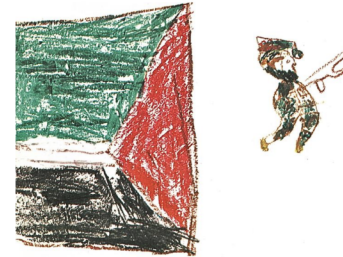


To Speak for Myself



LINES IN THE SAND

Writings on the Gaza Solidarity Encampment
& Campus Flood at U.C. Berkeley from
an Anarchist Prisoner of War

with whatever weapons at hand

Casey Goonan

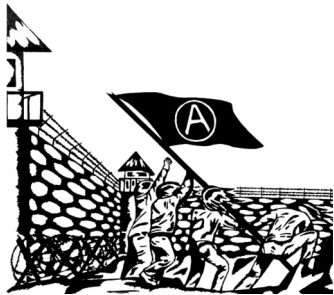
*transcribed, formatted, & edited
with love & rage from
comrades to the end*

cover images:

شهادة الاطفال في زمن الحرب
In Time of War: Children Testify
(Drawings by Palestinian Children)
Beirut: Mawakif / PFLP, 1970

*April 17, 2026
Palestinian Prisoners' Day*

*with whatever weapons at hand
withwhateverweapons.noblogs.org*



Writing a letter to a political prisoner or prisoner of war is a concrete way to support those imprisoned for their political struggles. A letter is a simple way to brighten someone's day in prison by creating human interaction and communication—something prisons attempt to destroy. Beyond that, writing keeps prisoners connected to the communities and movements of which they are a part, allowing them to provide insights and stay up to date. Writing to prisoners is not charity, as we on the outside have as much to gain from these relationships as the prisoners. Knowing the importance of letter writing is crucial. Prisons are very lonely, isolating, and disconnected places. Any sort of bridge from the outside world is greatly appreciated. Find out more:

nycabc.wordpress.com

Casey Goonan is a dedicated community educator, writer, distroist, printer, and anarchist/anti-imperialist political prisoner who has committed their life to struggles for liberation. Casey is incarcerated for actions carried out in solidarity with Palestinians facing genocide in Gaza and in response to the repressive actions against the pro-Palestine student encampments in the United States. In January 2025, Casey pleaded guilty to one count of maliciously damaging or destroying property used in or affecting interstate commerce by means of fire or an explosive for the arson attack on a campus police car. As part of a plea agreement, Casey took responsibility for other attacks but pleaded not guilty to the additional charges and was sentenced to 235 months in federal prison. Just as Casey has persistently for years cared for, supported, and struggled alongside incarcerated comrades, we aim to replicate these actions in solidarity with Casey as they continue their struggle from the other side of the wall. A note from Casey in September 2025: *“Thanks to everybody out there who has shown me love and offered support through this time. I wish every prisoner could experience the level of support you all have shown to me. In here, I’ve done my best to show my love to all my fellow prisoners and I remain steadfast to the movement to Palestinian liberation and the movements for decolonization and abolition worldwide.”* More information:

freecaseynow.noblogs.org

Editor’s Note

The content of this book comprises writings and letters written by Casey during their time at Santa Rita Jail in the year before they were sentenced to federal prison. Some of the ideas and opinions expressed in this text are rooted in a particular moment in time and do not reflect Casey’s current views on strategy, approach, and political action. These are not definitive statements and must not be construed as such, especially given that Casey is imprisoned and certain ideas may create undesirable repercussions.

The editors have aimed to be as faithful as possible to Casey’s original words in the transcription and editing process, with minor spelling and grammar changes for readability.

To Speak for Myself



LINES IN THE SAND

Writings on the Gaza Solidarity Encampment & Campus Flood at U.C. Berkeley from an Anarchist Prisoner of War

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Perhaps then it needs to be said that the crack dealer, terrorist, and political prisoner share a commitment to war, and society responds in kind with wars on crime, terror, drugs, communism. But “this war on the commitment to war” crusades as a war against the asocial, that is, those who live “without a concern for sociality.” Yet it cannot be such a thing....No, this war against the commitment to war responds to this commitment to war as the threat that it is—not mere negligence or careless destruction but a commitment against the idea of society itself, that is, against....the conquest, the unspoken war that founded, and with the force of law, re-founds society. Not asocial but against the social, this is the commitment to war, and this is what disturbs and at the same time forms the undercommons against the university.

Is this not the way to understand incarceration in the United States today? And understanding it, can we not say that it is precisely the fear that the criminal will rise to challenge the negligence that leads to the need, in the context of the American state and its particularly violent Universitas circle, to concentrate always on conquest denial?

— Fred Moten & Stefano Harney¹

One has to understand that the fascist arrangement tolerates the existence of no valid revolutionary activity. It has programmed into its very nature a massive, complex, and automatic defense mechanism for all our old methods for raising consciousness of a potentially revolutionary class of people. The essence of a U.S.A. totalitarian socio-political capitalism is concealed behind the illusion of a mass participatory society. We must rip away its mask. Then the debate can end, and we can enter a new phase of struggle based on the development of an armed revolutionary culture that will triumph.

— **George Jackson**²

The ongoing quest to liberate prisoners is in tandem with the Palestinians' constant and multifaceted struggle against colonialism. Here, the slogan 'emptying the prisons' is derived from a core component in the Palestinian struggle through various stages of its history... Gaza is an 'open air prison,' caused by global capitalism. Israel is part of the global military power. The Palestinian model has taught us that breaking the chains of enslavement can only occur by dismantling the imperialist capitalist system that produced and continues to sustain it... This is a reminder of a shared historical struggle that brings us back to a rooted alliance in the face of global struggle against racism and imperialism."

Khalida Jarrar, "Freedom is Coming: Shattering Slavery and Emptying Prisons," *Majallat al-Dirasat al-Filastiniyya*, no. 137 (2023), <https://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/45699>.

the 1993 Oslo Accords, all combine together to constitute an *ontology of Nakba* for Palestinians in Palestine and throughout the diaspora:

[T]he Palestinian condition is one of prolonged Nakba, catastrophe. But this Nakba is not an extended event, nor is it the afterlife of the exodus of 1948. It has become a signifier of Palestinian existential being. Siege and exile by land, sea, and sky; an international legal system that aids and abets the catastrophe that befalls the Palestinians rather than limiting it; elimination by the war of narrative and erasure of and from historic records; and foreclosures of political genealogies and transnational vehicles to hold together the Palestinian nation—all these forms of enclosure have become attributes of this *ontology of Nakba* (23).

19. Edward Said, *The Question of Palestine*. (New York: *Vintage Books*, 1992 [1979]), 68-69.

20. Research and Destroy, “The Student Intifada,” *Verso Books* (blog post, June 21, 2024), <https://www.versobooks.com/blog/news/the-student-intifada>.

21. Ibid.

22. Fredy Perlman and Roger Gregoire, *Worker-Student Action Committees, France, May '68*. (Olympia: *Detritus Books*, 2020 [1969]), 103.

23. I use the term “praxis” as defined by Paulo Freire: “reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it.” *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: *Continuum*, 2000 [1970]), 51. On the topic of Al-Aqsa Flood as a paradigm of abolition praxis, see Khalida Jarrar:

I

As we approach the one year anniversary of my capture, I would like to share a few words reflecting on the socio-historical context of my imprisonment, the so-called “student intifada,” and the global revolutionary movement for the abolition of zionist Israel, settler-colonialism, and the decolonization and liberation of Palestine, which, i believe, must also be a movement for the revolutionary abolition of the capitalist U.S. white supremacist state, the decolonization of the vast territory occupied by Amerikan settler society, and the liberation of all people oppressed under the dominion of its ruling class.³

My name is Casey Robert Goonan. I am a 35 year old revolutionary abolitionist and anti-colonial anarchist of mostly Irish-Amerikan descent, born and raised in the east San Francisco Bay Area on unceded Ohlone and Miwok land.⁴ I am an independent scholar, a writer and publisher, a print worker, an educator, and a lifelong student. Throughout the majority of my adult years, i have been active in autonomous grassroots social movements against police violence and gendered-racial criminalization as well as a dedicated supporter of imprisoned friends, family, comrades, and numerous others held captive by the U.S. prison regime. I am also an anti-zionist committed to internationalist revolutionary struggle for the decolonization and liberation of Palestine, of which i am currently imprisoned for participation.

For any reader who is unaware, “zionism” is a Western imperialist ideology and settler-colonial political movement

that calls for establishing a Jewish nation-state with a Jewish majority in Palestine. Given the concrete historical reality of an indigenous Palestinian population who are majority Arab and Muslim already inhabiting this region of land located between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea, it has taken a permanent colonial war “waged against the indigenous population, by a variety of parties,” to force Palestinians to “relinquish their homeland to another people against their will.”⁵ How else could a predominately Arab country with a historical Muslim majority transform into a “Jewish majority” population in the span of three decades without the forcible expulsion of nearly the entire original native population?

As historian Rashid Khalidi describes, following World War I and the collapse of Ottoman rule, the emergence of a Zionist para-state arose from British military occupation and its financial sponsorship of “large-scale immigration of European Jewish settlers” into Palestine, with a separate “Jewish-controlled sector” of the economy created through the intentional exclusion of Arab labor from work in Jewish-owned firms, a the introduction of “massive amounts of capital from abroad.”⁶

Experienced as they were in counter-insurgency warfare, the British also enthusiastically armed and trained settler militias and eventually paramilitary units.⁷ As Ghassan Kanafani writes in his indispensable class analysis of early Zionist colonialism and Palestinian resistance, these British initiatives procured the resources and infrastructure needed for the Zionist project to mobilize internally, “laying the foundations of

peans arrived and claimed it... The Columbus myth suggests that from U.S. independence onward, colonial settlers saw themselves as part of the word system of colonization.

In the context of Zionist settler-colonialism, Masalha extends the relevance of this genealogy of the “Doctrine of Discovery” that links its present-tense project of (white) nation-building to the originary authorizations of the matrix Judeo-Christian papal bulls:

[S]ettler colonialism is a structure not an episode. Zionist settler-colonialism is deeply rooted in European [and Euro-American] colonialism. Ignoring the existence and rights of indigenous peoples, British colonists often saw large parts of the earth as *terra nullius*, ‘nobody’s land.’ This (originally Roman legal) expression was used to describe territory which was not subject to the sovereignty of any European state—sovereignty over territory which is *terra nullius* may be acquired through occupation and/or settler-colonization. [See 307-315 in Masalha (2021 [1999]).

16. Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981).

17. Masalha, Palestine (2021 [1991]), 355.

18. Loubna Qutami, *Before the New Sky: Protracted Struggle and Possibilities of the Beyond for Palestine’s New Youth Movement* (University of California Riverside, Ph.D. dissertation, 2018).

In her path-breaking dissertation, Qutami argues that the circumstances of enclosure due to occupation, siege, and dispossession; the annihilation of presence in the historical record; and the fracturing of cohesive intergenerational genealogies of anti-colonial struggle by

ish, or German names to sound more Hebraic, more biblical.” (338) One example is David Grün, whose name is changed first to David Green, after migrating to Palestine, then eventually he changes his name again to David Ben-Gurion. The leading innovator of modern Hebrew as the national language of “Israel,” Lozar Perelman, changed his own name to Eliezer Ben-Yehuda. This all requires mentioning to dispel the deceptive premises that authorize the self-indigenization of European Jews. Although Judaism is born out of this region, European Jewish settlers are not native to this region and “Israel” is the product of European invasion, and continues to exist only by genocide and warfare against an indigenous nation which has never stopped resisting: “Despite the Semitization of European Jews by linguistic and racial theorists in the second-half of the 19th century... modern Hebrew was invented... not as a Semitic language, but rather as a hybrid language... [A] cultural space with which new settlers of the Zionist colony (Yishuv) in Palestine felt at home” (338-339).

15. Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous People's History of the United States*. (Boston: Beacon Press, 2014), 3-4. Drawing on the legal parallel and direct historical precedent of the Zionist movement's use of the concept “*terra nullius*,” Dunbar-Ortiz writes:

Origin narratives from the vital core of a people's unifying identity and of the values that guide them. In the United States, the founding and development of the Anglo-American settler state involves a narrative about Puritan settlers who had a covenant with God to take this land. That part of the origin story is supported and reinforced by the Columbus myth and the “Doctrine of Discovery.” According to a series of late-fifteenth century papal bulls, European nations acquired title to the lands they “discovered” and the indigenous inhabitants lost their natural right to that land after Euro-

a military society and of its military and economic instruments.”⁸ By 1949, approximately 80 percent of the indigenous Arab-Palestinian population was now forced from their homes, losing their land and their property. It is in this historical conjuncture that the Zionist movement declares the entirety of Palestine as the new Jewish state of “Israel,” formally endorsed (and soon financially sponsored) by the United States, now “part and parcel of the emerging American hegemony in the region.”⁹

Israel is thus a European-Jewish settler nation fundamentally based on land theft, normalized occupation, continuous population displacement, and anti-Palestinian racial genocide/warfare. Its imperialist-colonial (white) civilization and nation-building project is spiritually animated by Zionism. While it is true that Israel's one-hundred years' war of land-ecological conquest indeed

shares many of the typical characteristics of other colonial campaigns, it also possesses very specific characteristics, as it [is] fought by and on behalf of the Zionist movement, which itself was and is a very particular colonial project. Further complicating this understanding is the fact that this colonial conflict, conducted with massive support from external powers, became over time a national confrontation between two national entities, two peoples. Underlying this feature, and amplifying it, was the profound resonance for Jews, and also many Christians, of their biblical connection to the historic land of Israel. Expertly woven into modern political Zionism, this resonance has become integral to it. A late-nineteenth-century colonial-national movement thus adorned itself with

a biblical coat that was powerfully attractive to Bible-reading Protestants in Great Britain and the United States, blinding them to the modernity of Zionism and to its colonial nature: for how could Jews be “colonizing” the land where their religion began?¹⁰

Contrary to U.S./Western propaganda, to be in opposition to zionism is not anti-semitism nor is it opposition to Judaism. Rather it means to oppose a particular European/Euro-American fantasy of settler birthright to possess the land that is Palestine and an ethno-state based on conquest and aspirationally permanent occupation. Just as certain historical articulations of Christianity served as the ideological basis for the genocidal trans-Atlantic anti-Black plantation chattel slavery regime and ongoing European “New World” conquest-construction of the “Amerikas,” so too does zionism mobilize through the mythology of the Old Testament to mutate Judaism (a religion/faith) into ethno-racial terms and justify the apartheid settler nation-building project of “Israel” premised on the elimination of the Palestinian native.

The scholarship of Nur Masalha rigorously demonstrates that “ancient Israelites” were neither a race nor an ethnicity but a community formed around a common faith, a faith community.¹¹ It is important to take the time to break this point down more before moving on with any further writing about anti-zionism and the Palestine solidarity movement, given the sheer density and cultural-political saturation of the zionist perspective in the U.S. public discourse, among myriad spheres of

11. Nur Masalha, *Palestine: A Four Thousand Year History* (London: *I.B. Tauris*, 2021 [1999]), 24-25.

12. *Ibid.*, 24-25.

13. *Ibid.*, 284-285. Of the actual indigenous people of Palestine, Masalha writes:

Today the Palestinians are culturally and linguistically Arab and largely but not exclusively Muslim. The Palestinian Muslim population was mainly descended from local Palestinian Christians and Jews who had converted to Islam [in the *seventh century*] and inherited many of the social, cultural, religious, and linguistic traditions of ancient Palestine, including those of the Israelites, Caananites, and Philistenes... [I]t would not be unreasonable to argue that the modern Palestinians are more likely to be the descendants of the ancient Philistenes (and Israelites) than Ashkenazi Jews, many of whom were European converts to Judaism. Certainly historically, in contrast to the myth of ‘exile and return,’ many of the original Jewish inhabitants of ancient Palestine remained in the country but had accepted Christianity and Islam many generations later [emphasis added].

14. Masalha’s work is indispensable for demystifying the mythico-discursive regimes of “Israeli national history.” With overwhelming documentation and evidence, her scholarship exposes how the leadership of early-European zionist colonialism operated on the belief that to build a new “homeland”/state in Palestine required the invention of both founding national mythology and a new secular modern Ashkenazi Hebrew language. (338) In fact, many of the first zionist settlers called themselves “New Hebrews” not “Jews,” and apparently “deliberately changed their European Yiddish, Russian, Pol-

percent [who presently control the wealth of the society] and the transference of these holdings onto the remaining 99 percent... A social revolution after the fact of the modern corporate capitalist state can only mean the breakup of that state and a completely new form of economics and culture.

Cited in Jackson, *Blood In My Eye*, Pt. 1. (Chicago: *Chicago Anarchist Black Cross*, 2018 [1971]), 16-17.

5. Rashid Khalidi, *The Hundred Years' War on Palestine: A History of Settler Colonialism and Resistance, 1917-2017* (New York: *Metropolitan Books*, 2020), 9.

6. *Ibid.*, 8.

7. *Ibid.*, see 17-95.

8. Ghassan Kanafani, *The 1936-39 Revolt in Palestine* (London: *Tricontinental Society*, 1980 [1972]), 55. In this book, Kanafani provides insights into the historical process of Palestine's rapid transformation from a "semi-feudal" society into a capitalist society which is "accompanied by an increased concentration of economic power in the hands of the Zionist machine" and the European-Jewish settlers colonizing Palestine (55). This sequence of colonial accumulation appears to correspond with the "crystallization of the militaristic and aggressive character of the colonial society that Zionism had firmly implanted" in the region, and its relative "containment and defeat" of the native Palestinian proletariat (11). Another factor that created the conditions leading to the genocidal colonization of Palestine is that there was no significant leftist movement in this emergent Jewish colony that could mount struggle and resistance in the opposite direction, as Kanafani writes: "practically the whole of this society was devoted to settlement through invasion" (55).

9. Khalidi, *The Hundred Years' War on Palestine* (2020), 60.

10. *Ibid.*, 9.

influence. It is not until the nineteenth-century when this perspective of Judaism as a community of faith (i.e. the Jewish faith) is eclipsed by the globality of European racialism (race science, social Darwinism, eugenics), where "being Jewish" was discursively constructed into a racial identity. This racist framing continued to evolve throughout the Western nation-state system and colonial circuits of knowledge production until the horrors of the Nazi Holocaust, which set the stage for the second transformation of global Jewish identity. Following the horrors of the Nazi Holocaust,

being Jewish was reinvented again into a single ethnicity. Today the Arab Jews of Iraq, Morocco, and the Yemen, together with the Amharic-speaking Falasha Jews of Ethiopia and the Russian, German, and Polish Jews are all treated as having a single ethnicity, if not a single race, by the Israeli Zionist regime. In fact, until the advent of European Zionism, members of the Arabic-speaking Jewish minority in Palestine, known locally as *'al-yahud awald al-'arab'* were an integral part of the Palestinian people and their Arabic language, culture, and heritage... and were also destroyed by the European Zionist settler elite. The double reinvention of the "Jewish people" in the modern era is often overlooked by critical scholars.¹¹

One of the foundational myths of the Zionist political movement of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, intended to ritualize the discursive erasure of indigenous presence in the Western geographic imaginary is the propagation of

the slogan “a land without a people, for a people without a land,” circulated by the well-funded Protestant Christian lobby (U.K.). This mytheme emerges along with another narrative structure of belonging, propagated by Western literature and other popular cultural forms, which instilled a baseless presumption into (global) Zionist racial common sense of a “natural,” innate, or perennial diasporic Jewish longing for “return.”¹²

Most absurdly presented for the historical record here is the real phenomenon of eastern European Jewish settlers migrating to Palestine and claiming to represent a native population who is “returning” to its homeland after thousands of years of exile, a process of self-indigenization that requires the invention of a new “Hebrew-imagined biblical identity” and a toponymical program of de-Arabizing the region to bolster this construction of a new national language, with the militarized re-naming of cities, places, and of the entire European settler population.¹³ The modern Hebrew language spoken today as the official tongue of Israeli settler society was in fact invented by Ashkenazi Zionists as a “hybrid language” with European vocabulary and strong European connections.¹⁴

The key racial logic at play in the fanciful production of Israeli society as a self-coherent national subject and territorialized civilization is native erasure and elimination. In a fashion similar to the technical rulings of the Catholic church during the fifteenth-century, with the decree of the “Papal Bulls” designating most of the land west of Europe to be classified as *terra nullius*, or “nobody’s land” (i.e. territory that is not under the ownership or control by a European nation-state becomes avail-

Notes

1. Fred Moten and Stefano Harney, *The Undercommons: Fugitive Planning and Black Study* (New York: *Minor Compositions*, 2013), 40.

2. George Jackson, *Blood In My Eye*, Pt. 2 (Chicago: *Chicago Anarchist Black Cross*, 2018 [1971]), 26.

3. As Frantz Fanon argues, decolonization is a “historical process,” “it can only be understood, it can only find its significance and become self-coherent insofar as we can discern the history-making movement which gives it form and substance.” In *The Wretched of the Earth* (London: *Penguin*, 1967), 2.

4. The terms “revolution” and “revolutionary” have a specific meaning in my vocabulary and need to be unpacked further, as George Jackson defines:

Revolution within a modern industrialist capitalist society can only mean the overthrow of all existing property relations and the destruction of all institutions that directly or indirectly support existing property relations. It must include the total suppression of all classes and individuals who endorse the present state of property relations and who stand to gain from it. Anything less than this is reform. Government and the infrastructure of the enemy capitalist state must be destroyed to get at the heart of the problem: property relations. Otherwise there is no revolution. Reshuffle the governmental personnel and forms, without changing property relations and economic institutions, and you have produced simply another reform stage in the old bourgeois revolution... Revolutionary change means the seizure of all that is held by the 1

reaction by a population far-removed from the site and scenes of war, genocide, and resistance in Gaza, but an autonomous branch of the protracted, decentralized, horizontal, and wide-spread revolutionary anti-colonial insurgency that was initiated by the Al-Aqsa Flood, situated squarely within the war machine that is materially facilitating and ethico-politically condoning Israel's mass expulsions, deprivations, maimings, and killings of native Palestinians.

able for acquisition via conquest), the geographic imaginary of zionism relies on this exact same Western legal category.¹⁵

Just as U.S. Amerikan "Manifest Destiny" animated the rapid and violent frontier conquest by white settlers across a continent and beyond, presuming their "god-mandated" entitlement to invade and control non-European land and transform it into "property," so too does the citizen-settler of the zionist occupation of Palestine.¹⁶ In fact, the Israeli state appears to encourage a type of ethnocentric identity based on traditions of land and conquest in the Hebrew Bible, "especially the Book of Joshua and those dealing with the biblical Israelites' origins that demanded the subjugation and destruction of other people."¹⁷

In a million ways, the zionist political movement has re-invented Judaism and incorporated such select Jewish themes into militarized political action. The involvement of universities, institutions of "Higher Education," and scholarly research associations in the propagation and normalization of this onto-mythic core of the zionist nation-building project has been central, essential. And the spiderweb of transnational institutional and historical connections between nodes of the zionist war machine and the neoliberal academic-schooling regime is mind-boggling in its expanse. It is not a coincidence that the U.S. college campus has been a principal site of struggle for local articulations of the Palestine solidarity movement and insurgency against zionism, for five decades it has been nothing but a battleground.

I believe that the Palestinian people have a right to return to their land, their homes, and neighborhoods from which

their families have been removed, deracinated, refugees suspended in a perpetual condition of Nakba.¹⁸ And i believe that Palestine has a right to self-determination and sovereignty—and thus a right to armed struggle—as an indigenous people and a nation. The zionist Israel entity is an illegitimate fascist-apartheid nation. In 1979 the Palestinian scholar Edward Said writes:

Zionism (like the view of America as empty land held by Puritans) was a colonial vision... [I]n joining the general Western enthusiasm for overseas territorial acquisition, Zionism never spoke of itself unambiguously as a Jewish liberation movement, but rather as a Jewish movement for colonial settlement in the Orient. To those Palestinian victims that Zionism displaced, it could not have meant anything by way of sufficient cause that Jews were victims of European anti-Semitism... [O]nce victims themselves, Occidental Jews in Israel have become oppressors (of Palestinian Arabs and Oriental Jews)... The fact that no sizable segment of the Israeli population has yet been able to confront the terrible social and political injustice done to the native Palestinians is an indication of how deeply ingrained are the (by now) anomalous imperialist perspectives basic to Zionism, its view of the world, its sense of an inferior native Other.¹⁹

Beyond a “proxy” of the United States of Amerika, the two nation-state formations form together a singular apparatus of white-supremacist settler-colonial empire. Symbiotic and mutually-constitutive, neither the U.S. nor Israel can maintain

stitution restricted to a special layer of society (students),” where the “*ex-university*” becomes “*socialized, public, open to everyone.*”²² After all, what is a campus without capital? Without the “student” and “worker” alienated from their sense of collective power? In the absence of administrative power and policing? Is it not just a grip of buildings with tremendous resources and infrastructure available for the taking and repurposing, the redistribution of access, the reassignment of meaning based on socially necessary functions instead of work, profit, and prestige?

As anarchists living in the core of U.S. settler empire, i believe our role in the process of anti-colonial insurgency is to exhaust all means of solidarity and insurrectionary mutual aid, and to expand the sphere of principled collaboration with non-anarchists. Such collaboration however cannot result in capitulation to non-anarchist aspirations for the bureaucratic mediation or management of emergent mass struggle. If at any point in the development of new cycles of insurgency the activist Left or any other popular bloc of collaboration against the colonial apparatus turns toward reformist or prematurely minimalist measures, it is the historical obligation of the anarchists of praxis to advance the struggle to new levels of direct action, specific to the situation at hand, appropriate to the needs of the oppressed classes who are engaged in the self-activity of liberatory revolt.²³

The intifada on the university campuses—which is to say the convergence of likely hundreds of students, academic workers, faculty, staff, and local communities onto the campuses of the University of Empire—last spring is not some detached

Between May 1-13, i lived within the encampment at University of California, Berkeley (UCB), volunteering in day-to-day maintenance tasks, political education, and community defense. As an educator and someone who has spent over a decade of my lifetime on college campuses (as a student and/or worker, from community college to public research universities to private “R1” institutions), i am intimately aware of the political organizing context of “the campus” as much as the anti-political potential of students and workers to engage in exemplary actions within/against the University of Empire in ways that can spill out to catalyze revolt on a much grander scale. This of course is ultimately dependent on their willingness to first destroy the division of labor, chain of authority, intellectual hierarchies, and specialized-social roles assigned by capitalist society. Secondly, they must be willing to embrace those of us from the community beyond the so-called campus borders, a transformation of our categorization by capital as “outsiders” or “community support” instead to “co-struggles” on equal footing with as much at stake in the revolutionary process unfolding by our convergence and disarticulation of walls.

The call (still) is to “*flood the gates*,” an altogether different paradigm than the majority of 2024’s encampments. The logic of the flood model is closer to what Fredy Perlman and Roger Gregoire famously describe as the abolition of the university. For Perlman and Gregoire, to abolish the university is not a vaporous idea but a concrete horizon and specific set of objectives and activity that concrete people struggle toward together, that is, “*an abolition of the university as a specialized in-*

their imperialist ambitions without the other, while Israel’s war-raging capacity figures essential for larger processes of transnational capital accumulation in the region.

It is for this reason that the colonial world is in a downward existential spiral of panic-reaction following the Palestinian liberation army’s “Operation Al-Aqsa Flood” which began on October 7, 2023. The flood is an act of decolonization, a bulldozing of the apartheid border wall, an insurgent burst of liberatory potential summoning the spirit of anticolonial revolution back onto the world stage. The flood is also an expression of abolition praxis, the largest prison break in recent memory, a demand for mass decarceration, the release of hundreds, of thousands of Palestinians held captive in Israeli prisons, jails, and detention centers, and a militant action that seems to have catalyzed a new web of global solidarities between incarcerated peoples against their/our captors.

II

Last spring, i was an active and contributing participant in the Gaza solidarity encampment at University of California, Berkeley. The encampment, beginning on April 22, [2024] was part of a widespread surge of protest escalation on U.S. university campuses in support of Palestine and against zionism and racial-colonial genocide. This escalation was quickly dubbed the “student intifada,” yet its participants were more often a dynamic convergence of communities, in some instances involving the entire regional left-movement ecology in which a campus is located. On a tactical level, the intifada on the university campuses consisted mostly of encampments, building takeovers (referred to as “occupations”), and to a lesser degree more provocative forms of expropriation and sabotage (such as looting, smashing of windows, or arson). Work refusals also were mildly attempted.

To be more specific, i tend to divide the overall cycle of insurgency into two overlapping but distinct constellations, with differing tactical-horizons and limitations. On the one hand, there is the more generalized Gaza “*solidarity encampment wave*,” encompassing the majority of both active and passive participants in the creation, sustaining, resourcing, and defense of camps, which typically seized outdoor space (quads, plazas, and center lawns) on campus. This wave took the form of what the anti-state communist writing collective Research and Destroy describes as “protest camps,” built with the primary intention of “communicating a moral position.”²⁰ This differs from

the mode of encampment used in the 2015 Standing Rock/No Dakota Access Pipeline movement and the more recent 2022 Stop Cop City/Defend the Atlanta Forest campaign, which they write of as examples of the “encampments-as-demand-itself,” where the purpose of the camp is to physically block the construction of colonial-capitalist infrastructure.

On the other hand, there is a second constellation that emerges in the spring 2024 intifada, what i am tentatively calling “*the campus flood*,” consisting of various initiatives of expropriation and sabotage. In some geographies, the flood escalated within the paradigm of negotiation, while in others the flood can be seen breaking from this normative logic altogether. As the Research and Destroy collective explains:

The differing characters across encampments, from orderly tent villages under heavy manners to the wild building seizures of Manhattan or Arcata, bespeak among other things where each campus stands along the arc of transformation—from minimalists ready to treat the convening of a task force as a win, to maximalists sliding towards total antagonism. It is the logic of negotiation itself that arrests the slide and sets the tactical agenda...the baseline quality of a movement with specific and limited demands that must be won from an authority who is empowered to deliver them. Even as escalation can be a negotiating tool, intensifying the discomfort and scrutiny for the administration, the requirement that the administration must be considered a partner, must be granted legitimacy and even the pretense of having an ethical capacity, sets limits on tactics and even on ideas.²¹