)?

Everything is unprecedented-- the uprising, the buildup to the uprising, and the precarity we all face when trying to understand what the near future holds. Discontent is rampant, and the political realization of discontent by such a large percentage of the population is as unprecedented for those in the anarchist and anti-colonial movements as it is to the state. From the countryside to the metropolis, a popular tension is simmering and at any moment can boil over. This goes for the resistance demonstrated by those in the streets standing up against white supremacy as well as those on the right working in parallel with the state to crush these manifestations of beauty and rage.

Our optimism is based in the recognition that the negation of faith in the state's notion of justice has become generalized and rampant by those no longer satisfied with the everyday life misery of a white-supremacist-capitalist-nationstate. This intense and widespread loss of faith in the state'sprocesses to regulate its own brutality is a prominent transition in our society contributing to the generalized revolts that have happened in prior months and which we can expect to continue regardless of who wins in November (or whenever the results are decided). The liberal establishment will attempt to delegate leaders to represent the streets in order to crush the organic, revolutionary, and uncompromising spirit of resistance that has captured the world's eye, but repeated refusal to listen to those pushing such recuperation has been a defining characteristic of this complicated insurrection.

While we want to note that resistance is expected, fertile, and inevitable, it is equally important to recognize the repression that is happening and will undoubtedly happen regardless of Biden or Trump sitting their old senile ass in the White House come 2021. The risk involved in taking to the streets in the USA is one that only afew countries in the world can compare to. People risk murder by police or fascists, futuristic surveillance, a culture of everyone video-recording everything and posting it to the internet, grand juries, lengthy trials, and extremely heavy prison sentences. Josh Williams, for example, is still serving prison time in Missouri for stealing a pack of gum and a lighter and setting a trash can on fire outside a convenience store at the demonstrations that followed the police murder of Michael Brown in Ferguson. This happened six years ago, and he still has two more years of prison to go.

Dozens of individuals, both actively in the movement and who spontaneously took to the streets due to rage over George Floyd's death are facing years and years in prison on various charges. Two individuals in NYC for example, Colinford Mattis and Urooj Rahman, currently face life in prison for allegedly throwing a molotov cocktail in an empty police car. These types of charges and sentencing threats are intended to force individuals to give up and snitch against each other, to pressure them to accept prison time under a "plea deal" without a trial, or to make an example of someone in hopes of deterring others. In Europe there are limits on prison sentences, but in the USA, many of the black liberationist fighters of the '60s and '70s remain incarcerated to this day. Direct action in the USA carries heavy penalties even if no one was injured. The anarchist political prisoner Eric King is still doing 10 years in federal prison for throwing a molotov cocktail that malfunctioned and did not work at a federal building.

In the United States surveillance and investigations of actions in the streets do not end when you make it home from a demonstration; people will likely be visited in their homes over the coming months or even years by local police forces and FBI agents. There will be harassment, raids, and arrest warrants. One woman in Philadelphia for example is facing federal charges that could bring her immense prison time for allegedly setting a police car on fire after FBI agents tracked the t-shirt she was wearing to its original retailer online. This is the type of surveillance state we have been dealing with forever in the USA; what is remarkable is that people continue to act regardless.

It is sad to not only note the situation we face with the state in terms of judicial punishment, but also that people are dying in these demonstrations. Over a dozen people that we are aware of have died while protesting due to police and fascist attacks on demonstrators. This doesn't include the various people suffering injuries due to gunshot wounds, being rammed by cars in the street (a frequent occurrence by the right in the USA, becoming a more official tradition following the murder of Heather Heyer by a neo-nazi in the infamous 2017 Charlottesville, Virginia "Unite the Right" event), being blinded by rubber bullets, or the baton and other intense brutality inflicted upon them by police forces. Lynchings, revenge killings, and unaccounted-for deaths connected to the George Floyd uprising have happened without broader knowledge as well. The point is to recognize the courage and will of those taking to the streets.

Even many anarchists are afraid of civil war but have no idea how such a thing would look. Many are concerned about recuperation by counter-revolutionary leftists/liberals, but following George Floyd's death, unlike in the past, the streets have repeatedly rejected such attempts. Many are concerned about the violence and repression we face from the right and the state; but heads stay high and feet move forward. Everything is so unprecedented and overwhelming, but never in my lifetime have I felt more inspired by an insurrectionary wave in North America. With that said, the elections coming up will lead to more escalations of violence and revolt. For better and for worse, whomever wins.

#### How did the presidential election campaign influence the whole situation? And how has the uprising affected the presidential election campaign? Is the uprising part of the debate between Democrats and Republicans, between Trump and Biden?

Biden and his cop running mate Kamala Harris give lip service to Black Lives Matter, but that is it. They represent the dying United States right-center the Democratic establishment is desperately latching onto. This follows Obama, whose most revolutionary trait was the color of his skin inside the White House. Trump on the other hand was the beginning of an emboldened American right; he represented the fascist American population resentful of the PC culture mandated by the American liberal establishment. He is a symbol of America's reactionary population's whitelash to both the Obama years and broader efforts to reform the historical racist base of American society going as far back as the 1960s anti-colonial and civil rights movements.

What Biden and Harris have done is expose the true nature of the Democratic party, specifically in the second rejection of Democratic Socialist Bernie Sanders' campaign. While in the context of mainstream American politics Bernie Sanders is seen as far left, he would be a center-left candidate in most European parliaments. Bernie Sanders did present some political proposals of actual reform that captivated those who were exhausted with the Democratic party but hadn't given up their hope in the electoral system. Once he was forced to endorse Joe Biden, though, another demographic losing all hope for the system was forced to look towards the streets.

As an anarchist who's been in the USA long-term, I am still shocked by the sympathies for revolutionary violence from people who at one time considered me an extremist. If Trump wins many more people may reach a point of taking to the streets and engage in violence they could not have imagined, but this is already the case for many exhausted after Biden's nomination.

It is important to note the backbone of this uprising is the black proletariat, a demographic in American society that typically has no hope inany outcome of any two-party-election. Even if a wave of momentum in voting happens, so much voter suppression by the state that targets people of color and poor communities makes the process exhausting and in many cases impossible. As well, in the USA the votes are counted by state delegates and not actual numbers, so in places like New York and California your vote actually doesn't matter. Only a few key "swing" states that are not certain to vote Democrat or Republican matter. In Florida for example, a key swing state, almost a million people cannot vote due to felony convictions. This obviously (and intentionally) affects people of color, since the United States has the biggest prison population in the world, and while 13 percent of the country is black, black people make up 40 percent of that prison population.

Whether Trump or Biden win, the racism at the core of the USA will continue to influence this black proletariat demographic more than an electoral system. You do not hear chants against Trump in the streets; you hear chants against police and the broader racist system. Both Democrats and Republicans want to make this about Trump versus Biden, but going back to the riots of the '60s by frustrated black communities, most are not eager to trust such deceptions and realize that (especially considering very little has changed during all this time) voting is really just for suckers. However, it seems almost certain fascist violence will escalate if Trump loses. Conspiracy theories around voter fraud and "deep state" sabotage of Trump's election bid are already heavily in circulation both on social media and in "mainstream" news, including fantastical statements made by the president himself. There are also open calls for civil war from the right. Thanks to America's arms laws, Trump's base is as heavily armed as many nation's paramilitaries. We already see open collaboration between fascist groups, Trump supporters, and police. Almost every police union and law enforcement organization in the USA has endorsed Trump in the upcoming election.

Regardless of the vote count, if Trump were to refuse to step down there are many factors that would help keep him in power: armed grassroots support, a now right-wing dominant Supreme Court and rogue militarized federal agencies such as the Department of Homeland Security (responsible for the notorious Immigration and Customs Enforcement, ICE, which became world renowned for their child separation policy at the border). This agency has also seen the spotlight recently when its agents violently invaded the streets of Portland without local government permission. The general cowardice of those involved the electoral system could protect his decision and provide it with "legitimacy." As intense as it sounds, this outcome would be of no surprise to anyone.

What is fortunate is that many leaving the spectacle of electoral politics and coming to the streets are preparing for this scenario. Gun clubs are becoming more and more common among communities of color as former liberals start to see the deception of the Democratic party and embrace the need for self-defense and revolutionary resistance. Such instances are a manifestation of negation in the system, but community self-defense is essential. The American right is drooling over the opportunity to kill, maim, and target people of color, lgbtq people, native peoples, anarchists, and anti-fascists, continually encouraging and fantasizing about such actions online.

So while the election will have an impact, and has had an impact, the true influence here is the everyday life reality of black, brown, and poor people in the United States.

### Is there something you consider important and that you would like to add?

We wanted to include a list of some of those who have died since the beginning of these demonstrations. This list is not comprehensive. We are certain names are missing and some murders have gone unrecognized, but we want to recognize some of those who have died at the hands of police and fascists since this uprising began:

> Chris Beaty, Anthony M. Huber, Michael Forest Reinoehl Terron Jammal Boone, Rayshard Brooks, Bernard Carvajal, Victor Cazares. Kamal Flowers. Jamel Flovd. Robert Forbes. Marvin Francois, Robert Fuller. Tyler Gerth, Summer Taylor Jorge Gomez, Tyquarn Graves, Sarah Grossman. Andrés Guardado. Jose Gutierrez, Javar Harrell, Calvin Horton, Jr., Italia Kelly, Mason James Lira, David "Yaya" McAtee, Sean Monterrosa, Dorian Murrell, Barry Perkins, Kevin Pulido, Oluwatoyin Salau, James Scurlock, Marquis Tousant Garrett Foster Andres Guardado David McAtee John Tiggs

## ON THE BLACK LEADERSHIP AND OTHER WHITE MYTHS

We Still Outside Collective / June 4th, 2020

What they call, "the black leadership," does not exist. Let's be serious: what they are talking about is nothing more than a figment of the white liberal imagination. That is, if these so-called black leaders even exist at all, then they can only be found shucking and jiving a "woke" white person's head.

Isn't it interesting how progressive whites seem to have a direct line of communication with black leaders, while everyone else in the street fails to suffer from the same delusional schizophrenia? What's all the more odd is that the voices that they hear from these magical negroes always manage say the same things:

"Everyone should peacefully protest on the sidewalk, because unmediated black rage makes others uncomfortable." "Don't strike back at that cop even if he wants to kill you and everyone you love." "I know the manager follows black kids from aisle to aisle, but still, his store shouldn't be looted." In other words, the message relayed from the sounds on repeat in a white liberal's head is to end the black revolt and conduct civil disobedience in a

manner that is appropriate for Karen and Ethan, not Jamal and Keisha.

It is worthwhile to note that black people, themselves, never refer to any mythical black leadership. This is because we know, full and well, that all of our leaders, since Martin and Malcolm, have been killed. Even our potential leaders, like Trayvon and Tamir, are gunned down before they can share with us their vision. What's more, if they are not brutally murdered, then they are locked away forever with Sundiata, Mutulu, and Mumia. That is, we know that if you speak with truth and move against oppression, then the only way to avoid the pig's bullet or penitentiary, the modern-day cracker's whip or plantation, is to go on the run like Assata Olugbala Shakur! In fact, any black person that says otherwise should be exposed for what he or she is: a poverty-pimp!

After half of century without a figurehead in the front, the black youth has shown the whole country that they are more than capable of setting their own path and directing their own initiatives. They have demonstrated to us a dynamism that can never be reduced to a homogeneous mass following any one authoritative voice. Paradoxically, it is the entire spectrum of the black revolt in the streets that can be identified as leaderless "leaders," since they have shown everyone else what it means to free yourself.

> To paraphrase James Baldwin's still apt observation, we black people are more aware of the inner workings of our pale-face antagonists than they are of themselves. Consequently, the diagnosis of woke whitey's psychological condition is quite simple: this James Earl Jones, Carl Winslow, or Rafiki from the Lion King voice, which bellows off the walls of their skull, is a defense mechanism against their inability to completely repress their own white superiority complex. What's also abundantly clear is that

the only way to fully work through this hang up is to gain even a small percent of the courage of a black adolescent and overcome their white guilt with a fist, a stone, and a Molotov cocktail.

ON THE BLACK LEADERSHIP & OTHER WHITE MYTHS Pg.16

After half of century without a figurehead in the front, the black youth has shown the whole country that they are more than capable of setting their own path and directing their own initiatives.

## **BLACK LIBERAL, YOUR TIME IS UP**

Yes, tell the world that we are fed up. But, Black liberal, know that we are finished with you, too. Yannick Giovanni Marshall / June 2020



As you ready yourself to attempt to hijack the work of radicals, to go undercover dressed in our clothes and slip into the crowd pretending that you were always there and that you are us, know that we see you. Even now, as you are preparing your watered-down Black Lives Matter syllabi and your "Hope and the Black Spring in the Time of Corona" book manuscripts, which are by now ready for press, filled as they are with the same dimly lit, unimaginative pablum about "improving race relations", feel-good "anti-racism", and "ways to move forward". We see you. We know why you have come.

You are here to translate an uprising. You are here to show your black skin so that you can claim the mantle of authority on anti-Blackness that white liberals have bestowed upon you. You are here to sit at their pundit tables, before their cameras. Your face beaming across the world as it provides the safest possible interpretation of a revolution in order to police its

possibilities and pave over the threat of abolition with as mild and ineffective a reform as possible.

Although uprisings are spearheaded by radicals, we are shut out of the public discussion. Neither the Black radical, nor Black radical thought is given air time. Instead, we are forced to endure being talked about and having the revolution we fought for be defused and repackaged to be palatable to a white liberal audience.

We see you gearing up for your mission. You will not be able to blend into the crowd this time.

No interpretation of a revolution is needed. Its commentators should not be the people who yesterday were only too happy to sit at the table with white nationalists and who took smiling pictures with the "good police". It cannot be narrated by the same people who – alongside their white liberal colleagues – jump Black radicals, beating us down with tired Martin Luther King Jr quotes in an attempt to discipline our anger and fix the boundaries of our action. Not by the same people who spew King at every opportunity, wielding him as a cudgel against those whom they have trained in the belief that King is king and his word is law.

It is a cult of King sustained, on the one hand, by the power of white liberal media, schools and corporate offices that have bled him of what little anti-colonialism he had in order to parade him for their purposes, and on the other hand, by the effective silencing of his contemporaries and his contemporary critics.

We have had to endure the silencing of people like Kwame Ture, who said, "In order for nonviolence to work, your opponent has to have a conscience. The United States has no conscience." We have endured the silencing of people like Assata Shakur, who said, "Nobody in the world, nobody in history, has ever gotten their freedom by appealing to the moral sense of the people who were oppressing them."

You have not only been complicit in the silencing of the radicals, but by hogging the mic and having the prerogative on how Black struggle is spoken of and its history remembered, you have engineered it. Even as our people are permanently incarcerated or are made refugees and hunted, they die a second death in your willful amnesia.

Black radical critics have proven to be right although you would not know it by how little their names are known and how little room you have given them. Get off the mic and give it to the people. Get off the platform and out of the newsroom. Your time is up.

For far too long, Black liberal, you have been allowed to domesticate Black radicalism. Because our oppressors prefer you to us and at any sign of trouble, rush out to find you to speak on behalf of all Black people, you have eagerly taken the chance to hog all of the mics and silence us. You weaken our revolt with your narration.

We know that even now you are preparing to invade us with your linked arms performing that played out "we shall overcome" nonsense in order to reframe destruction in the colony and of the civil order as a quest for policy changes. You have come to firehose the fire in our uprising while pretending to be angrier and more rebellious than the rebels. As if it were not just yesterday that you were standing shoulder to shoulder with police and politicians begging for calm and agreeing that this is sad.

We know that by the immensity of your power and the relative strength of your megaphones you will have some successes in the coming fraud. But no matter how well you carve and gut this revolution and lay its skin on your face as your mask, we will still see you. We know that when we say abolish prisons and police you will intercede on behalf of the state and white power with your deliberate mistranslation saying we asked for "less harsh sentences and more trust between the police and Black community."

When we say we want this thing over with, you will say we want "change".

When we say this white supremacist settler-colony has anti-Blackness in its DNA and is incapable of providing any adequate liberation you say, "America is failing Black people".

We say we want to get out of here. You ask "how do we move forward?" As if we do not hear in your tone the hope that all this "unrest" can be quelled and we can move quietly onto the next killing.

You insist on mistranslating us.

Black liberal, your time is up. You have held the mic for too long. Give the mic to any random protester on the street. Any one of them will have something more insightful and analytically sound to say than you do. When you dress up in clothes with our slogans and go on TV all you do is cry. What are you crying about? I cannot remember the last time I have smiled so much. You have been smiling too long with our oppressors. There is no reason to cry when the resistance comes out. We would have thought you would be ecstatic, all you who have professed to be interested in change.

You who would speak lovingly of the English peasants of 1381 who, torch in hand, emerged from the ruins of the Black Death to burn the property of the ruling classes in the hope of emancipating themselves. But now, when Black people who are forced to witness themselves publicly hunted and tortured to death on a weekly basis rise up, you attempt to coax them away from their cigarette lighters.

When the Target starts burning down, the Black liberal will fight harder to put it out than its owners. But as Malcolm X said: "You had another Negro out in the field. The house Negro was in the minority. The masses – the field Negroes were the masses. They were in the majority. When the master got sick, they prayed that he'd die. If his house caught on fire, they'd pray for a wind to come along and fan the breeze."

They gave you the platform, but there are more of us than there are of you. The greatest trick you ever pulled off was to make it seem that it was you who represented the majority of Black people and it were those radically against colonial policing who were few and far between. Now you see us in our thousands. Stop crying.

X: "That Uncle Tom wore a handkerchief around his head. This Uncle Tom wears a top hat. He's sharp. He dresses just like you do. He speaks the same phraseology, the same language. He tries to speak it better than you do. He speaks with the same accents, same diction. And when you say, 'your army,' he says, 'our army.' He hasn't got anybody to defend him, but anytime you say 'we' he says 'we.' 'Our president,' 'our government,' 'our Senate,' 'our congressmen,' 'our this and our that.' And he hasn't even got a seat in that 'our' even at the end of the line. So this is the twentieth-century Negro."

Black liberal, as we brace for the second wave of repression from your government, remember that we still see you. When your police, your National Guard, your dogs are sicced on us, when your P W Botha/ Bull Connor of a president who agitated for a Sharpeville 1960 against the migrants, prepares to commit atrocities, despite our masked shouts, stones and placards, we still see you. We know why you have come. But you are too late.

For the first time in a long while we have also been seen and know that we are not alone. Before we might have stepped out sheepishly, politely asking to consider more radical solutions, thinking that we were moving, vulnerably, naked and alone, into an open field of attack dogs.

But now that we have stridden bravely forth, without shields, into the centres of white supremacy, we have

discovered that we are covered by a multitude of good people. Look at the world. We are not alone. As you jump the bandwagon and attempt to wrestle the reins away from us, know that this is a Black radicals' moment. See us.

Black radicals are here to stay. Come up off that mic and get out before you get "looted". And take those Barack and Michelle posters with you. They never belonged to us.

The arc of the moral universe is long but it bends towards Malcolm.

Peace after revolution.

## **REGARDING "CHAZ"**

Regarding the Temporary Autonomous Zone in Seattle / November 2020



The CHAZ (Capitol Hill Autonomous Zone) eventually called the CHOP (Capitol Hill Occupied Protest) was born out of necessity and was neither planned or envisioned before it happened. To understand the CHAZ you have to understand a little of the history of the area, both very recent and long past. On May 29th 2020 Seattle saw the wildest and most destructive riots it has possibly ever seen. Those here during the 1999 WTO may disagree, but the sheer size and scope of the recent conflict with police and the widescale looting of the downtown core were unparalleled in history. The looting continued well into the night after the demonstrators had gone home and spread into the suburbs the next day.

At this point the situation in the city was so chaotic that curfews had been implemented and the National Guard was patrolling the streets. The following day, Sunday May 30th, the demos continued. Most were ad hoc, called on the fly, but they were massive. They marched past burnt out police cars and tried to navigate around the National Guard. Eventually these massive demos left the downtown neighborhood and marched towards Capitol Hill ("the Hill"). This is the normal trajectory of demos in this city. As in the past when anarchists have called a demo, or the police think a demo might be called, the area around the East Police Precinct was shut down. Cops formed lines and blocked the street. When the massive crowds, which had a tone of peacefulness, attempted to move past the East Precinct, they were met with a solid line of riot police and the National Guard.

Unable to move forward, the crowds simply assembled outside the station. Over the course of the next week a continuous battle was waged between the police and a sometimes small, sometimes large crowd of people simply trying to get past. The front line became more sophisticated and defensive techniques like shields and umbrellas were deployed. It is very important to understand that this crowd lacked tactical and ideological unity. It was huge, and it often contradicted itself and lacked an aim. It attempted to remain "nonviolent" even in the face of massive police assaults, and often had "peace police," liberal protestors trying to halt action, within its own ranks. The people on the front line were fired up, but new, and hadn't had a lot of time to create an internal or external plan. The term multi-cultural is a divisive one insofar as it is often used to legitimize a crowd by pointing to how many non-Black people were out in support of Black Lives Matter, but in this scenario it is apt to say that the situation was Black-led and the crowd diverse.

Like clockwork almost every night the police would move in and assault the crowdwith tear gas, pepper balls, batons and rubber bullets. They had to be constantly resupplied with less-than-lethal ammunition. In this ensuing violence more infrastructure was created. There had to be semi-permanent medic stations and ways to feed everyone. Stands offering free food started cropping up and businesses shuttered by the COVID-19 pandemic opened up storefronts to help support the demos. A band played on one street corner nearly every night, often doing so through tear gas and the sound of a thousand people running. Through each assault, the crowds reformed and refused to disperse. While politically many of the aims of the larger non-homogenous group remained fairly liberal-- "defund the police" etc-- their tactics maintained a stance of militant defense.

On Sunday June 7th, while an autonomous group was erecting a vigil to the fallen inside the "autonomous" zone, a car drove into the crowd. The U.S. left understands car attacks; we all know Heather Heyer's name and most of us have been to a demo where someone has threatened it with a vehicle. Sometimes it can feel that guns and cars are an inevitable aspect of demonstration culture in the USA, an element that has only grown in recent months, so there were always people on the edges of the demo and on side streets making soft blockades with bicycles etc. It wasn't enough to stop this one car from entering the crowd. People stopped him, but in the ensuing conflict he pulled a gun and shot (in the arm) one person who had attempted to prevent him from driving into the crowd. The shooter then proceeded to walk through the crowd and into the police lines where he was taken into custody. The man he shot was able to walk to the waiting medic van and did soto a round of applause, but in that moment the CHAZ was solidified.

The barricades became hard ones; dumpsters moved into the street, much of the police barricades that police themselves had erected between their front line and the demo was dismantled in front of their eyes to be repurposed on side streets. Cars were driven into intersections and became mobile but serious blockades. North of the precinct no less than 20 large boulder sized rocks were rolled into the street to stop cars from driving down it. And then everyone was just there. The car attack and the shooting had only brought more people out and all of a sudden without really thinking, the area was ours.

But it wouldn't remain ours without a fight. That night the police mounted the hardest assault any of the participants had seen. More tear gas and flashbangs and injuries. They shot one demonstrator in the chest with a flashbang and her heart stopped; she lived, but possibly only because of trained trauma medics. Police pushed the crowds back and they dispersed and reformed well into the night. Dumpsters went ablaze and even the peace police couldn't stop the rain of bottles falling behind the police line. When the streets died down the police did something very unexpected: they left. On Monday mid-morning they openly packed up and moved out of the precinct. It was not "abandoned" as some have suggested-- the police maintained officers inside the building and they certainly still used it-- but all the cops on the street went awayand the crowd was left to its own devices.

It is entirely possible that "autonomous zone" was a joke that spread and came into fruition. It certainly was not a planned or thought-through name, and not everyone agreed. Almost no-one agreed on anything except that the space needed to be maintained. More mutual aid spaces began to pop up and more people were out on the street every night. We had all been locked down due to COVID-19 since March and the uprising was our first chance to see each other. The space continued to grow and have more elements added: more kitchens, more medics, literally every surface was covered in graffiti and more layers kept getting added.

The next two weeks or so saw the formation and the utter failure of many ad hoc groups to address the issues inside and outside of the CHAZ. Even the name was a part of the debate. Demands began to arise, and conflicts over what to do with the precinct flared. These conflicts around the now enclosed but still occupied precinct were flamed by the city and the police themselves. They deftly created the concern that they had "intelligence" that people were planning on burning the precinct down like in Minneapolis. This idea, which was no more than a Twitter rumor started by the then-police chief, began to circulate and cause divisions inside the large and politically diverse crowd. The uprising that started after the murder of George Floyd has and will always be an uprising for Black liberation, so within the crowds of diverse people partaking in the actions and demos many have tried to hold true to following Black leadership on the ground. But in Seattle like everywhere else, Black communities are not a monolith and the divisions that exist are real and longstanding. The state capitalized on this notion by using people from the Black community, some known inside activist circles and some not, to open up "dialogue" with the crowd and start negotiations. They also sowed a certain amount of confusion and distrust among the participants. All of these cracks really began to show in the second week of the autonomous zone, but most can agree, that that first week, before it started to really stutter-step towards demise, was the best time we had had in years.

The space was a constant undulating mass of mutual aid, conflict and party. The Hill has been a longtime queer neighborhood, with the eventual gentrification that comes with that. As gentrification had taken hold the younger crews of Black and brown youth had been chased off and boutiques and upscale shops replaced them. But in that first week of the zone, the Hill was alive again. Parties and crowds filled the street. There was always food, and not a cop in sight. Everyone drank and smoked weed and met each other. That first week set the tone for many of the relationships that would come in the following months of street conflict; many of the friendships and bitter enemies that came about in the following months were created and cemented in that first week of the space. Anarchists held down a solid literature table and gave away probably thousands of zines to both old heads who hadn't been out in years and wall-eyed zoomers. People held assemblies, speak outs, workshops and discussion corners, as well as creating groups to maintain the barricades and run "security."

In the end, the dissolving of the space came from growing fatigue from the constant on-the-ground teams that were running it, and the very fact that there were in some ways a small number of people running the space. The city used clever divide-and-conquer techniques to remove more radical and militant elements from the area, which led to open negotiations between CHAZ and the city. In the end the space did not "end," but it certainly changed. The last full-scale assault on the area was on July 1st, with early-morning raids on the people still living in an encampment in the space and those doing support work for them and others in the area. But like in all the other police attacks, the crowd dissipated for a moment and then returned, evaporating and condensing. Even now, there is a 24/7 presence in the old CHAZ with a mutual-aid encampment and a tent village that brings refuge and coordination to much of the current protest movement. There could be books written about the dynamics that led to the creation and the "fall" of the CHAZ, as I'm sure there will be in the future, but ultimately it was a space stolen from the state under the demand for Black liberation. It was not the first space to do such a thing and it won't be the last, but it was integral for the continuance of a battle against the police that has not stopped raging.

## **A LETTER TO MICHAEL REINOEHL**

Idris Robinson / October 23rd, 2020



On Thursday, September 3rd, 2020, state agents murdered antifascist Michael Forest Reinoehl in cold blood in Washington state, by direct order of fascist US president Donald Trump (shot over 50 times). This is the first extrajudicial assassination of an antifascist directly by this regime in the United States.

Prior to his assassination, Reinoehl, in an act of revolutionary self-defense, shot and killed a known fascist who threatened Reinoehl and his friend's life. This fascist was in fact close friends the with Trump-supporting white supremacist Jeremy Christian who murdered several people on a train in Portland, Oregon in 2017. Reinoehl demonstrated a revolutionary will that scared off the more liberal or insincere demographics of the uprising against white supremacy in 2020, as his actions made it clear the fight against white supremacy, the state, and capitalism was not going to be pretty.

### The following is a letter to Michael following his assassination by Idris Robinson.

Dear Michael Reinoehl,

I must begin by apologizing for not writing to you sooner. That is, I need to say sorry for not getting this letter to you before it was all over—or better, before they took it upon themselves to end it, and had subsequently finished you off in the process. However, if there is any consolation that we can hold onto in all of this, then it is, as you and I both know very well, that it is never really over. And as the old slogan goes, "Nothing stops; Everything continues..."

Believe me, I will totally understand if there is simply no forgiveness left in that big heart of yours, since we all let you down when you needed us most. The sad fact of the matter is that everyone on our side claims to be waiting for the next John Brown, but when he finally appears before us, we instead line up to unanimously reject him. Later on, I think, most will come to acknowledge the tragedy in allowing history to repeat itself, yet very few will have the honesty to admit that you and your children were sacrificed so that we could continue to live our farcical lives of fear and shame.

What I mean is that there will be those who will continue to bear false witness, even though it is impossible to deny that it was none other than Ol' Brown who manifested himself through you. It is obvious to anyone, who was courageous enough not to turn away, that the piercing stare that the two of you share in common is, in fact, one and the same. Indeed, it showed itself to us, as you sat in that wooded grove, where the unmistakable fire in your eyes made the same silent pledge, which was also proclaimed in the black and white image of the great 19th century abolitionist, with his palm raised. It is the look of a person, man or woman, who has declared an eternal war against slavery.

It all happened so fast...And almost immediately, in the very next instant, so many of those who once stood beside you found a convenient way to forsake those bonds by expressing worries, instead of using their words to strengthen the collective commitments of solidarity. Above all, what indicated the implicit hypocrisy in the whole matter was how quickly they arrived at certain conclusions before they had even had a chance to learn the details of the situation.

The fact that it somehow did not manage to cross their minds that what happened was more than likely a legitimate case of self-defense is rather telling in and of itself. Since the uprising began, the list of those martyred by white supremacists, with or without a badge, continues grow almost daily: Calvin Horton, Sean Monterossa, Sarah Grossman, Italia Kelly, Marquis Tousant, Malik Graves, Victor Cazares, Robert Forbes, Oluwatoyin Salau, Victoria Simms, Erik Salgado...And in that same week, when you set your course with a bold decision to act, we lost two other momentous figures of your stature in Kenosha: Anthony Huber and Joseph Rosenbaum. Since it is the martyr's blood and not abstract humanitarian life that must be deemed the most precious, I have to accept all of the fault for inevitably leaving out names that demand to be repeated, again and again. Thus, as we witness, with each day, each week, and each month, another human being destroyed by firearms or automobiles, the question then poses itself more forcefully: why did their initial assumptions stray from the predictable instance of self-defense, which you would later confirm in that final interview?

On the other side of things, there is no black person unless they are a complete and total Uncle Tom—who would've even had a second thought about giving you the benefit of the doubt here. This is because the course of our lives has shown us that anyone who plays with guns as recklessly as the fascists do will, eventually and unsurprisingly, get themselves shot. To put it bluntly, if we were talking about an inner-city gang affiliate, instead of a member of the far-right, then there would certainly be no discussion about any of this at all.

What the double-standard with regards to your situation reveals is how violence in America will always necessarily have a profoundly racial dimension. And it is precisely this—the terrifying core of racialized violence—that they are trying to repress when they lie to both themselves and others that their issue with what you did is a question of strategy or tactics. I mean, give me a break: in a country that is literally saturated in violence, from blind mass shooters to murderous police, no one can honestly claim that the few shots that you let off could in some way be construed as an escalation. There is simply no way to avoid the spiral of violence that began at the very moment when the first wooden ships reached the shores of the Atlantic.

In truth, when considering that a veritable industry has been constructed to promote victimhood—where everyone except the most wretched is capable of cashing-in—what they are afraid of is not so much ending up on the smoky side of the barrel of gun. Instead, what they are really afraid of is having another person's blood on their hands. Put better, it is what is implied by spilling another's blood that constitutes their deepest fears. It would mean that they would finally have to believe in something—that is, believe in something beyond themselves. Such a choice would necessarily involve a conscious transgression: crossing over a dangerous boundary, at the edge, at the limits, where whiteness ends; and once it has been breached, they could never find their way back.

What I am trying my best to get at, albeit poorly, is what Walter Benjamin had once struggled to explain about the ethical stakes of the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill:"

"Those who base a condemnation of all violent killing of one person by another on the commandment are therefore mistaken. It exists not as a criterion of judgment, but as a guideline for the actions of persons and communities who have to wrestle with it in solitude and, in exceptional cases, to take upon themselves the responsibility of ignoring it... But those thinkers who take the opposite view refer to a... doctrine of the sanctity of life [and] profess that higher than the happiness and justice of existence stands existence alone. As certainly as this last proposition is false, indeed ignoble, it shows the necessity of seeking the reason for the commandment no longer in what the deed does to the victim, but in what it does to God and the doer. The proposition that existence stands higher than a just existence is false and ignominious, if existence is to mean nothing other than mere life ... "

As holy as they come, John Brown fought, with the utmost religious sincerity, exactly this internal battle within himself. By contravening the prohibition against murder, at Pottawatomie, at Harpers Ferry, he drew a line that elevated truth and justice above life itself. It demonstrated that all life will remain senseless and barren, so long as there are those reduced to abject servitude. And yes Michael, you did the same, when in protecting both yourself and your friend, you brought to reality the chant, otherwise carelessly echoed, that "No Lives Matter Until Black Lives Matter."

Such a conversion of words into deeds inherently involves a fundamental transformation of the self. This is what Benjamin meant when he said that it is more about what is done to the doer than to the victim. Once again, in our context, this has an irrevocably racial significance. To some extent, it boils down to the plain fact that I know so many white people who have never been in a fist fight; but, conversely, when you grow up black, your grandma won't let you back in the house unless you stand up for yourself and throw hands. It is for this reason that I can so readily dismiss purported strategic concerns as irrelevant, because we are taught to fight even if we are sure to lose to a stronger opponent. In the larger struggle against America, it is clear that, in the same way, we have both nothing to lose and nothing to gain, except for that something "higher" that could only be abandoned by giving in. It's like James Baldwin once said, those who are forced to snatch their humanity out of the fire of cruelty, whether they survive or not, still come to

know something that no school or church could ever teach. For others to accept this wager is to perpetrate the ultimate betrayal of their own whiteness. It is to become an abolitionist.

Conducting his raid, John Brown assumed precisely this peculiar blend of hope and despair in order to affirmatively take up his position on death-ground. Accordingly, his willingness to act was wholly reflected in his character. In this regard, there was always something about an account offered by the historian Margaret Washington that has stayed with me:

"It's important to understand what an anomaly John Brown was during his time as far as his attitude toward people of African descent was concerned, because John Brown considered himself a complete egalitarian. It was very important for him to practice egalitarianism on all levels...And even the [other] abolitionists, as antislavery as they were, the majority of them did not see African Americans as equals... Well, John Brown was not like that. For him, practicing egalitarianism was a first step toward ending slavery. And African Americans who came in contact with him knew this immediately. He made it very clear that he saw no difference, and he did not make this clear by saying it, he made it clear by what he did."

For lack of a better formulation, it could be said that common sense is very white, whereas good sense is totally anti-white.

What this entails is that much of academic debate about race, which has now become everyday parlance, is actually beside the point. It is neither biological nor social: whiteness is to be measured by the degree to which a person clings to the last vestiges of this dying and doomed country. It is to maintain a faith in the same constitutional protections that your summary execution again proved empty. It is to nurse feelings for that one racist family member who still manages to elicit affection and love. It is to believe that a job is actually deserved at a firm where the darker employees can only cleanup. In short, it is the extent to which a person embodies life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It is worthwhile to note that, according to this standard of evaluation, it follows that many of the people who are called "black" must instead be judged as white.

In order to fend off its own dissolution, white supremacist society tells us that there is nothing more insane than the desire to be born with black skin. This is how they present Rachel Dolezal to us. John Brown was forced to wear this label for more than a century and it will unfortunately be attached to you, Michael, for some time to come. However, this is nothing but a projection of a far more widespread cluster of pathologies pervading white America: a situation in which opiates and self-inflicted wounds have become the only means to temper the pain of rapidly disintegrating personal relationships.

Likewise, the dire emotional state of the individual citizen is being mirrored in the way the country, as a whole, is crumbling before our eyes. To be more precise, I'd say that the American government is doing its best to overthrow itself. Yet, so accustomed to disappointment, I should have expected some of the loudest voices within the movement to express skepticism, a defeatist attitude, and acquire a defensive posture through their reluctance. It brings to mind the old "Chapter Report on the S.D.S Regional Council" distributed by Up Against the Wall Motherfucker:

#### A 'WHITE RADICAL' IS THREE PARTS BULL-SHIT AND ONE PART HESITATION, IT IS NOT REVOLUTIONARY AND SHOULD NOT BE STOCKPILED AT THIS MOMENT...

Despite certain grandiose delusions of white mastery and control, it is becoming increasingly evident that civil war is inescapable. It is not up to anyone. Rather, it is a play of forces that does not need to make any excuses for itself—once the tiger has been let out the cage, it doesn't go back in without trying to turn its former captors into prey. In other words, it doesn't look like black people are going to sit down anytime soon, unless Mister Charlie figures out a way to strap us back down into his chair. Therefore, the strategic question is, then, not so much how to stop it, but how to win a civil war.

And so, the misgivings about what you did tend to tread on thin air. What's more, they all turn a blind eye to the concrete lessons taught to us by history. That is, the criticism and apprehensions, which I'm sure you have also heard, tend to ignore the extensive tradition of militant self-defense, which has consistently been the red thread capable of uniting the most advanced and revolutionary sectors of the black freedom struggle. Only by neglecting this legacy can one mistakenly suppose that racist terror will somehow disappear on its own or be checked by the authorities. Alas, I have written too much. With that said, if all this too overwhelming, don't feel compelled to hurry in writing back—even when I don't hear from you, I know that you're still around. To close, I should mention that, in these difficult times, with their disorientating ups and downs, I find myself telling my friends, more often and in earnest, that I love them.

Love and solidarity, Idris Robinson

#### **Editor's Note:**

There is a tradition by American police when one of their own has been killed. The tradition is to find, and murder the suspect. If they can not murder them, the goal is to paralyze them. This happened when they killed Christopher Dorner, and then set him on fire. This happened when they paralyzed Christopher Monfort, and he later died in prison. Two individuals who killed police in response to the torture inflicted on black and poor communities.

Michael Reinoehl did not kill a cop. He killed a fascist, a member of a group known as Patriot Prayer. Police found Michael and shot him over fifty times, riddling him with bullet holes. In an interview with vice the day before his murder, Michael was very composed and referred to a lawyer he was consulting. He was an advocate for revolutionary self-defense and recognized the severe risks involved in the battle against fascism during these intense times in the world, however it was obviously seen in his composure that he was not preparing to go out with a bang or "suicide by cop". He was murdered, and brutally murdered, in accordance to the same tradition practiced by police when they "lose" one of their own. And while this dead nazi he killed was not a police officer, the actions of the police who murdered Michael assert the already obvious fact that the police have a side in the battle of fascism and anti-fascism.

Michael must be mourned and celebrated. His courage and struggle must be remembered by future struggles against fascism, and in the courage we demonstrate regardless of the odds we face. His life was not lost in vain; we don't forgive, and we don't forget.

*No good cops. No tolerance for nazis. No difference in the two.* 

# **UPRISINGSUPPORT.ORG**

Two and a half years later, and repression continues. Of the thousands of courageous people arrested, hundreds continue to face trial, with dozens experiencing or facing long term imprisonment. Prisoner support and revolutionary solidarity is what keeps our communities strong, however, it is a long term project.

#### PLEASE CONSULT THE FOLLOWING WEBSITE FOR THE BEST UP-TO-DATE INFORMATION ON CONTINUED REPRESSION RELATED TO THE GEORGE FLOYD UPRISING IN 2020:

### uprisingsupport.org

#### A statement from the project:

Starting in May 2020 the U.S. was shaken by protests, uprisings, and riots following the police murder of George Floyd. Almost immediately the government moved in to repress those taking the streets against the police and racial violence. More than 350 people were arrested on federal charges while city and state level arrests topped 14,000 between May 28th and Nov 3rd. Some cities/regions already had established organizations and crews to help with both jail support and long-term prisoner support during and after the Uprising; in other places new groups formed as the need arose; yet other places still have little or no infrastructure to support the massive number of arrestees.

The uprising was the continuation of a battle against the combined powers of the state and white supremacy that has been raging for decades; centuries. That fight does not end when the protests die down or the riots are quelled. It overlaps with other moments of rupture and with the care that we show for each other in the aftermath of repression and the build up towards the next moment. The struggle continues. And for that reason, we do not want those captured by the state to be isolated through their imprisonment and left out of that continuing struggle. We want to facilitate their connections with people, movements, and communities on the outside; this website is one piece of that effort. This site is run by a few people who have both interest in and experience with running support campaigns and doing anti-repression education and organizing. We are not ourselves an organization and we rely primarily on the work and support of those on the ground in each of these places who already have relationships with Uprising defendants and prisoners. We have done our best to communicate with defendants and inform them that since ours is a struggle for total collective liberation that we will not list people who stand for sexism, homophobia, racism, transphobia or other forms of domination. We also will not list or support people who cooperate with the government against others to better their own circumstances.

If you are supporting someone who you think should be on this site or have any questions please reach out.

#### Uprisingsupportsite@protonmail.com

FOR ADDITIONAL READING ON THE UPRISING OF 2020: sm28.org/archive "Everything is unprecedented--the uprising, the buildup to the uprising, and the precarity we all face when trying to understand what the near future holds."

**November 2020 / Anonymous** 

A list of some of those who have died during the peak of the uprising (This list was compiled from events happening between May 2020 & November 2020). While some names may be missing, and some murders may have gone unknown, we want to recognize some of the courageous people who have died at the hands of police and fascists since this uprising began. Never Forgive Never Forget.

**Chris Beaty**, **Anthony M. Huber**, **Michael Forest Reinoehl Terron Jammal Boone. Ravshard Brooks. Bernard Carvajal**, **Victor Cazares. Kamal Flowers**, Jamel Floyd, **Robert Forbes. Marvin Francois**, **Robert Fuller**, **Tyler Gerth**, **Summer Taylor** Jorge Gomez, **Tyguarn Graves**, Sarah Grossman. Andrés Guardado. Jose Gutierrez, **Javar Harrell. Calvin Horton, Jr.,** Italia Kelly. Mason James Lira, David "Yaya" McAtee, Sean Monterrosa. **Dorian Murrell**, **Barry Perkins**, **Kevin Pulido**, **Oluwatoyin Salau**, James Scurlock, **Marguis Tousant Garrett Foster Andres Guardado David McAtee John Tiggs** 



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