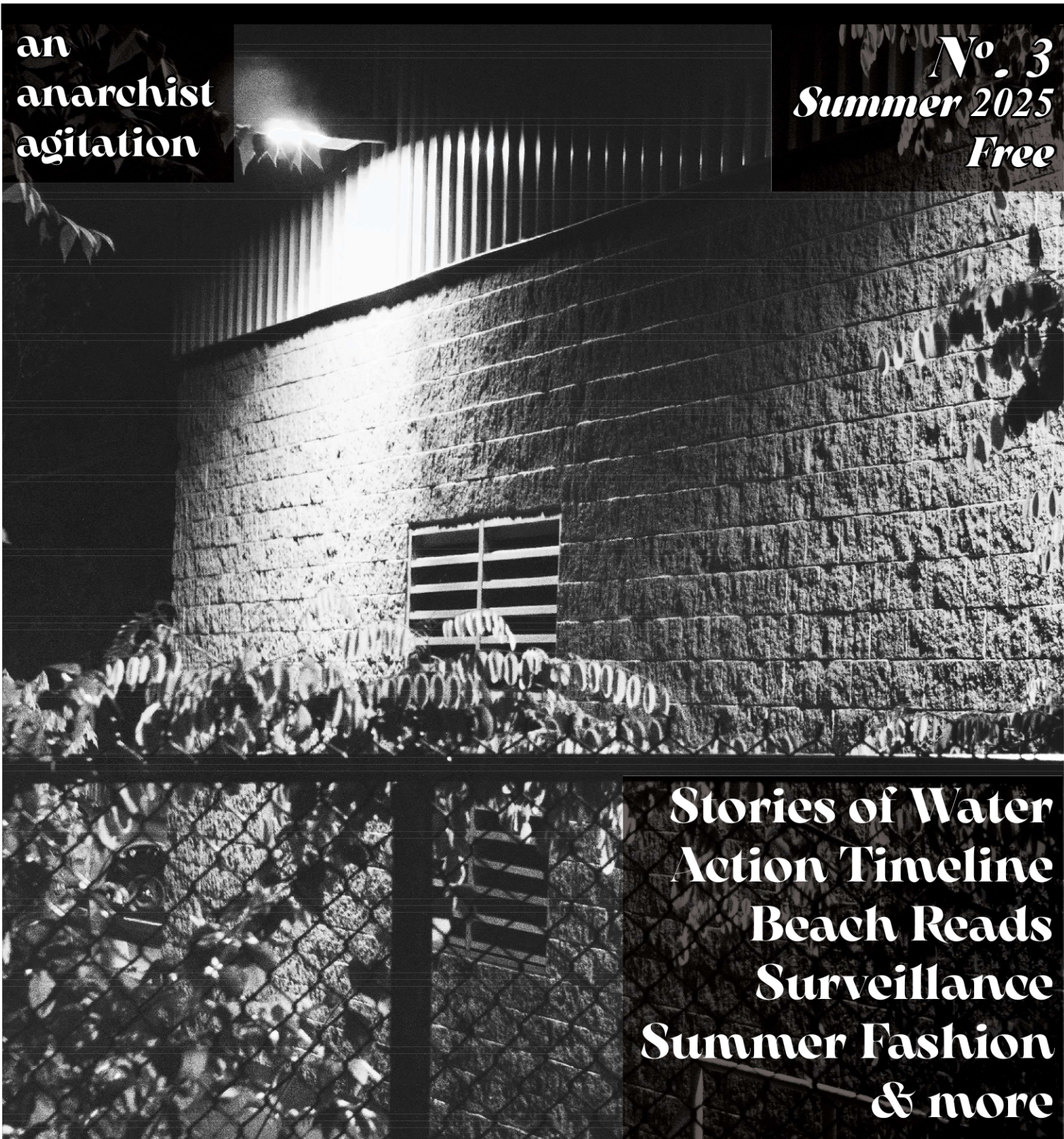


*In Tension aspires to be a place-based project, and as such, we must state that “Bloomington” and “Indiana” should not exist. At the deepest fulfillment of our liberatory project, these entities would be dissolved. The devastating impact of European colonization, settlement, and industrialization on the land, its human and nonhuman inhabitants, and the way in which we relate to it cannot be overstated. This land is unceded territory of the Myaamia, Kaskaskia, Kiikaapoi, šaawanwaki, Neshnabek, Wandat, Waayaahatanwa, Peeyankihšiaki, Peewaareewa, Lenape, and others.  
Toward the end of the U.S. and every empire.*

# in TENSION

an  
anarchist  
agitation

Nº. 3  
*Summer 2025*  
*Free*



**Stories of Water**  
**Action Timeline**  
**Beach Reads**  
**Surveillance**  
**Summer Fashion**  
**& more**



**In Tension** is a journal acting as a place for anarchist analysis, dialogue, and reflection on activity that extends beyond single subcultures, issues, and social groups. Intended for people beginning to learn what anarchists are fighting and creating as well as people who have identified with anarchism for decades, In Tension is a way for us to talk to each other and report actions, issues, and initiatives that are otherwise under- or un-reported. We are interested in promoting the practice of doing things for ourselves and connecting our struggles locally, regionally, and internationally. In Tension also functions as an archive of sorts, a way to foster collective remembering.

In Tension is published in so-called Bloomington, Indiana each season. We welcome submissions of actions, events, and analysis from different perspectives that hold true to an anti-authoritarian, anti-state, and liberatory lens.

Please keep submissions to a length of ~1500 words or fewer. See [InTension.noblogs.org](http://InTension.noblogs.org) for instructions on how to submit anonymously and securely. For other correspondence, reach us at [InTension@riseup.net](mailto:InTension@riseup.net).



To us, to live life as anarchists is not about accepting a hollow title or stagnant ideology, but is about an active, intentional, and eternal becoming. It is not just about the ideas we have but how we put them into the world, and the strength we must cultivate to weather what unfolds when living against the dominant order of this society. We live in tension with this world every day: its jobs, prisons, ideals, social roles, and identities. We notice the ways others do too, and we refuse to avoid conflict in pursuit of comfort or for an illusion of safety. We chose “In Tension” as our title as a way to embrace the difficult balance of this beautiful and painful path. We accept the discomforts and challenges of being against so much of this world, and understand it as a reality of creating lives true to our values and hearts. We embrace our hostility for this world, and learn where to channel our time and energy to see ideas come to fruition. We notice and embrace ruptures small and large, where we can see through the facade of this world. It is neither complacency, nor an ascetic militancy, but a fostering of joy through the creation of our lives and a living-against. Rejecting a finality of destination, it is choosing to stretch beyond what is familiar, comfortable, or known, in a continual pursuit of freedom.



“What if the Summer Never Ends”  
Sean Bonney

None of us have slept for a long time. How could we. There were fires up and down the Charing Cross Road. Mumbled conversations about Apartheid. England was damp, was possibly leaking. We followed tiny trails of liquid waste across the city. Called it aesthetics. Called it action. We all fell down. Some of us voted. Some of us put on balaclavas. There were several earthquakes. Endless strategies of tedious indifference. Some major buildings and some statues defaced. Declaration of endless war. Parties in the park. Criminalization of drinking. Several dead friends. There was experimentation with makeup and electricity. Occupation of a number of universities. Fistfights withcops and fascists. Distress. Hate speech. Consolidation of royalty. Running for our lives. It’s difficult now — all of that stuff is piled up like a heap of expressionist rubble in a semi-imaginary alley somewhere far away. We argue endlessly about whether it was us who died or them, but the one thing we all agree on is the barbed line that separates us. Sometimes we pluck that line. It makes a high and barely audible electric screech, like some useless old record. It puts immense pressure on the inside of our skulls, like boiling bleach, like the abolition of all memory. It speaks of heartbreak, of denial, of new advances in somnambulism. Of revenge fantasies and drug addiction. It has nothing to say about where to go from here, about the day we crawl out from under our scattered rocks, and burn their border controls to the ground. One day our eyes will close. One day the sun will finally go down.





# Substance for the Shadow:

A Column of Art and Culture

## YUCK

YUCK is, by my estimation, one of Bloomington’s most prolific graffiti writers in recent memory (second only to maybe ICKY, whose tagging seems almost compulsive).

I first noticed YUCK in 2021 and quickly started seeing their tags literally everywhere I went: telephone poles in far-flung parking lots, a chunk of rock in an otherwise graffiti-less quarry, one single brick on the huge, blank back wall of Fresh Thyme. Their style has not evolved since then. Hurried, swooping letters—every line segment is made with a C shape—spelling out sometimes vaguely political, always borderline incoherent messages. They work exclusively with sharpies and spraypaint. Their small black sharpie tags are usually accompanied by circle As, iron fronts, ACABs or crossed-out crowns. Their throws are crowded, clumsy, multi-color bubble letters with black outlines. Sometimes they play with shadows, but in a way that suggests they’ve maybe not ever seen a shadow before.

YUCK is not \*street art\*. YUCK is \*graffiti\*. That said, they seem to have either no awareness of or a total disregard for typical graffiti etiquette. They frequently tag over throws, sidebust, and throw over pieces without completely covering them. They have even written other writers’ tags, identifiable as their handiwork not because it was alongside a YUCK tag but because of their signature handstyle. It is unclear if they are ever intentionally dissing anyone.

I have at times felt deeply annoyed by their choices, their phrasing, their overall style. But that’s why I appreciate them so much. Their work feels unwieldy. It is, in a word, bad. Objectively. That’s where its power lies: YUCK serves as an evergreen reminder that you don’t have to be good at something to do it publicly, frequently, or effectively—the effect being, in this case, uglying up the place. The graffiti bros don’t want it because it’s toy. The Bloomington Arts Commission doesn’t want it because it’s ugly and difficult. YUCK is for no one. YUCK is a dutiful lone soldier in the fight against encroaching gentrification.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Stories of Water	2
Confrontation in the Age of Surveillance	4
Setting Our Own Priorities	7
June 11th	9
<b>How to :</b> Asphalt Mosaics	10
<b>A Lexicon:</b> Vegan	11
<b>Defined by Action</b>	12
Unpacking Queer Joy	14
Best Beach Reads of 2025	16
<b>Enemy Territories:</b> Gentrification as the Regulation of Life	17
<b>Collapse Features:</b> Strategies for Safer Travel	20
Go For a Walk	22
Summer Fashion	23
<b>Substance for the Shadow:</b> YUCK	24
“What if the Summer Never Ends” by Sean Bonney	25



# Stories of Water

Bloomington sits atop a regional high point dividing the watersheds of the two forks of the White River. To the north of town and in Ellettsville, the Beanblossom, Griffy, and Jack's Defeat Creeks flow to the West Fork White River, sometimes still called Wapahani, an English descendant of the Myaamia (Miami) name "Waapikamiiki." or the Lenape (Delaware) name "Wapi-hanne." "The Campus River, Clear Creek, and Jackson Creek flow south meeting the East fork White River, with its unremembered name "Aankwaahsakwa Siipiiwi," (Driftwood River) just outside of Bedford. Beyond supplying life sustaining water not only here, but eventually to the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, these waterways hold a history as long as the untold generations who have come before us.

Far too often we're quizzed on the borders that carve up the world, the mighty conquerors and warriors of distant lands, and the laws and treaties that bound far off moldering kings, but we might never learn the names of the trees and hills we look upon each day, the battles whose suffering stain the soil below our feet, and the expansive histories within our own horizon. Often this region, and many others like it, are portrayed as boring, without history, or uneventful; the effort to learn about such an unimportant place might be better spent learning about broader events or more economically and culturally impactful cities. We should be aware that this logic results from a conscious and propagandist forgetting of the past for comfort or convenience. This land was stolen by bullet and blade; lives were smothered

for in its acquisition. There must be something worth killing for here.

## Waapikamiiki

(Towards the Wapahani)

North of the city are two man-made lakes. The closest is Lake Griffy which forms from the run off of the surrounding hollows with a short creek forming before the waterline of the lake. After leaving the dam Griffy Creek flows into Beanblossom Creek near where I-69 and North Walnut Street merge. The head waters of Beanblossom Creek start north of Nashville, IN, flowing west until they are eventually ensnared by the dam that has created the second "lake," Lake Lemon, before continuing on. After merging Beanblossom flows north through a wide bottom producing wetlands, a small part of which form the Sycamore Land Trust's Beanblossom Bottoms Nature Preserve and the Muscatatuck National Wildlife Refuge in Monroe County. Meeting Jack's Defeat Creek north of Stinesville, Beanblossom finally reaches the White River just south of Gosport.

In 2015, the HT reported on Christopher Headdy, a Myaamia man whose family has remained in the Stinesville area even after the forced removal of the Myaamiaki (miami people) following land seizures in the 1830s and '40s.<sup>F</sup> In fact, many of the Myaamiaki were never forced out of what would become so-called "Indiana." Those who were able to acquire enough money to buy their own land and keep a low enough profile were able to remain and many still do. Before colonizers gave Beanblossom Creek its English name,

several other peoples knew it by other names. The Lenape (Delaware) knew the creek as "Hakiach-hanne" and the Wyandot (Huron), the "Co-shes-pa-we-set." Interestingly a 1933 map transcribes the Myaamia (Miami) name for the creek Ko-chis-ah-se-pe.<sup>A</sup> This happens to be the same Anglicization of the Myaamia name for the Saint Joseph river in Fort Wayne, which in the modern spelling system becomes Kocihsasiipi from kocihsa (bean) and siipiiwi (river).<sup>C,D</sup> The online Miami-Illinois language dictionary records the creeks name as "kocihsapakwasii" still with the same "kocihsa" (bean) but now with an additional "pakwa" element.<sup>G</sup> The name Beanblossom, then, is most likely a translation of an original indigenous name for the river, passed on for generations long after those who named it were erased from its history. The Indiana State Teachers Association's "Readings in Indiana History" from 1914 alleged the creek was named after Bean Blossom, a "pioneer" who, when running from folks resisting his colonization of their lands, nearly drowned in the creek which had recently been swollen by rain.<sup>E</sup> More importantly than clearly being an attempt at hagiography, this story removes the indigenous history of the land while also perpetuating a story of constant conflict, one which necessitated the removal of the inhabitants from their land.

## Aankwaahsakwa Siipionki

(Towards the East Fork White River)

Starting east of and flowing through the eponymous town, Gnow Bone Creek also passes Nashville and Belmont before merging into Salt Creek and flowing into Lake Monroe.

# Summer Fashion

get ready to bring the heat





# Go for a Walk



Go for a walk. Leave your phone at home. Look for quiet oases among the industrial noise-scape. Observe the dogwood upon the hill, the mugwort beneath the oak, or the tranquil stream beside the road. Watch the squirrel sip from a pool in the grooves of the sewer cap, or the baby bunny emerge from the burdock. Witness the crows drive away the eagle. Greet the coyote who trots the streets at night.

Go for a walk. Leave your phone at home. Sit in the grass and watch ducklings dive beside their mother. Touch the yarrow in your yard and find the hemlock along the tracks. Stare out toward the horizon until a fox darts across your sightline, chasing a groundhog up a tree and then disappearing into the brush across the path. Follow the creek and find a family of raccoons foraging in the stream where you normally encounter a heron. Familiarize yourself with your surroundings. Note the ever-present changes to the landscape around you. Know the world outside yourself.

Go for a walk. Take a friend. Escape the digital eavesdroppers. Avoid familiar structures. Speak to the aspirations of your higher self. Admit not to previous crimes nor speculate who may have done others.

Leave home before dawn to watch the fascist depart for work, confirming his residence. Rise late in the evening to monitor a pipeline company's security shifts from the darkness.

Go for a walk. Seek out summits. Act for freedom. Leave no trace. Unravel the United States.



After leaving the reservoir, Salt Creek is joined by Clear Creek and winds its way south until meeting the East Fork White River just east of Bedford. Gnaw Bone's name is most likely an Anglicization of an earlier french name "Narbonne." The French were the first European colonizers to this land, arriving in the early 1700s and being driven out following the end of the French and Indian war in the 1760's only to be replaced by American settlers.

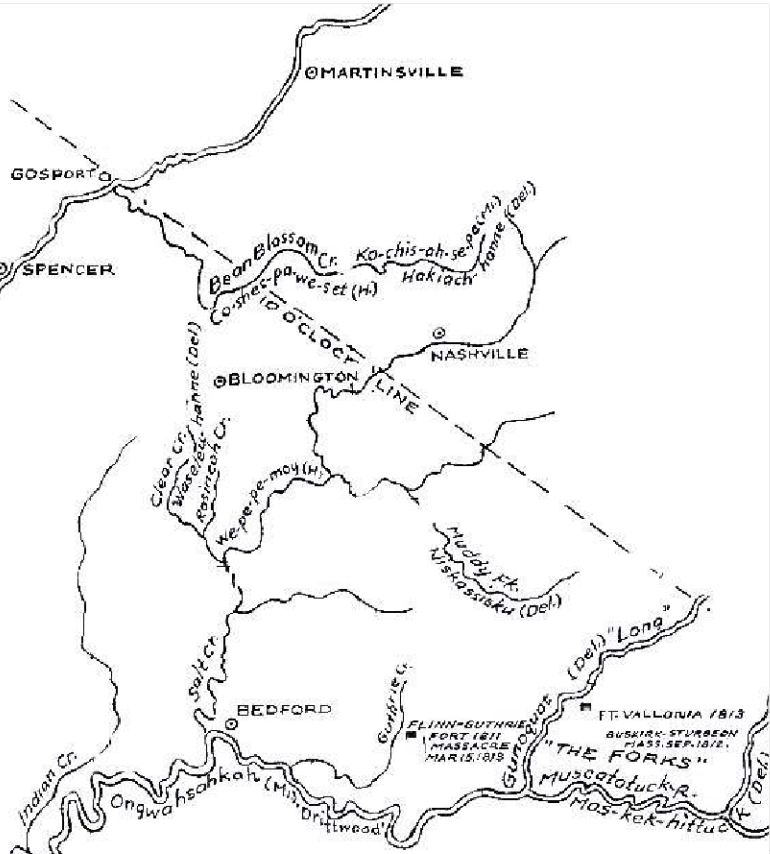
Campus River flows past Dunn Meadow and underneath downtown before eventually becoming Clear Creek. Once south of town and past the Clear Creek community, it's joined by Jackson Creek, whose west bank forms the south eastern border of Bloomington proper. Clear Creek then flows south until it meets Salt Creek. The Lenape name for clear creek was recorded as "Waseleu-hanne" and Salt Creek's Wyandot name was "We-pe-pe-moy." IU was first founded in 1820, 2 years after the Treaty of St. Mary's was signed which seized most of what is now known as central Indiana. Prior to the 1818 treaty, the border of the proceeding treaty of Fort Wayne (1809) or the 10 o'clock line (so named because Myaamia chief Little turtle, or Mihšihkinaahkwa, did not trust the colonizers' surveying equipment and instead threw a spear in the ground at 10 o'clock whose shadow became the new border) would have ran only a few miles north of town, running between Griffy Lake and Lake Lemon. Early Bloomington was truly the "frontier" and early colonists remember local indigenous children playing on the banks of the Campus River which at that point was known as the "Spanker's Branch."<sup>1</sup>

A few miles up the East Fork White River from Bedford sits the Clampitt Site. Excavations of the site in the

early 90s found a village at least 1 acre in size around a central plaza and surrounded by a stockade. The site contained over ten thousand fragments of pottery. The existence of artifacts from a range of different archaeological periods suggest the site may have been occupied for thousands of years. The site seems to have been abandoned at the end of the Oliver Phase, the last archaeological period before European contact.

Starting just south of the Monroe County Airport, the Indian Creek winds its way south to the River to a point just east of Loogootee. The creek gives its name to Indian Creek chert, which was a highly valued regional stone preferred for its high quality, ability to keep an edge, and how well it could be heat-treated so even lower quality chert could be turned into high quality material. This heat treating process gave the stone a beautiful rainbow-like color.

Our modern society has managed to obfuscate the importance of these waterways which even today, after the construction of a series of massive reservoirs to supply reliable water directly to our homes, define our lives just as they always have. We still build our homes and cities along their banks, just as before we mastered the pipe. At the same time this society



has attempted to hide the history of these creeks, erasing the people who once and still call this land home in an attempt to forge a claim of legitimacy to our own occupation.

Death to America.

[A] <https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/3f28918233d54740ab737f1e5813f29e#ref-n-hPnqbl>  
[C] <https://mc.miamioh.edu/ilda-myaamia/dictionary/entries/10305>  
[D] <https://mc.miamioh.edu/ilda-myaamia/dictionary/entries/9426>  
[E] Indiana State Teachers Association (1914). *Readings in Indiana history*. Published by Indiana University. p. 143.  
[F] <https://archive.news.indiana.edu/releases/iub/iu-in-the-news/dnb-2015-12-11-3.shtml>  
[G] <https://mc.miamioh.edu/ilda-myaamia/dictionary/entries/11894>  
[H] Indiana State Teachers Association (1914). *Readings in Indiana history*. Published by Indiana University. p. 144.  
[I] <https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/3f28918233d54740ab737f1e5813f29e#ref-n-RhgcA0>



# Confrontation in the Age of Surveillance

The recent incursion of federal officers into Bloomington to capture immigrants should be cause for some reflection. There is often a panicked rush to familiar responses in such moments and, even if they're worthwhile, it limits our possibilities to not consider other avenues. In fact, the efforts to monitor and spread (credible) information as to their whereabouts and habits was valuable, particularly when detailed in such a way (SALUTE) to avoid appearing as hearsay and actually be helpful rather than spreading panic. The fact remains, though, that the abductions will continue (and likely expand) unless we dismantle the information gathering apparatuses of the state and stand up to the enforcers of their laws and decrees when they show up.

We live in a surveillance society. It's a part of our social interactions, a contributor to the economy, and built into the infrastructure that surrounds us. This initial instinct to build relationships in our neighborhoods opposed to ICE round-ups – and eventually policing more generally – is important if we actually want to make a lasting impact and build a culture opposed to policing. In that way there's conversations and personal changes we can make – but then certain tools of the state just need to be torn down, unceremoniously.

The digitization of our socializing through social media, the tracking device (phone) in our pocket, and

every other device that listens to us to take voice commands or better adjust algorithms to our interests (e.g. televisions, computers, etc.) are factors in this. Our lives are chronicled through data and, despite thinking ourselves against the cultures of control, we have largely submitted to this. This deserves a deeper exploration in itself, but the essay *"On Subculture"* does a good job of introducing the concept of divorcing our lives from corporate media platforms and developing a culture apart from our phones. To illustrate a certain point, though, we note that European police forces benefited from the tool PimEyes identifying a Red Army Faction member who had been on the run for decades – based in part on her dancing in the background of a photo that was posted on Facebook. The increasing use of AI has obviously increased this sort of information dredging that can affect immigrants, too.

Other ways we use our phone can undo the secureness of certain apps. Signal has been a very reliable app for me, providing a convenient encrypted messaging platform for many years. Recent Apple software updates can compromise that, though. For instance, you probably need to turn off the feature that allows Siri to learn from your Signal app in your phone if you have iOS 18.1, or an iPhone 13+ (if you even have Siri on in the first place). Also, though it can simply serve as a convenient group messaging application, it

should be noted that the encryption won't matter if you post, say, a join link to your thread on reddit. Not that anyone should ever be discussing criminal activity on their phone, encrypted or otherwise, but it's worth remembering that there are ways to physically compromise your phone's security without having to hack your encryption. This matters if you're trying to coordinate meaningfully and don't want cops on that particular thread, spying on and sabotaging your efforts. Another example would be having biometrics turned off so no one can forcibly use your face or finger to open your phone.

Speaking of facial recognition, Ring doorbell cameras are a fairly egregious culprit. What seemed a benign offer from Amazon after they bought the company – to get a free camera for your front door to monitor your deliveries (from that union-busting firm that provides cloud computing to the NSA, CIA, and others) – might've had some strings attached. Their contracts with innumerable law enforcement outfits across the country to share unfiltered access to the video from those devices without warrants, coupled with the inherent racial profiling that facial recognition software is built upon, puts people at risk every day. Talking to your friends and neighbors about their cameras and other passive surveillance measures that we all own is a great starting point for working against the policing it enables. Those talking points are worth addressing

Automated License Plate Readers (ALRPs) are high speed, computer-controlled camera systems that take a photo of a license plate as well as recording the location, date and time.<sup>2</sup> They are mounted on police vehicles, as well as on highways and roadsides. This information is used to track movement, catalog patterns of travel as well as prosecute people for crimes. Because of the proliferation of this technology, using cars in the act of a crime is increasingly risky.

Depending on the purpose of travel, it may be worth concocting a cover story. It definitely is illegal to lie to law enforcement. That's your risk calculation to make. Saying nothing instead of trying to talk your way out is nearly always the best option for police interactions. Cover stories can be used for other people too. For example, explaining to a curious neighbor or passer-by why you're in a certain area can help avoid suspicion. Better to have a plan ahead of time than have to make it up on the spot. For deeper cover, and especially for driving across international borders (when you are legally required to answer questions about your visit), it can be helpful to have hotel bookings, tickets to an event, or other proof of itinerary for innocent, tourist activity. For sketchier activity, you may also consider traveling with a burner phone (one that is not connected to you by payment, location that it has been turned on, etc) so that your personal phone is not connecting to GPS and cell towers all along your route and cannot tie you to any location.

## International & Air Travel/TSA

These days most airports are using facial recognition technology to verify passengers. You still have the right to opt out and have your ID visually inspected. In regards to phones, before leaving, leave and delete Signal chats and delete Signal. Do not unlock your

phone for them to look at it, unless using a travel phone. A travel phone is different from a burner in that it is not anonymous; it is connected to you in some ways. It doesn't have all the history, data, photos, and contacts that your normal phone has but it shouldn't be totally empty either. It should contain innocuous photos and browser history, maybe a couple apps, and contacts of a few people who have consented. For US citizens, they cannot compel you to unlock your phone and must still let you into the U.S., though after a period of detention, but they can keep your phone for a while. If you are pulled aside for further screening and your phone is taken from you, even for a short period, you must consider your phone compromised. There are technologies (such as Cellebrite) that can create images of the contents of your phone, and spyware that can be put on your phone. If you are not a citizen, you can be refused entry into the U.S. for not unlocking your phone.

Make plans to check in with a friend so they know that if they don't hear from you, you are probably being detained. They could then contact a lawyer for you, call CBP themselves to ask about your whereabouts, alert other friends and comrades about the situation, and help take care of things that might be disrupted by your being delayed. Customs may document who's crossing with who, so for certain trips it may be worth crossing separately or in strategically-composed groups.

## More on social mapping

Social mapping is the surveillance of social relationships and networks. The state will use social mapping to better understand how radicals meet, communicate, and socialize. They want to learn how to limit our social struggles and prevent actions

and relationships that challenge their domination from proliferating. When it comes to travel, the state might use information from our phones or information about where we're going to create social maps. This is made easier if we use social media, or have a phone that is easy to get into and can reveal groups and contacts. Less commonly used, but still a risk, is information about what our phones connect to and communicate with, including cell tower locations and phones of people we are in proximity to. History of cell tower connections can be used to track movement. It can be easy to think that if you're not talking about crime on/over your phone (you shouldn't) then you're safe, but in reality the state is very eager for information about our social networks and is continuing to try and map them out. It is a good idea to have a plan before you travel. Think about what access to certain information might mean and how you will navigate different scenarios. Be willing to abandon the trip if the risks outweigh the benefits.



[1] <https://documentedny.com/2025/02/19/immigrants-documents-carry-original/>

[2] <https://sls.eff.org/technologies/automated-license-plate-readers-alprs>

## See also:

- <https://itsgoingdown.org/at-the-threshold-of-the-empire-border-crossings-government-harassment-and-how-to-protect-yourself/>
- NoTrace.How, especially “Crossing the U.S./Canada Border: A Proposal for Best Practices”



# Collapse Features

## Strategies for Safer Travel

This is not written by lawyers or experts! This is not a comprehensive guide to all best practices or all situations you might encounter. There has been more information-sharing recently about international air travel specifically. There is some of that here, but also some thoughts on domestic travel and other methods. It touches on practices both for people doing “innocent” travel, and for people who definitely have something to hide. We'll go a little bit beyond the Know Your Rights type of information that is more common, but this won't be a whole zine-length guide to best practices and opsec for intentionally sketchy activity. Do more research as needed.

While knowing your "rights" is an important place to start, we know well enough that rights are unreliable depending on the circumstances, the agent of the state you are unlucky enough to encounter, and your own identity and legal status. It is not uncommon for officers to break the law and violate your rights. At this time, it's also worth facing the possibility of our legal rights eroding. See, for example, comic book villain Steven Miller publicly talking about suspending habeas corpus. This country has done it before! Especially with the framework of terrorism having been unleashed for the fascists to latch on to, many fewer rights are already afforded to those labeled terrorists and that label is applied exclusively by the state. The state grants rights and the state taketh away.

It's also worth considering that in the near future or in times of crisis there may be non-state or para-state actors, like regional militias that attempt to control and manage the flow of goods and people. Legal rights will not mean anything to these people and how we respond to them must adapt accordingly.

Best practices in general, and for traveling as we'll discuss here, are not only for personal protection, but to protect others, and movements and struggles as whole ecosystems. That means it's not just consequences for yourself that you have to consider in your risk assessments, but for everyone you're associated with. This is because much of law enforcement activity is not specifically about building cases to prosecute individuals (though that is a very important part of it!); it is just as much about gathering information, social mapping, and understanding their enemies. There will be plenty of information that is not exactly incriminating, but is still worth guarding. We should understand them better than they understand us. The goal of the state is not always to stop, but to know.

### For Non-Citizens

It is recommended to carry with you your U.S.-issued documents like visas and green cards. This also includes state and local documents like drivers licenses and school IDs. It is not recommended to carry the originals of documents issued by other countries, as they can be more difficult to replace if confiscated, but

instead to carry copies of them. Have proof of immigration documents such as I-94, I-20, and I-766. If someone is taken by ICE and cannot prove that they have continuously been in the U.S. for at least 2 years, they are at risk for expedited removal, in which a low-level agent can remove them without a hearing. For this reason, it is recommended that undocumented people carry proof of residence like a lease, tax documents, school records, or utilities documentation.<sup>1</sup>

### Traveling by car

Carry relevant identification on you. Think about what is visible on your car and what can be seen by just looking through the window, which can be used for probable cause for a more thorough search (though LEOs can claim probable cause for nearly anything, there's a small chance evidence can be thrown out in a criminal case if it wasn't obtained appropriately). If transporting questionable things, consider whether shipping is plausible and safer than someone getting caught transporting it. If one doesn't want one's vehicle to be caught on surveillance video in certain places, plates can be obscured for short trips. This is a risk for getting pulled over, but it may be worth it and it can perhaps be done in a way that plausibly deniable. If using license plates other than the ones issued to that vehicle, make sure they blend in. For examples, does this region use front and back plates, or just the back?

Our license plates and driving patterns are being constantly surveilled.

with your relations as we try to build diverse networks resilient to state incursions, but also not where we stop. In that sense, Camover is a game where one inhibits surveillance cameras from operating – whether tearing them down, painting over, cutting their wires, or in some other way obscuring their vision. Look it up using Tor.

An aside about the renewed interest in assemblies – regional, city, neighborhood, and explicitly anarchist variations. Circles of people that discuss these topics and comfort each other are useful, but I find the assembly format most useful when there are practical proposals for action, giving space to new people to promote new projectualities or join in others'. A gathering so broad that its attendees hardly even have a common language, let alone a common opposition to policing, will at best usually turn into a debate rather than anything productive.

As to the counter-insurgency that is the community-model of policing here in Bloomington: even if it they are reluctant to actively cooperate with ICE, local police themselves are passive accomplices – for instance, in the records they keep that led ICE to a man at the courthouse, or for having arrested him at all. None of the Sheriff's personnel in that building stood in their way that day,

either. This speaks to an issue beyond personal consumer habits, and that is the larger institutional threats to us all.

Landlords, another avenue of institutional oppression, preemptively report all of their tenants to the city of Bloomington. What was justified as a method of contact tracing COVID-19 seems to have little application at

Automated License Plate Readers are one of the newest examples of surveillance infrastructure that explicitly furthers a culture of control. Whether they are on mounted on University vehicles, or posted up on roads around town (on black poles with solar panels on top), they are recording every car and person that moves through its field of vision. They compile records of license plates and

other notable features of vehicles that drive by, and some even have audio components. Recent reports by 404 Media attest to ICE using data from Flock's brand of AI-powered ALPRs, the most common provider, without warrants since the Biden administration. A new initiative called Flock Nova may also allow police of all sorts to “more easily determine who a car may belong to and people they might associate with.”

Richmond, Virginia anarchists have had successful campaigns against ALPRs with "Flock February" (named after the company that usually provides them) – and the *"Birds of a Feather, Destroy a Flock Together"* zine has many useful details, and

both legal and illegal examples of disrupting them. They are typically high up, so something to stand on helps – or a t27 drill bit to halve the two-piece black pole in size, or just rocking it back and forth to uproot it – has given saboteurs access to the camera. From there, the usual approaches of spraying, smashing, and cutting prove useful.

## SPREAD INFORMATION, NOT PANIC

When reporting or boosting potential threats: provide as much information as possible!


REMEMBER! → **S.A.L.U.T.E**

- Size/Strength**  
"5 to 6 law enforcement officers"
- Actions/Activity**  
"harassing random people on the street"
- Location/Direction**  
"Chicago, West of Millennium Park, on Michigan Ave"
- Uniform/clothes**  
"Dark Blue uniforms that say 'Police ICE' on the back"
- Time and date of observation**  
"12:45 PM January 20"
- Equipment and weapons**  
"They have helmets, vests and batons"

Not a useful message: "URGENT!!! Potential ICE Raids on the west side!!!"

"Where? When? What are they doing? How Many? What are they carrying?"

**USE YOUR JUDGEMENT! WE KEEP US SAFE!**





As to the the last point, about standing up to law enforcement, there was a substantial gathering of people at the courthouse the day after the final confirmed visits of federal officers in early May. There was some (nearly) fiery speech, but more of the usual appeals for authorities to obey the law – as though the police, laws, and borders weren't at issue in the first place. I couldn't help but wonder if this scale of people couldn't have been assembled during the days that were most applicable, providing a barrier to law enforcement doing their jobs. Audibly harassing law enforcement any time they appear in public, especially when they are trying not to be identifiable, makes them feel unwelcome and even at times unable to do their jobs. Let's consider an incident in 2020:

After two men were arrested by ICE in Bend, Oregon, witnesses gathered in front of the unmarked buses to prevent them from leaving. More

people came and the stand-off lasted for hours. But the pleas to remain peaceful meant no one in anyway damaged the vehicles – it meant no one physically removed the men from those vehicles, or prevented officers from transferring them to a different car and then getting them to a Tacoma detention center. They came to a liberatory threshold but people were afraid to cross it.

Understandably, most people aren't immediately comfortable confronting cops – though it is amazing to see the way bravery can spread throughout a group when someone among them takes a stand. Challenge yourself. Challenge authority and refuse compliance with bullshit – break the law. Ease into it if you need to – write on something that doesn't belong to you – but we need to normalize breaking the law and escalate. The very foundation of this nation-state is unjust and the whole thing needs to be torn down. The United

States has never stopped displacing and deporting people. The Obama administration may have notably increased deportations, but then there was also the precedent for deporting radicals, explicitly, with the "Red Ark" in 1919. Settlers drove indigenous genocide on these lands, displacing some of the peoples who are now unironically criminalized by borders imposed on them. So much of the initial "workforce" was kidnapped from Africa to be enslaved here, but then many of those same countries were intentionally underdeveloped through the years by imperialist nations that it supplied a substantially desperate emigrant workforce, who are only more effectively exploited. It's all got to go and we've got no time to waste.

*"Don't be afraid to shout 'death to america' at the top of your lungs. Its a very liberating feeling."*

– Salish Sea Black Autonomists

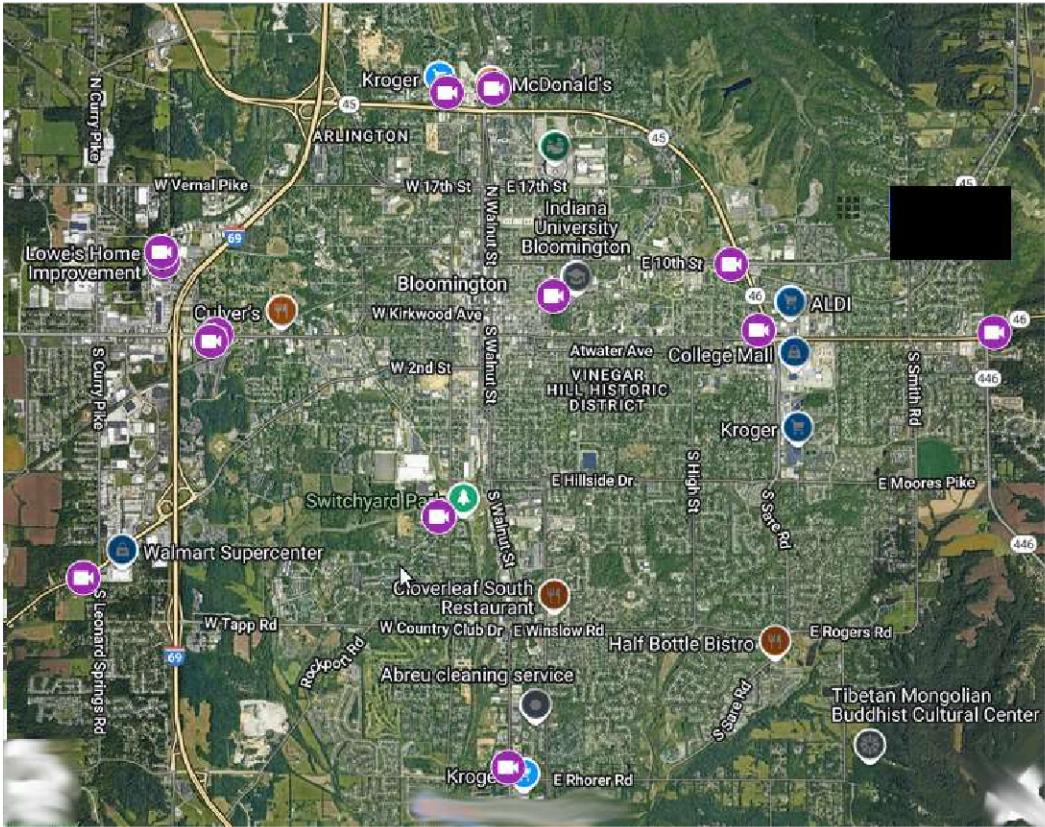
They seek to make a place feel livable while ignoring all the things that make it unlivable. Locations for public art are often specifically chosen to over-ride or discourage the places where people have already chosen to express themselves through graffiti, flyers, stickers, and other means. With public art, the state chooses where people can express themselves and regulates what the content of that expression can be.

**Parks**

Public parks are not always as innocent as they seem. First, we must consider who is cultivating and building these spaces. Are they truly chosen and guided by "the community"? Or are

they chosen by Parks Departments or development companies as part of a larger neighborhood revitalization? These are not always simple answers; not every resident in a neighborhood or community will necessarily agree on what to do with a space. Parks have many benefits: pleasant outdoor gathering spots, a chance for people to be among nature, and a place for children to play. But they also have negative consequences. They bring more surveillance in the form of cameras and increased patrols from police or private security. They often require the cleansing and displacement of unhoused people and their "unsightly" camps, like what happened in People's Park

several years ago. They can put literal spotlights on places that used to be dark corners where people could gather for illicit activity, again limiting and regulating what activity can occur where. And that is often the point: to eliminate areas where people can sneak, be unseen. Some of this hidden, unregulated activity has the potential to be harmful, like dealing drugs, but it can also be as beautiful: comrades find each other in the night to conspire, teenagers sneaking out and kicking it where adults won't interfere, or secret lovers seeking refuge from prying eyes. To me, these are essential spaces and possibilities for a truly rich, expressive, and free neighborhood.



map of some of the ALPRs around Bloomington

Image from a photo series by Diane Pham documenting Brooklyn before and after gentrification





cyclist and car, bringing visibility to the different vehicles on the road and in some cases isolating bicycles from cars to avoid collision. Certain developments can make biking easier, more efficient, and sometimes safer from accidents, but the frequency which these are successful are minimal, with much of bike infrastructure feeling like it looked good to designers who have no idea what its like how to ride a bike. Despite widespread use of bikes, infrastructure pops up is concentrated in areas being gentrified, creating an invitation of safety to those it always does: white, wealthier, urban professionals. Appearing well-intentioned, it is a continuation of business as usual and mostly serves to helps cities create or maintain an Eco-friendly image that places them favorably in the ranking of ‘good to live in cities’. Being a desirable city for people to relocate to is dependent on a stable economy and more resources for continued development, continued gentrification. To me bike infrastructure poses the question of: what is safety and convenience and who can access it?

Cycling does not exist in a vacuum, and some bike activists speak about how bike infrastructure makes policing easier, which of course harms racialized and poor people at staggering rates. Bike infrastructure manages the flow of movement and creates terrain where the police can pursue surveillance and policing in new and better ways. When infrastructure exists, it is meant to regulate the flow of traffic and movement. With infrastructure, bike laws are more likely to be know and followed by police, which can mean that breaking free of said infrastructure is (yet another) opportunity for policing. Biking infrastructure (and cycling laws) are merely another

on people for being black, poor, or an ‘other’ in public spaces, whether on a bike, walking, or in a car. This infrastructure also limits us and how we experience the world. It channels movement to certain areas, certain paths, meaning that encounters with the world can be more limited, more sanitized. We see the same segment of a place over and over again, on the same bike path.

Bike activists have begun calling for more bike infrastructure to address these inequalities. The solution of more, or more equitably situated bike infrastructure to reduce policing is a pursuit that I imagine feels safer to approach and more realistic to accomplish, but doesn’t actually challenge or undo policing. Keeping people safe from police violence cannot be about engineering fewer opportunities where people 'have' to' break the law, it must be about the destruction of police entirely. Also, any infrastructure is ultimately the new development of roads, paths, and implements which, though sometimes make my life more convenient, are ultimately against my desire for a world that prioritizes wild spaces over pavement. Bike infrastructure is also not enough to undo the individualistic and car-centric culture of the U.S. It appears that yet again we have been offered a band-aid (bike infrastructure) when what is required is the overhaul of movement, transportation and this world.

### Breweries

Breweries and craft institutions feel like a crucial wave in the unfolding of gentrification. My issue with breweries extends to the idea of craft food in a broader sense, but breweries hold a particularly noxious place in my mind due to my issues with drinking culture that isn’t made better by local IPAS and craft lagers.

Breweries will show up in areas like abandoned warehouses and industrial parts of the city, and take up a decent amount of space and resources. We don’t have enough space for people who need shelter, but we do for you to brew and peddle your obnoxiously pun-named microbrew with a cat on a bike on it? The craft food revival is a way in which those with certain social and financial resources can make consumer choices that they feel are ‘more ethical’, even though the products they seek absolutely depend on the same systems of exploitation. This preoccupation with a localized economy misses the problems of capitalism and invites a concept of personal responsibility when it comes to the consumption of commodities, while being a terrain of leisure culture for the same bodies of people that always have access to it.

### Murals and Public Art

Murals and public art are elements that beautify a neighborhood while displacement, poverty, and state violence continue. They are meant to cultivate a positive image of an area and attract new inhabitants and revitalization. Efforts at beautification also invite an orientation towards that space that is one of policing (whether by officers or residents) in an effort to preserve it. Like the other aspects listed, they are less-visible means of controlling space and movement. You can make art on a wall if you are an ‘Artist’, have appealed for permission, and are sanctioned by an official institution; otherwise it is illegal and you might go to jail if caught. Resources that could go to people are used to create the illusion of lively culture at the expense of its true creation. The most abhorrent murals are those that pay-lip service to ideas of social justice, combating racism and contribute to the image of a city or neighborhood that ‘cares’ while the same systems of violence continue.

# Setting our own priorities: beyond defending the liberal status quo

The yearning for familiarity, for normalcy is a surreptitious enemy. If we’re not careful, we might find ourselves wishing and fighting for a previous version of this country, this culture, whether or not that previous version ever really existed. Each day brings more news of change and unpredictability from the federal government, and sometimes the state and local governments too. This uncertainty and fear can trigger a response of defending the status quo. But we can dream bigger than defending the state that the fascists are taking over. Yes, some of what the Trump administration is dismantling is very important for people’s survival. They were also never more than crumbs offered to pacify. At best, they were only the state’s bastardization of genuine claims to a better life. I’m talking about things like Medicaid, Civil Rights, environmental protections, immigration policy. In these times, we must be careful to know what we are supporting and guard against becoming shills for programs, institutions, and practices that have barely served us. This is an opportunity to dream bigger, to demand more, and to create something better.

### The University

One of the worst examples of this that I see currently is nostalgia for the university of yore at IU. People will talk of how much the university has changed. What are we harkening back to? Before the governor fired the elected trustees? Before Pamela Whitten allowed the

Indiana State Police set up a sniper trained on student protesters? Or before receiving DOD money to develop military technology? Before 50 Black students had to conduct a sit-in at the Little 500 to end racist, discriminatory policies? Before the university acquired remains of hundreds of Indigenous people who have still not been repatriated? The University was founded 4 years after Indiana became a state, literally on the frontier of genocide and displacement of Indigenous peoples. Still, there is this sense that IU is their “home,” is something that can be reclaimed for “the people.” It is, in a word, a type of patriotism. In this way, it is a microcosm for the nostalgia people feel for the so-called U.S. pre-Trump. Again, what better time are we referring to? The hideous acts of the US throughout its history are far too many to list here. Why does a loyalty – to country or to the university – persist? What does the University have to do to earn its due antagonism? When will we turn against it, organizing for its destruction rather than its adaptation and reclamation? To quote *Black Armed Joy*, we “must accept the university as a site of white supremacist machinery and work to bring its operations to a halt. We must take whatever information is useful from the universities back to our communities to educate, organize, and propagandize... It is a cesspool of student debt and worker exploitation. We must leave the bourgeois affiliations and corporate opportunities behind.” I understand that, for some, proposing

a better version of the institution is an organizing strategy, but it must be done with care for what principles are being promoted and for whether horizons of social change are being stifled or expanded.

### Head Start

Founded in the 1960s as part of the Johnson administration's so-called War on Poverty, Head Start is a federal early childhood education program intended for low-income families. It would be misleading to imply that Head Start hasn't served families. The program has fed preschoolers and helped parents keep jobs. But Head Start has also disempowered young children in the name of equity. The notion that children from low-income families won't be prepared for kindergarten without a high degree of structure imposed upon them has led to daily schedules that are heavily fragmented, frequently transitioning kids from task to task instead of allowing them long blocks of time in which they can direct their own learning. After observing a Head Start in Texas, early childhood researchers (Colegrove et al., 2021) reported feeling "exhausted"; they'd witnessed 3- and 4-year-olds being herded through 25 separate activities during their school day. By contrast, one of the most expensive early childhood programs in Bloomington, Bloomington Developmental Learning Center (BDLC), has fewer than 10 items in their daily schedule for preschoolers, granting children much more time to play. How can a community educate children without,



their parents' jobs (or lack thereof) affecting the nature of their classroom experiences? Without critique of the pedagogy in Head Start sites, advocacy for Head Start's survival is, in effect, an expression of support for keeping poor kids from playing as often as rich kids get to play.

### Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion

DEI has been one of the right wing's boogeymen for a few years now and a very obvious code word for Black people, women, queer people, disabled people, and other kinds of marginalized people depending on the context. When taken to mean 'Black people being included,' of course we support it, right? And want to resist its dismantling? Again, DEI has certainly had some positive impacts. However, it serves us well to investigate its origins. DEI evolved out of Civil Rights legislation of the 1960s, which, in turn, comes from Black liberation struggles. Civil Rights and, by extension, DEI was the legislative answer and compromise offered to try to defuse the liberatory activity that threatened the stability and power of the state. The state cannot ever conceptualize or respond to liberation, but only "rights." It's also instructive to look at what it gives the "right" to do or be included in. Voting and participation in the economy are what freedom looks like to the state. Is that what freedom looks like to us? While giving people legal protections for access to these things should be a bare minimum (while the state exists), it also subtly changes our idea of what we are fighting for; it reinforces the state's idea of inclusion and of freedom. DEI operates through tokenism. By putting some marginalized faces in high places, as they say, corporations and institutions defend themselves against legitimate claims of structural oppression.

### Courts, Judges, and the Rule of Law

We are at the stage in growing fascism in which there is still some hope that the courts will curb the most egregious power grabs by the regime. We may see people celebrating when judges reject the Trump administration's attempt to, say, revoke thousands of people's visas with no due process. And those rulings are certainly a relief; they at least buy us more time. But are we really using that time effectively or are we comforted by a small victory and forget about it? Some judges may (and a few already have) show genuine bravery in certain moments. This does not, however, undermine their social and political role and the power they hold over thousands of people's lives. Judges take oaths to the Constitution and the country's laws, which, it hardly has to be said anymore, are complete trash. A few judges might right now offer a (rather weak) barrier to authoritarianism, but their entire foundation has been poisoned from the beginning. Perhaps they have now found a line that they will not cross, but how many despicable lines have they crossed in the past, because it was lawful or normal? How many racist laws have they enforced? I say 'rather weak' because it remains to be seen what power the courts have to ensure that the executive branch follows their rulings. As yet, we have not had this show-down to see what happens when the administration continually flouts a court order. I don't think either side is quite ready to test their power. While judges and courts may have some role in slowing down fascism, we must, rather than set the bar low enough to welcome them into any kind of movement or coalition out of desperation for legitimacy and proximity to power, remember that they, too, are our enemies. Perhaps a detailed examination of history can teach us how (former) state

bureaucrats can be involved in broad anti-fascist coalitions in times of civil conflict and remind us how likely they can be to turn on radicals and anarchists when it no longer serves them.

These are just a few examples of elements of the status quo that are currently at risk. This isn't to say that things like Medicaid, DEI, and Head Start don't offer anyone a bit of relief in the current circumstances, or that, with everything else staying the same, we'd be better off without them. This is to say that we must keep our eye on the revolutionary and anti-colonial horizons. Perhaps, if the right issues are carefully chosen and framed, they can be used to organize and radicalize people. This is a call to be disciplined in what we support, prioritize, and give our energies to. A call to be ambitious in what higher principles we dedicate our lives to. Let's fight for what we actually want: a radically different world in which many worlds fit.



Arturas Rosenbacher

# Enemy Territories



## Gentrification as the Regulation of Life

There is a lot more to gentrification than the building of new condos, rising rent and home prices, and boutique coffee shops moving in down the street. Gentrification is also about the way space is designed to regulate and control life and activity. It creates more sterile and surveilled spaces that direct and manage interactions between people, between people and the land, and with all other life. By routing activity through certain channels or relegating it to certain places, gentrification stifles creativity; opportunities to explore or innovate purpose; and the possibility of hiddenness, of shadows, and of lifeways that can only be developed within them. Animals, bikes, art, social gathering, it all has its appropriate place, and only that place. It is a social and cultural displacement, as well as an economic one. Where vibrant but illegible-to-the-mainstream ways of living were once possible, a white supremacist vision of normalcy, blandness, and conformity is slowly imposed. All the while, its language embraces community, art, and recreation. It speaks to convince us that this space is "ours," but only to subtly enlist us in its policing. In contrast, we see poor neighborhoods who inherently know the state is not responsive and does not care. When local businesses burn during moments of social uprising, a silly journalist will ask, "but why destroy your own neighborhood?" We respond, "because it was never really ours."

### Dog Parks

The first official dog park in the U.S. was created from grassroots organizing in Berkeley in 1978 and is now called Ohlone Dog Park, for a local Indigenous group. Despite its well-meaning origins, dog parks are now a sign of gentrification. First, like nearly all development, a dog park contributes to destruction of habitat for wild animals and plants. Given the extremely dire situation for almost all types of habitat and ecosystems, it is hard to argue that even one more block of wild space (or what could be rewilded) needs to be provisioned to domesticated animals. The development of "unused" space is reminiscent of logic of colonization through which European colonizers convinced themselves they deserved the land they stole from Indigenous people because they would "work" it, by which they meant maximize extracting profit from its bounty.

Second, we must be honest about the classed nature of dog ownership. Certainly people from all classes have pets, but white households, which tend to be wealthier, have the highest rates of pet ownership. And the culture of middle class dog ownership has changed in the last couple decades, winning them access to more and more spaces and more and more accommodations. To me, it often reeks of entitlement. So construction of a dog park serves to attract certain (wealthier and whiter) residents to an

area. Research has shown that space for dogs is a top consideration for many people in choosing a place to live. In a class teaching people about home ownership, I once observed a clear split in attendees: single Black mothers who wanted a stable place for their kids & 30-something straight white couples who wanted more space for their dogs. It was quite stark.

In most cities, the presence or absence of a dog park in a neighborhood is a straightforward class indicator. While wealthier areas get dog parks, Black people disproportionately get targeted for fines for leash law violations. In this way, it follows the trends of structural over-policing in Black neighborhoods. Dog parks are also often part of larger developments, like at Switchyard Park here in Bloomington, that in combination have an even stronger gentrifying influence. A yet more dystopian version of the dog park might, if we let the tech monsters win, be on their way to a neighborhood near you. Companies are developing technologies, such as video surveillance that is analyzed by AI, to implement at dog parks in order to assess the health and behavior of dogs, presumably alerting owners to any issues. A truly mind-boggling level of comfort with surveillance and trust in technology.

### Bike infrastructure

Bike infrastructure allegedly intends to make biking safer for both the



freedom means, looks like and how we wish to achieve it. To me, to be an anarchist involves constant reflection, challenge, critical thinking and experimentation. As such, I see this as an invitation. Perhaps our definition of joy is different, and your path of pleasure and fun feels good as it is. That's fine, but that's where we diverge. Words become muddled and I think its good to suss out what they actually mean. All I know is I'm not getting free alone (nor do I want to) and it would mean so much to me to encounter those for whom a revolutionary life (and its inherent joy) is a serious and lived undertaking.

**Suggested further reading:**  
(available on "theanarchistlibrary.org")

*Criminal Intimacy*  
by the Mary Nardini Gang  
*Be Gay Do Crime*  
by the Mary Nardini Gang  
*Baedan I*  
*Identity and Power*  
by Here and Now Zines

# Best Beach Reads of 2025



*Need something to occupy your mind after dipping into the toxic algal blooms at Geode Beach?*

*Dive into our selection of Best Beach Reads for an escape to the past, a different world, or someone else's more interesting life.*

1. **Tip of the Spear** by Orisanmi Burton

A radical re-analysis of the Long Attica Revolt

2. **I Am Maroon** by Russell Maroon Shoatz & Kanya D’Almeida

Autobiography of a former Black Liberation Army member and long-term political prisoner

3. **Birds of Maine** by Michael DeForge

A Graphic Novel about birds who live admirably on the moon

4. **The Story of Jane** by Laura Kaplan

An inspiring history of underground feminist abortion services, told by one of Jane’s members.

5. **Salvage the Bones** by Jesmyn Ward

Fiction that follows a girl and her family in the days leading up to Hurricane Katrina

6. **Warlike Howling Pure** by Areïon

Attack as a spiritual offering to revolution

7. **Cavedweller** by Dorothy Allison

A story of intergenerational legacies and friendship among women in the rural American South

8. **Willful Disobedience** by Wolfi Landstreicher

A collection of essays exploring critical thought, the social and individual, anti-politics and joyful rebellion

9. **Between Oceans, Forests and Volcanoes: The Radical Mapuche Struggle**

Teaches an indigenous refusal of constitutional reform and of civilization entirely

10. **A Normal Life** by Vassilis Palaiookostas

Spectacular, true-to-life anarchist folk tales

# June 11th

*“June the 11th has constantly made me aware that I’m part of a movement with teeth.”*

– Michael Kimble

June 11th is a day of solidarity with long-term anarchist prisoners that began in response to the “Green Scare” – state repression targeting those acting in defense of the earth and its animals around the turn of the 21st Century. It is “a day against oblivion,” seeking to remind us of our comrades who the state attempts to disappear. It is a day to hear their voices and ensure they remain involved in our movements. It’s a day to remember that solidarity means attack, and to recognize our common fight by carrying on the struggle.

June 11th began as a day of solidarity when Jeff “Free” Luers faced more than two decades in prison for the arson of SUV’s at a car dealership in Oregon in the year 2000. The outsized sentence drew a great deal of support and solidarity actions across the world on the first June 11th day of solidarity in 2004. His sentence reduction in 2008 got him out much sooner than expected, and this day to focus on eco-prisoners faded with his release. After the “Green Scare” more officially ramped up with FBI Operation Backfire leading to the arrest of many suspected activists, including some involved in the notorious Vail arson, there was some retreat in environmental circles. As the prosecutions proceeded with terrorist enhancements adding onto sentences, there were two cases that dwarfed and more than doubled other

sentences: Eric McDavid’s and Marius Mason’s. These two cases were much closer to Luer’s original sentence at more than 20 years a piece. Eric had been entrapped by a paid informant named “Anna” who did a disgusting interview in Elle magazine. Though he never actually did the discussed action it still took almost a decade of time served before the state conceded the exonerating evidence. Marius was snitched on by his ex-husband (and co-conspirator), who himself is said to have been facing an unrelated and undisclosed charge of some sort, and cooperated to avoid prosecution for it. It was in 2011 that June 11th was revived as a day of solidarity with them, and over those first few years began focusing on long-term anarchist prisoners more specifically.

Marius is now less than two years from his early release date. He was convicted of actions in Michigan, Cincinnati (where he was arrested) – and Bloomington, Indiana. He began transitioning to male in prison, changing his name and pronouns, successfully petitioned for a transfer to a men’s prison, and was on a waiting list for gender-affirming care before recent executive orders caused him to be transferred back to a women’s prison in Connecticut. There are strict controls over his correspondence, meaning he can’t write back to most people, but still appreciates all the letters he receives. The Bloomington Anarchist Black Cross has been supporting Marius for around a decade, and continues to do



educational and fundraising events to that effect. Marius is an anarchist, a parent, an artist, a musician, and a freedom fighter. Many of the actions he took locally are chronicled in a zine compiled by Plain Words (a prior local counter-info paper), entitled: *Animal & Earth Liberation in Indiana, 2000-2003*.

Each year, the June 11th crew puts together a call to action, which can be found at june11 dot noblogs dot org, and publishes statements from Marius and other imprisoned anarchists. A portion of this year’s call reads as such:

*“As the terror of this dominant order comes to new, or at least previously obscured heights, we are thinking about how to embolden new paths and relationships alongside terrain that has held potential and embodied revolt since its inception. Our paths will continue to demand experimentation, adaptability, ingenuity...Our moves towards a life of freedom are undoubtedly shaped and strengthened by struggling alongside those captured by the state. The inventiveness and courage needed to maintain survival and one’s values inside can teach us a great deal about what spirit will need to be mustered as we forge ahead. May this June 11th be a day to reflect on those we love inside, those we grow and struggle with that are locked away, and a day to make further moves against this world full of prisons and the forces that maintain it.”*



# How To: Asphalt Mosaics

Asphalt mosaics are potentially an incredibly long-lasting form of graffiti—some of the most famous examples, Toynbee tiles, have been riding for decades at this point. This is a slightly different method; Toynbee tiles used linoleum, which is more flexible, allowing for more solid pieces, as opposed to more brittle vinyl composite tile working well for more traditional mosaic-style art. This only works on asphalt because it’s technically a liquid, allowing for the tiles to sink into the surface and become part of the street; it will not work on cement, brick, concrete, or whatever else.



## you will need:

- ♥ vinyl composite tile in at least 2 colors
- ♥ utility blade
- ♥ cardboard or something you don’t mind getting glue-y
- ♥ scissors
- ♥ elmers glue or similar
- ♥ driveway crack filler in a jug
- ♥ tar paper
- ♥ pizza box for transport



1. Lay out your cardboard or whatever to work on
2. Use the utility blade to score the tiles and then break them up into small pieces of varying shapes
3. Piece together the bits of tile to make your design, the way you want it to look when it’s finished. You want small, even gaps (~1/8”) between all of the pieces
4. Cut out a piece of tar paper bigger than your design, ~1” bigger on all sides
5. Coat one side with a thin layer of elmers glue and flip in onto your mosaic. Press all over to make sure all the pieces stick
6. Flip it over and double check everything looks right and all the tile pieces are secured to the tar paper, then let it dry completely
7. Pour the driveway crack filler over the entire design. Be sure to fill in all the gaps between tiles and 1/2” around the edge of the design, then spread a thin layer of crack filler over everything
8. Cut out another piece of tar paper, the same size as your design. While it’s still wet, press the tar paper into the crack filler. Make sure the edges are flat, then spread another thin layer (1/16”) of crack filler over the new paper so it’s completely coated
9. Let the crack filler dry completely, which will take 24 hours indoors
10. Once it’s dry, transfer your mosaic to the pizza box for easy carrying to your installation spot. Don’t flip it over! Add a final layer of crack filler to the tar paper
11. Make sure the asphalt is dry and clear of debris, then flip your mosaic over and press the sticky side into the street. Stomp all over it to help secure it in place
12. Wait patiently as traffic wears away the top layer of tar paper over the next few weeks to reveal your mosaic

- ♥ You can get cheap or free vinyl composite tile samples from flooring companies online
- ♥ Ideal spots for mosaics are areas that get lots of car traffic, to ensure the tar paper wears away and the tiles get smushed into the asphalt, and lots of foot traffic, to ensure people actually see it, ie, crosswalks in busy areas
- ♥ Try to place your mosaic directly in the path of car tires
- ♥ New asphalt is softer and more accepting than older asphalt. Same goes for warm vs cold. Thank goodness they always repave town during the summer!

Don’t get me wrong, I like doing some bullshit that is not productive, but I don’t tell myself its radical just because I’m queer or marginalized in some way. I recognize I’m doing something because I want a little break from reality, and I try and keep track of how often I’m leaning on these things. When I keep tabs, I realize maybe I’m trying to escape feelings of desperation, powerlessness, exhaustion, or loneliness and I remind myself that I am better off feeling these things and channeling that energy elsewhere. Sometimes I’m too tired, busy or afraid to channel it in the places I know will really bring some relief. Ultimately a key is that I don’t try and re-frame these things as somehow ‘good’ or ‘joyful’ or ‘worthwhile’. They just are. I don’t want to beat myself up about them but I also don’t want to fool myself that they’re somehow libratory.

Under capitalism, our worth is defined by our accumulation of wealth and status, or for those who these will never be within reach, at the very least to contribute our labor without complaint, allowing as much as possible to be extracted while our remaining free time is spent being good consumers. Our ability to be productive, to maintain health and to do so without complaint is deeply rooted in concepts of virtue integral to our society. I am not interested in an ever self-sacrificial militancy. I do not want every waking moment filled with tasks and busyness. Hyper-productivity and self-sacrifice permeate anarchist circles and are worth spending some time inspecting. Productivity can be a salve unto itself, helping us escape our feelings, the horrors of modern life and the limitations of our struggles, as well as hinder our ability to connect with others. Relationships and connection are a big part of what is important

to me. So is unstructured downtime, the ability to exercise creativity, sit in presence with a friend, share a meal with people, meander in the woods. Intentionally building relationships and trust will only make our capacity stronger, more vast. But relationships and trust are not built by merely spending time in the same spaces, belonging to the same subculture. Ultimately, an anarchist life should mean something, should be about action and how we choose to show up in the world. “Action” can look many ways, and it is up to each of us to decide exactly which make sense to us, and perhaps to try and find others who wish to struggle together. Making our lives is a life-long experience, one that hopefully we have some agency and dignity in.

Some of my favorite moments have been watching the rain fall from my bedroom window, sitting in the grass and being present with a friend, learning something that is not necessarily a productive or useful skill but is something I merely enjoy. But some of my other favorite moments have been learning to move sneakily with trusted accomplices, destroying property, experiencing (and creating) ruptures in the facade of this macabre world. Feeling embodied in my own agency and the ways to foster that in mutuality with others. Lashing out against all the forces that keep me unfree, that tell me I’m incapable or unable. These things are what feel like a true joy, to me. The former feel the most potent when I’m actively pursuing the later. Yet, living in either extreme all the time does not make sense. My life as an anarchist carves a balance for both. Ultimately, I’m drawn to anarchism because we each get to decide how to live our lives, without a formula or prescription, and it is about continuing to discover what brings me purpose and freedom and what to discard. There is no neat and

uncomplicated vision which I’m just waiting for others to adopt. I wake daily and figure out how to orient my time in pursuit of my ideals, and I can continue to journey to find people whose lives align with how I want to live.

I recently received a letter from a prison pen-pal, who has been in prison for decades. They inhabit a lot of identity categories that could suggest that they ‘deserve’ to prioritize rest and joy. And yet, they expressed anticipation about their potential release from prison, and were jubilant in the idea that their release would mean more freedom of movement to fully realize their desire to confront this queer-phobic and anti-Black society and all the people that maintain and uphold it. I thought that was so beautiful; someone who has been through a great deal who has not lost their fighting spirit. It made me think about the ways to better foster my fighting spirit, and how to encourage a joyfulness of this sort, that can spread. What if we pursued a joy that erupts in the moment we smashed the window of a transphobic politician’s office? In the deepening of trust that creates relationships of affinity, in learning skills that enable us to live a life with less authority, society and the state infecting it, in the breaking through of isolation when we get a response in the mail from our incarcerated friend, or in the sharing of resources without expecting anything in return. To me, an authentic joy is in learning to move against this world rather than merely outside of it. What if, instead of leaning into concepts of ‘deserving’ certain things, we bolstered our capacity to reject the little trinkets and distractions that this society offers us while it continues its destruction. I think we must simply be more honest with ourselves and those we might develop affinity with. We must all decide what a living



# Unpacking Queer Joy

“Let’s be explicit: We are criminal queer anarchists and this world is not and can never be enough for us.

We want to annihilate bourgeois morality and make ruins of this world. We’re here to destroy what is destroying us.”

*Criminal Intimacy*

The Mary Nardini Gang

The concept of joy has been circulating in leftist and queer circles for the past few years, and it feels worthwhile to suss out its usage and meaning. When it comes up, the sentiment is that joy is important, and is inherently radical for marginalized people to experience and prioritize. I bristle when I hear it used, as it reminds me a great deal of self-care culture that is rampant on the internet and at this point fully co-opted by capitalism. I also bristle because the things that people apply it to feel like they lack nearly any radical or revolutionary potential. The subtext is there, or it is explicitly named as such, but it gets applied to things that have no revolutionary character, all the while getting touted as deeply political. We have begun over-inflating the importance of how we spend our time, and this deeply limits our capabilities as individuals, as well as how we relate to other radicals. This world is a horror, and we do many things to try and survive it. But many have begun over-prioritizing rest, having fun, and an unimaginative concept of joy such to the point that it has become counterrevolutionary.

A normative definition of joy is aligned with feelings of happiness, contentment or pleasure. I view joy as a melange of feelings that can include discomfort, fear, and pain, as well as confidence, and growth. Other emotions, probably, too, but a feeling-state and experience that is ultimately about the breaking open of moments and worlds. The type of experiences, large and small, that have the power to change you as an individual, in your relationships, and in what feels possible in this current world and order. I view joy as a very complex web of things, and as happens with complexity, it gets lost in communication. Does joy manifest when we go out to dinner, have drinks and head to the movies? Is that joy, or merely a ‘good time’? How is this different than the ideal Friday night in the eyes of mainstream consumer culture? Is it radical because queer people are doing it? Is our idea of a different world as queer people merely to have a seat at the table of mindless spending? Going out to the bar, taking vacations, getting new outfits. These are merely examples, but what I’m speaking of is consumer choices and pursuits that present no challenge to the dominant social order. Beyond consumer choices, it still shows up when we talk about “community”, and in activities and events ‘for the community’. Nights at the queer bar, picnics, softball leagues. Connection and combating alienation in this world are very important, but it loses a lot of potential when its merely about hanging out and having fun with people who share our identities, aesthetics or subcultural references. It feels that our social relationships have lost radical potential as we get

used to merely trying to have a good time.

To me, queerness is explicitly about living in hostility with normative society. If the queer joy we’re speaking of explicitly is, or coded as “revolutionary” joy, we cannot possibly be merely talking about pleasure. Contentment? In this world? We must resist any inculcation to make ‘peace’ with the dominant order or the paltry life they (might) offer us. Aren’t they, after all, also trying to murder us? And we remain preoccupied with getting our little treats and breaks, as opposed to building a life of vengeance, a life against, this world. I struggle to see how simply enjoying our time while this is the case isn’t merely assimilationist thinking. Especially when this conceiving of joy circulates in predominantly white spaces, we’re caught up pretending we’re doing something deeply political, yet refusing to cultivate any meaningful complicity with people outside of a narrow subculture. It is paying lip-service to challenging the dominant order while also holding tight to the resources, serenity, and ease that come with whiteness. Joy also gets spoken of as a thing we deserve to be given, in the time and space carved by others (straight people) ‘doing the work’ for us. Aren’t we interested in collective liberation? I’m not interested in someone fighting for me, I am interested in fighting to get myself free alongside those who want to help, and who want to get free as well. Joy is found in a life of my making, rejecting the helplessness that society thrusts upon me, and in living a life with some teeth.

## A Lexicon

### Vegan

*Inspired by the belief that how we understand a word shapes what we do in its name, A Lexicon is a series introducing keywords in anarchism. To suggest a keyword for a future issue, email [InTension@riseup.net](mailto:InTension@riseup.net)*

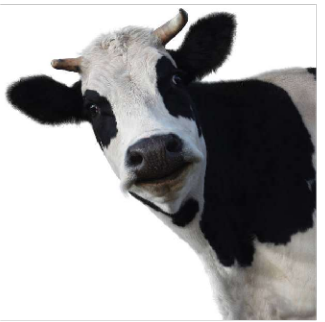
Given the popularity of anti-vegan sentiments even among radicals, offering an anarchist understanding of veganism could help explain and justify its prevalence within anarchist spaces. Philosophers Lori Gruen and Robert C. Jones have theorized that veganism is understood and practiced in 2 ways: as an identity, and as an aspiration. Annoyance at the former is well-placed, especially when vegans proudly conflate

consumer choice under capitalism with liberation. The latter way of practicing veganism theorized by Gruen and Jones is the one aligned with anarchism: it’s an aspiration toward the end of exploiting others.

Because life inside of animal agriculture, like life inside of prison, is largely hidden from the public, many people aren’t aware of the shapes exploitation takes within farms. For example, in contrast to the beloved image of a cow grazing in a pasture, ethnographer Kathryn Gillespie discovered a more confined reality in her research on the dairy industry. A farmer told her, “We used

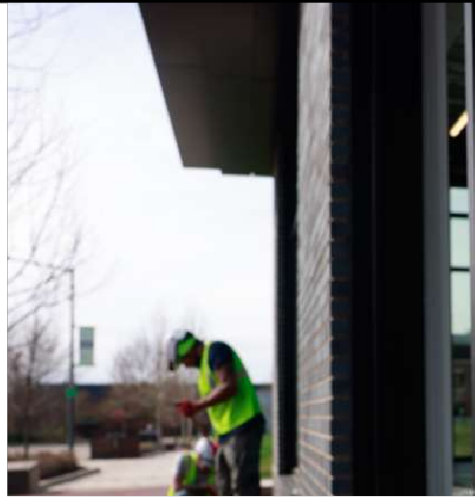
to pasture the cows during the day, but as the herd increased, it just got too time-consuming to herd them all the way back to [the milking parlor] every time it was time for milking.” Human-supremacist attitudes are evident not only in the willingness to control where animals are for the sake of efficiency, but also in the industry norms of forced insemination and separation of calves from their mothers. If humans were unwilling to handle nonhuman animals with such disrespect, our species could be less likely to treat without dignity those of us – people of color, disabled people, incarcerated people – who are compared to nonhuman animals. Locking a human inside a cage would be less imaginable in a society without animal agriculture.

Diet is only one aspect of resisting animal exploitation. There are others worth celebrating. In the winter of 2024, a goat farm in Bloomington transformed into a sanctuary for formerly farmed goats and chickens, now named The Goat Conspiracy Sanctuary. In September of 2022, in Chile, 4 comrades set aflame the Susaron Meat Company. 3 of the 4 described themselves as “anarcho-nihilist vegan straight edge prisoners” in a communiqué issued last August, from a Santiago prison. To echo Panda, Tortuga, and Rucio’s words (translated from Spanish): “May every prison for humans and nonhumans explode, with their jailers inside.”





# Defined by Action



**November 11, 2024** – *“In solidarity with Indigenous People’s Day of Rage, I painted ‘Stolen Land’ across the stone entrance to the Indiana University Foundation in Bloomington, Indiana. The IUF exists to maximize private investments for IU, an institution (like all universities) that runs on exploitation, environmental destruction and continued expansion across stolen indigenous land. Until all universities are destroyed!”* Signed, “An anarchist.”

**January 14** – Protesters disrupt Indiana University’s Bloomington Faculty Council meeting for being “complicit in Israeli apartheid and genocide” and for its partnership with Naval Surface Warfare Center Crane.

**March 11** – March and rally in support of disruptors of IU BFC and Board of

Trustees meetings at their court date. Supporters packed the court causing their hearing to be moved up to the first slot.

**March 20** – *“We welcomed Spring with action. We punctured 8 tires on Monroe County Probation vehicles because too often authorities go unchallenged. Targeting criminalized people and even criminalizing their families is just one part of the greater indignity imposed by the USA. We will start where we have access. Solidarity with those taking up the fight from wherever you are.”*

**April 2** – “Class War” graffiti seen outside Relato – an apartment building that recently reneged on its agreement to provide some “affordable” units, opting instead for a million dollar fine. This “workforce housing” was

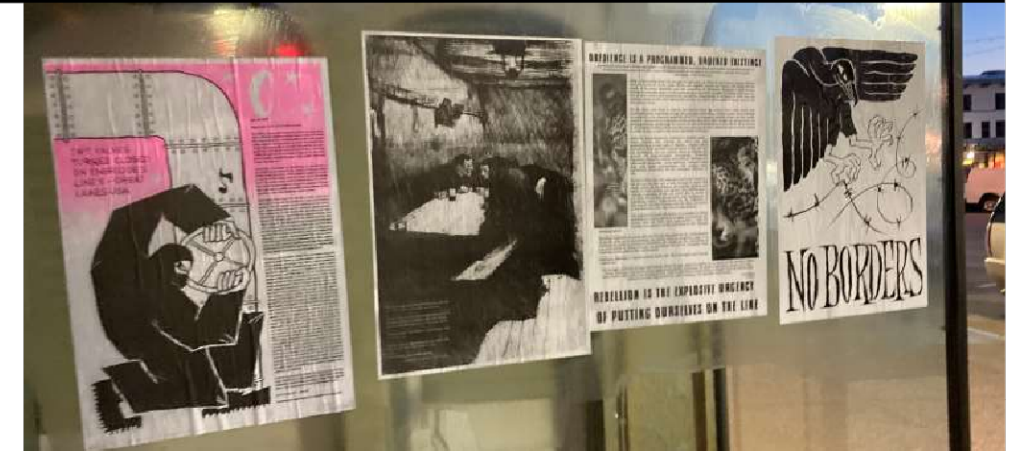
available to households making between \$50k and \$76k per year.

**April 3** – Windows broken at the Forge, the Mill, and the Kiln. Vivum AI, a defense contractor specializing in autonomous robotics and unmanned systems, is slated to be a tenant in the Forge. The entire Trades District, made up of these buildings, has ties to NSWC Crane, and the Forge in particular boasts of being in the “Sci-Tech Corridor” between NSWC Crane and Indianapolis. Early estimates of the damage suggest it will cost tens of thousands of dollars to repair.

**April 3** – Tesla chargers on the west side were vandalized with spray foam. “[A] tactic reminiscent of vandalism targeting downtown parking meters in Bloomington several years ago,” according to local news media.



# noitsoA yd beniteD



**April 15** – Wheatpasted posters reading, “You don’t reform a dystopia,” above a burning cybertruck, appear around the convention center preceding the protest of Todd Young there.

**April 25** – On the one year anniversary of the IU student encampments someone spread carpet nails outside the State Police barracks. They say:

*“We cannot moderate the negative effects of policing through better training and laws. That is what empowers the police to threaten and carry out their violence. We don’t want them to do their job ‘more appropriately,’ ‘more effectively,’ or ‘more properly.’ Join the fight against the police...against every state.”*

*“It is worth remembering that U.S. law enforcement officers, including police chiefs, as well as homeland security, border patrol and ICE executives, often train with Israeli police, army and security officials. They have the same program. It is also materially impossible for the state and capital to police the whole social terrain. Look for the gaps.”*

**May 3** – 4th Annual May Day picnic occurred at 9th Street Park. A banner on the shelter read, “Down with empire, up with the spring.”

**May 14** – Banner seen hanging from train bridge over Walnut Street reading “Drop the Charges,” on the same day as a court date for the 61 RICO defendants from various Stop Cop City events and actions.

## News from Across the Region:

**March 30** – Man charged with firing a gun at a Monroe County Sheriff’s drone.

**May 2** – Rodney Hinton runs down a cop with his car after the Cincinnati police shot and killed his son. The local Anarchist Black Cross plans to write him letters on May 26th.

**May 11** – A man was arrested after crashing his pickup truck painted with the words “Fathers Matter!” into the entrance of the Johnson County juvenile justice center. “This wasn’t just vandalism. This was a targeted, intentional act...” standing against the court system after not seeing his son for more than a year.

**May 12** – A police dog was killed after escaping his handler’s property and attacking an off-duty officer in New Palestine.

