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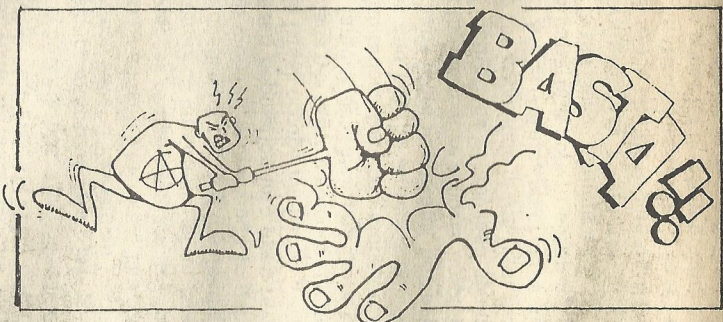
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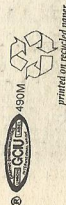
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Russian Anarchists Face Repression

BY LIZA ROSE

THE EVENTS OF THE END OF SEPTEMBER and the first week of October in the former Soviet Union have left anarchists with many questions concerning what actually happened. For instance, mainstream media would have us believe that most Russians support Russian President Boris Yeltsin, while the minority are in favor of former Vice-President Aleksander V. Rutskoi, the opposition leader in the Parliament. This is just not the case, according to anti-authoritarians and leftists living in Moscow. There are many who support neither Yeltsin nor Rutskoi and are interested in alternative solutions to this clash of authoritarian factions. Hopefully this article will answer some of these questions and raise new ones as we join the attempt to develop an anti-authoritarian analysis on the situation in Moscow. Our sources include individual anarchists and the KAS, the Russian Confederation of Anarchist Syndicalists (which may have been one of the groups outlawed in the repression following the Yeltsin Coup—more on that later.)

Yeltsin's coup d'etat began on Sept 21, when he suspended the Congress of People's Deputies and ordered new Parliamentary elections. His opponents in the Parliament, led by Rutskoi, defied Yeltsin's authority and proceeded to barricade themselves in the White House. During the next several days clashes between the "neutral" police and protesters (Communists, nationalists and fascists) intensified; on Oct 2 the first serious street violence broke out.

YELTSIN PROVOCATIONS LEGITIMIZE REPRESSION

All this was reported in the *New York Times* and other mainstream sources; images of protesters throwing rocks, lighting fires, and chasing the police flashed on television screens. What we did not see, according to anarchists in Moscow, was Yeltsin planning to have a weak police presence to make it seem like his "law and order" agenda was justified. One question activists are asking is why, on Oct 3, did at least 120 police act slowly and reluctantly to stop as few as 40 rioters? After one and a half hours (plenty of time to gain control) the police still had not blocked the streets. Why were the police so poorly equipped and in a one-person-thick line when fighting the protesters who were on their way to the Parliament? One Russian correspondent states, "It's worth mentioning that during less dramatic oppositional demonstrations in Moscow, police forces were much more broadly represented and were acting much more fearlessly, managing to stop the demonstrators where and when needed."

These victories inspired the opposition to storm the usually well-protected television station later that evening. One activist reports that it had been known for four days that the opposition was planning to take over the station, and when they arrived they held a rally for over an hour. Again, more than enough time for the police to secure the station and the streets.

According to anarchists in Moscow, part of Yeltsin's plan included outright police provocation. Several people witnessed



police firing machine guns in the air and at one point attempting to get people in the street to run in order to create a climate of hysteria. Reports from Moscow state that it was obvious to onlookers that the troops deliberately let the crowd gather and storm the Mayor's building. Even the *Moscow Tribune* printed, "Could this have been a trap to encourage the violent elements on Parliament's side to provide the justifica-

tion the government needed to respond with the force it had sworn not to initiate?"

Yeltsin declared a state of emergency in Moscow, and the government declared that it had "to use force to end the actions of political adventurers and is doing everything possible to avert mass bloodshed." "Everything possible" meant intense repression, martial law, curfew, detentions, and severe censorship justified in the name of democracy.

People all over the world embraced Yeltsin's authoritarianism because of what appeared to be an uncontrollable situation. However, radicals who are familiar with the police and government in Moscow counter by saying that, looking at past history, the government has never had many problems protecting its own interests and crushing resistance.

(Continued to page 11)

100+ Food Not Bombs Arrests

BY PABLO SALAZAR

By Oct 11, over 135 food servers and waitresses had been arrested and several vehicles confiscated as part of the City of San Francisco's campaign to eliminate Food Not Bombs (FNB). The campaign was initiated Thursday, Sept 2, when members of the San Francisco Police Department's Tactical Squad arrested 12 members of FNB for serving free food in front of the San Francisco City Hall. Over the course of the last several weeks arrests of FNB members have become an almost-daily occurrence.

RESISTANCE

The communities affected by these attacks on FNB have begun to organize resistance. FNB has been holding weekly demonstrations on Wednesdays at noon while they serve food. At the Sept 29 demonstration more than

30 people were arrested while defending the FNB serving table. On Sept 8, FNB held a large demonstration in front of City Hall attended by over 250 people. As members of the city's elite, dressed in tuxedos and ball gowns, entered City Hall to celebrate the start of the opera season, FNB served food and marched around the building despite the presence of hundreds of riot police.

One of the funniest incidents of resistance occurred on Sept 10 when 20 police descended on FNBers serving lunch. Two people were arrested, but were unable to arrest a third when he jumped into a nearby fountain. The cops decided against going into the fountain to arrest him. For over an hour they coaxed and bargained, promising to reduce the charges but they were told that he would only come out if they promised full amnesty for all of those FNB servers in the previous week. The cops finally gave up and left, leav-

ing the cunning food-server free to escape.

On Oct 6, a coalition of groups affected by the campaign against FNB (including the Coalition on Homelessness, Food Not Bombs, and Acción y Unidad para los Desamparados Latinos), held a demonstration at one of San Francisco Mayor Frank Jordan's houses (Jordan owns three houses including one in the exclusive Pacific Heights neighborhood). More than 20 people were arrested after the 250 police surrounded the demonstration. The broad support from both homeless and Latino groups is a result of the related attacks faced by those communities.

THE MATRIX OPERATION

This latest campaign to eliminate FNB comes as part of Mayor Jordan's Matrix

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"Peace Plan": Intifada Interruptus

BY ADAM SABRA

THE RECENT SCENES OF YASIR Arafat at the White House, shaking hands with Bill Clinton and Yitzak Rabin, are enough to turn the stomach of any radical worth the name. In the midst of all the fanfare and talk of "historic" developments, it is obvious that a sell-out is taking place. This fact is clear to the entire spectrum of political opinion in the Palestinian community from Hamas to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Unfortunately, none of these groups, burdened as they are with their worn-out rhetoric, can provide any alternative to the "peace-makers."

[The "peace plan" between the Palestine

Liberation Organization and the State of Israel provides for the establishment of direct Palestinian administration of the Gaza strip and a region around the city of Jericho in the Israeli-occupied West Bank. This administration is limited to local affairs, but includes the creation of a Palestinian police force. This arrangement is expected to be the first step towards a greater degree of Palestinian "autonomy" that will be taken within the next five years. —Production Group]

As the existing political groups of the Middle East scramble to jump on the bandwagon of peace or knock it over, the "historic agreement" shows every sign of collapsing under the weight of its own internal contradictions. It is a peace that solves

nothing. Indeed, the rapprochement of the PLO and the Zionist leadership only further demonstrates the failure of the existing political trends to comprehend the nature of Zionism and to formulate an answer to it. Instead, we are presented with a peace treaty that will be remembered alongside Munich Pact and the Vance-Owen Plan.

THE ANTI-SEMITIC ROOTS OF ZIONISM

In order to get past the sound-bites and clichés of the evening news and reach the heart of what is at stake in the Middle East, one must first understand the character of the Zionist movement. Once this is

accomplished, the fact that no compromise is possible with Zionism becomes crystal clear.

Zionism is sold by its adherents as the only possible solution to the "eternal" problem of Anti-Semitism. The collapse of feudalism in Eastern Europe in the late 19th century brought a flood of Jews westward. Foreigners in the West and hated middlemen in the East whose historic role had been usurped by the rise of national bourgeoisies, the Jews became targets of racist movements which blamed the horrors of nascent capitalism on this conveniently vulnerable minority. Thus the

(Continued to page 23)

Armed and Dangerous: Prison Labor for the War Machine

By Ray Luc Levasseur

WHEN I WAS TRANSFERRED TO the US Penitentiary in Marion, Illinois in December, 1989, Panama was being invaded by US forces. Amidst the wholesale destruction, mass graves, and lies by US politicians and military leaders was an awesome display of American firepower designed to impose its will on yet another Central American nation. Weapons systems from land, sea, and air were utilized, along with the basic M16 to kill whoever stood in the line of fire. Whether technologically advanced or as simple as a grenade, this war materiel is made in the USA—some of it by federal prisoners.

The Federal Prison Industries, Inc. (UNICOR) is one of the manufacturers that supplies military equipment to the bloated US war machine. UNICOR has served this function since 1934 under contract to the War Department, now known euphemistically as the Department of Defense. The Federal Bureau of Prisons (BoP) boasts that the slave labor of prisoners, under hazardous conditions and at an entry-level wage of 23 cents an hour, has and continues to make significant contributions towards supplying the military's needs. It also boasts of using UNICOR to control prisoners within its vastly overcrowded system.

[Ray Luc Levasseur, a member of the Ohio 7, is a working-class North American anti-Imperialist political prisoner. The Ohio 7 were charged with bombings of institutions complicit in US imperialism in South Africa and Central America. Ray Luc is currently imprisoned in USP Marion.]

UNICOR's military production ranges from TOW and other missile cables, munitions components, communications equipment, bomb parts, engine overhauls, uniform sewing, etc. In its brochures, the BoP proudly displays photographs of prisoners working hard producing this materiel. As a Viet Nam veteran, I was particularly struck by a photo of Federal prisoners producing equipment destined for Viet Nam. Unlike most prisoners, I got to see with my own eyes the lethal effect of the end product.

It is the priority of UNICOR to provide for the military's needs, whether it was during the Korea War when 80% of UNICOR sales went to the military, or the Gulf War when prisoners were pressed into overtime. In fact, the military has its own representative on UNICOR's Board of Directors to advise on how to better harness prison labor for military purposes.

Being contracted to the War Department means supplying more than just US forces. It means that this military equipment is rerouted by the US to its client states—from Israel to Indonesia—and into the hands of the world's most degenerate and bloodthirsty regimes. In cases like El Salvador, the supplies were used to kill their own people.

USP-Marion is a control unit prison where abuse of prisoners is well-documented by Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Congressional committee hearings, and other sources. In the never-ending lockdown there is little to engage the intellect, an abysmal lack of stimulation and recreation, and no work with which to labor. With one exception. The prison

administration has designed a scheme whereby prisoners deemed suitable must enter a period of involuntary servitude in the "pre-transfer" unit before approval is granted for transfer to a less-brutal prison. It is a scheme the administration exploits to the hilt because they understand that Marion prisoners are desperate to leave its punishment cells, isolation, and tomb-like conditions.

While all Federal prisoners are required to work, they are not required to work UNICOR, though 26% do so. Most prisoners opt to work in other areas such as food service or maintenance, or pursue the very limited educational or vocational programs available. USP-Marion is the single exception in the Federal prison system because it mandates that prisoners work UNICOR as a condition of transfer. The only work at Marion's UNICOR is military production.

The Bureau of Prisons has parried Freedom of Information Act requests to disclose detailed information about war production at Marion. However, this much is known: UNICOR Marion produces electronics communication cables which it sells to the War Department. These cables are used in various ground vehicles, such as tanks and Armored Personnel Carriers, and production line supervisors have bragged that the cables are used in helicopters. Whatever its finite specifics, the military application of the electronics cables is essential to many weapons systems and platforms.

Marion's operation is an extension of a larger operation at the federal prison in Lexington, Kentucky, so its production and profit figures are not individually computed. In a typical year, Lexington fills 800-1200 orders for the military, totalling \$12 million.

In modern warfare, the term "military hardware" encompasses advanced weapons systems in which electronics often provide a more destructive function than the soldier's rifle. During the US war on Iraq, for example, bombardment by electronically-enhanced munitions on water treatment plants spread a bacteriological assault on all those people whose lives depended on that water. According to the New England Journal of Medicine, 46,900 Iraqi children died in the first seven months of 1991 as a result of US attacks on the country's infrastructure. Besides pilots and gunners who never see their victims, what's used to coordinate and propel mass destruction are the essential components of war, right down to the vital electronics and communication cables. War where the primary victims are civilian.

Military equipment is not produced in a vacuum. Those prisoners who produced materiel during the Viet Nam War certainly knew there was a war raging. US mili-

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Love and Rage is the English-language newspaper of the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation, an organization made up of groups and individuals in Canada, Mexico and the US who share a set of common politics and who work on common political projects. *Love and Rage* is produced by a Production Group in New York City. The Production group is made up of volunteers and one full-time paid staff person. *Love and Rage* is one of the many projects of the Federation, which also produces the Spanish-language *Amor y Rabia* in Mexico City, operates a Federation office in Oakland, California, and publishes an internal discussion bulletin in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in addition to supporting various actions and campaigns. There are currently two working groups in the Federation: one on racist and police violence and the other on state borders and anti-immigrant violence. For more information contact the groups.

Major decisions and overall policies of the Federation are set by an annual conference, or between conferences by the Federation Council. The Federation Council is currently made up of two delegates from each of the local supporting groups plus eight delegates from the various projects.

Ongoing debates and discussions within the federation take place in the quarterly discussion bulletin (*Disco Bull*). More timely information goes out in the bi-weekly *Federation Bulletin*, currently produced in New York City.

The Federation is not a closed circle of friends. You can join the Federation and participate fully in the decision-making process. Any member of a local supporting group is automatically a member of the Federation. Any individual who is in general agreement with the stated politics of the Federation, who supports the projects of the Federation and who pays the \$25 communications fee to cover the costs of receiving the Federation publications, may be a member of the Federation. The communications fee will be waived on request.

Even if you do not wish to be a member of the Federation you may participate in Federation projects. We are always happy to have people help with any of the projects. So please contact us.

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Editorial Policy

We encourage you to submit material for publication. Shorter articles are more likely to be printed. 1800 words, a full newspaper page, is a long article. Submissions may be edited. Please include a phone number and address or internet email address so the PG can consult you on editing. Articles not printed may be sent to our internal bulletins unless otherwise noted. All letters will be considered for publication unless there is an explicit request that they not be published. Letters will not be edited.

About Our Politics

The Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation is in the process of developing a statement of our common politics. A set of Working Papers encompassing the debate on the content of this statement is available for \$5 from Info-Share (see address above). The following introduction to our old Political Statement gives an idea of where we are coming from:

Love and Rage is a bi-monthly anarchist newspaper intended to foster revolutionary anti-authoritarian activism in North America and build a more effective and better-organized anarchist movement. We will provide coverage of social struggles, world events, anarchist actions, and cultures of resistance. We will support the struggles of oppressed peoples around the world for control over their own lives. Anarchy offers the broadest possible critique of domination, making possible a framework for unity in all struggles for liberation. We seek to understand the systems we live under for ourselves and reject any pre-packaged ideology. Anarchism is a living body of theory and practice connected directly to the lived experiences of oppressed people fighting for their own liberation. We anticipate the radical and on-going revision of our ideas as a necessary part of any revolutionary process.

Let Them Eat Bullets

The Manipulation of Hunger in Somalia

by Mitchell Cohen

To pull out of Somalia would be "devastating to our hopes for the New World Order..."

—General Colin Powell, September 1993

ON SEPT 8, US HELICOPTER GUNships and tanks opened fire on a crowd in Somalia. More than 200 Somali people were massacred. Since last December, at least 700 Somalis—mostly civilians—have been killed by the US/UN forces supposedly there to feed them.

Jamie McGoldrick of the Save the Children Fund says "the relief work is dead. This has become a purely military operation." (*Financial Times* [London], June 12, 1993) One US soldier said: "It's not like I saw on TV, we didn't deliver any food, it was mostly patrolling, searching houses and burning stuff." ("Why are US Soldiers in Somalia?", International Action Center, 39 W. 14 St., NYC 10011)

More than 28,000 troops continue to occupy Somalia, and more are on the way. Gen. Colin Powell approvingly called Operation Restore Hope "a paid political advertisement" for maintaining the Bush/Clinton \$1.4-trillion 4-year military budget. (*Washington Post Weekly*, Dec. 14, 1992) Secretary of Defense Les Aspin has followed in step, urging the allocation of billions of dollars for revamping overall military strategy so that the US will be prepared to fight two or more wars at the same time in different parts of the globe. At the end of August, he approved sending an additional elite Army Ranger unit, basically a 400-person SWAT team, to Mogadishu.

Even Southern Air Transport, exposed during the mid-1980s as a shadowy CIA operation running cocaine and death squads between Central America and the southern US (using, among others, a base in Arkansas while Clinton governed there), has re-surfaced in Somalia, contracted by the UN (at \$25,000 per day) to transport water from Israel, beer from Germany, and undoubtedly CIA personnel from the US, to Italian and German troops stationed in the town of Belet Uen. (*Village Voice*, Sept 28, 1993)

OILY TO BED AND OILY TO RISE

The "oil connection" in Somalia slid right past the liberals. In fact, aside from one brilliant story in the *L.A. Times* it was printed absolutely nowhere. And yet, Conoco officials in Houston admit their guilt. They describe the company's arrangement with the invasion of Somalia as "a business relationship." They say that the US government was "paying rental for its use of the compound" in Mogadishu. (*Los Angeles Times*, Jan 18, 1993)

"In its in-house magazine last month, Conoco reprinted excerpts from a letter of

commendation for [Raymond] Marchland [Conoco's Somalia-based general manager] written by US Marine Brig. Gen. Frank Libutti, who has been acting as military aid to US envoy Robert B. Oakley. In the letter, Libutti praised the oil official for his role in the initial operation to land Marines on Mogadishu's beaches in December, and the general concluded, 'Without Raymond's courageous contributions and selfless service, the operation would have failed.'

"But the close relationship between Conoco and the US intervention force has left many Somalis and foreign development experts deeply troubled by the blurry line between the US government and the large oil company, leading many to liken the Somalia operation to a miniature version of Operation Desert Storm, the US-led military effort in January, 1991, to drive Iraq from Kuwait and, more broadly, safeguard the world's largest oil reserves.

"They sent all the wrong signals when [the US military] moved into the Conoco compound," said one expert on Somalia who worked with one of the four major oil companies as they intensified their exploration efforts in the country in the late 1980s. 'It's left everyone thinking the big question here isn't famine relief but oil—whether the oil concessions granted under [deposed dictator] Siad Barre will be transferred if and when peace is restored,' the expert said. 'It's potentially worth billions of dollars, and, believe me, that's what the whole game is starting to look like.'

But a Conoco executive tried to play down the connection between the Marine invasion of Somalia and the oil interests: "With America, there is a genuine humanitarian streak in us ... that most other countries and cultures cannot understand," he said. (*L.A. Times*, see above)

YOU PROVIDE THE COLLATERAL, WE'LL PROVIDE THE DAMAGE

The Bush administration piled up lie after lie after lie about its "mission" in Somalia to rationalize its military and economic intervention. Clinton is following suit. These included:

1) *Somalia was at the peak of famine and only US troops could save it.* Actually the peak had passed months before and the country was on the road to recovery—without the US or its puppet despot Siad Barre, who had been overthrown by General Aidid and others.

2) *Starvation was everywhere, due to widespread chaos, random anarchy and lack of a central governmental authority.* Actually, famine was limited to those areas where the IMF, World Bank and USAID had been able to impose its programs most forcefully—precisely those areas where strong central government had overthrown

the agrarian clan communities and was consolidating its power, just the opposite of what we are being told.

Somalia as a whole was not wracked by generalized mass-starvation, chaos and random violence. "In fact," explains Rutgers University professor Said Samatar, who is from Somalia, "these horrors are occurring only in a limited portion of Somalia, notably in the [...] southwest between Mogadishu, the capital [where all the press are clustered], and the regions surrounding Baidoa and Kismayu. The rest of the country is relatively peaceful and well-governed by an alliance of traditional elders and local leaders that has re-emerged in the wake of the collapse of the central authority." (*Village Voice* Dec 15, 1992)

3) *The US claimed that up to 80 percent of the food supplied by charities was being confiscated by "warlords," who had to be stopped by a display of force.* But Rakiya Omaar, the former director of Africa Watch, cited relief organizations such as Save the Children and the International Committee of the Red Cross as enduring a loss rate of only 5 to 10 percent, a fairly constant figure in all famine relief. Before the US troops landed last December, Mogadishu—which was in the most desperate situation of all the Somali cities—was "totally flooded with food" and "anybody can buy rice; it's very cheap." (*The Nation*, Dec 21, 1992) The mortality rate, Omar says, had dropped and the overall situation had been improving before the troops were sent.

Many relief workers in Somalia went even further, complaining that their efforts were being hindered by the US military intervention: "We can't get to people we used to, and they are dying," said James Fennell of CARE. (*The Burlington Free Press*, Dec 19, 1992) Before the troops hit the beaches relief agencies had hired

Toxic Connections

LAST YEAR, ITALIAN COMPANIES, among others, were building two incinerators to be installed in Somalia. They were expected to handle at least two 550,000-ton shipments of toxic waste next year for an estimated profit of \$4 million to \$6 million, according to an Associated Press story reported in the *Oakland Tribune* on Sept 7, 1992. UN environment chief Mostafa Tolba said the dumping could aggravate the destruction of Somalia's ecosystem and threaten further loss of life in the ravaged nation. In addition, the Associated Press reported it had obtained a copy of a document that "shows a 20-year commitment, signed on Dec 5, 1991, by Nur Elmy Osman, the 'health minister' of [then Somalia president] Ali Mahdi Mohamed, to allow Acher Partners to build an incinerator near Mogadishu and discusses building a landfill to hold as much as 11 million tons of the industrial and hospital treated waste, including 'solid and liquid waste of the toxic type.'" (Jane Hunter, "Somalia, Politics of Famine," *Covert Action Quarterly*, Winter 1993, citing a report by Reuters, Sept. 7, 1992.) Although there are many complicated reasons for US military presence in Somalia, the need of Europe, Japan, Russia and the US to dump the wastes of industrial production somewhere must certainly be considered among the important factors, especially as opposition to toxic dumping and incinerators is congealing into massive political movements within the home regions.

(See also Mitchell Cohen, "Toxic Imperialism & the New World Order," available from the author—address at end of article.)★

guards "to ride shotgun on trucks, losing some supplies to looters—but also reaching many thousands of people who were too weak to seek help in feeding centers. [But] the Marines' first move in Baidoa was to disarm the airport security force, tough ex-soldiers CARE had hired as escorts. [...] Tibebe Haile Selassie, deputy director of UNICEF in Mogadishu [...] said, 'the situa-

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LOVE AND RAGE SPECIAL ISSUE ON

FEMINISM & REVOLUTION



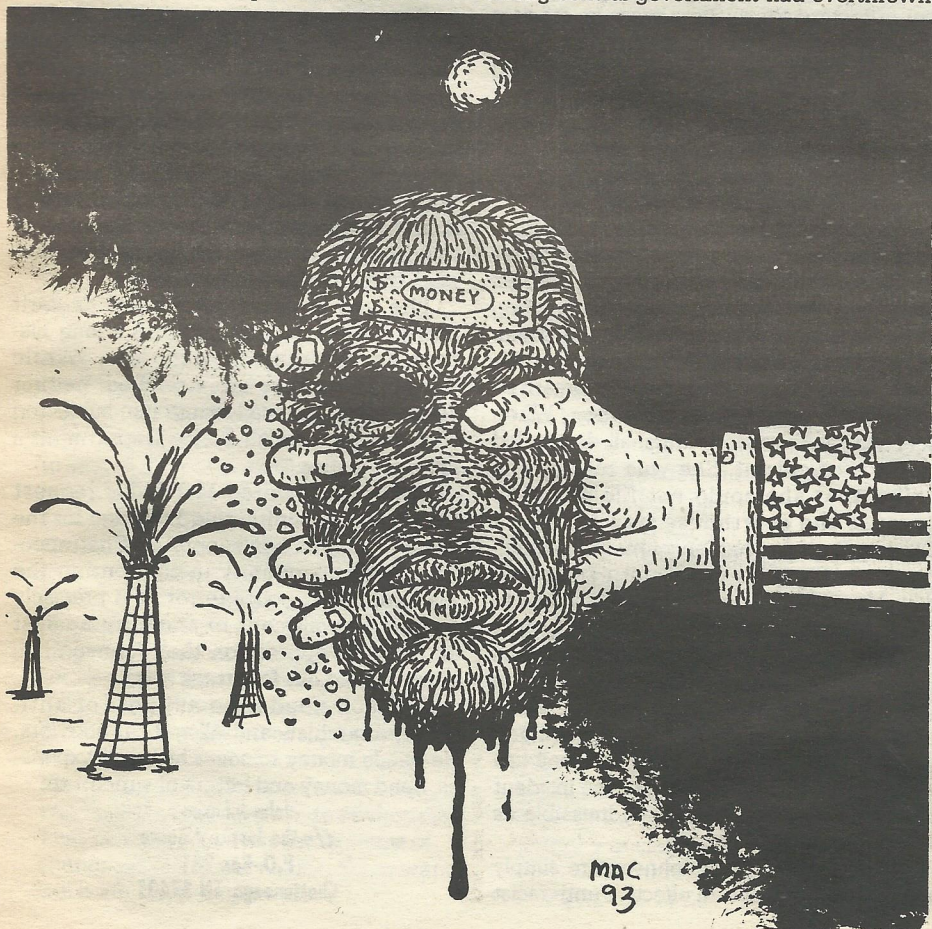
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PO Box 853 Stuyvesant Station
New York, NY 10009



Anti-Fascists Converge on Chattanooga

BY JOHN JOHNSON

CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE WAS once the most polluted city in the Southeast. Now it is the "scenic city" and the place for tourists to come and spend money. Chattanooga is your stereotypical Southern city. The rich, white elite live in comfort atop the surrounding mountains and ridges and the rest of us live in the valley below. Once a thriving industrial and rail hub, Chattanooga is now struggling to become part of the "New South" and base its economy on tourism.

The power structure here cannot be as openly racist as it has been in the past. A lawsuit by activists from the Black community (including anarchist Lorenzo Ervin) forced the city to change its form of government so that Blacks would have equal representation. So, like other cities in the "new" South, we see lots of black faces in the government bureaucracy and even some in the business community. But the majority of Black people in Chattanooga still live in segregated neighborhoods, and they still face discrimination from employers and the police. Two of the bigger Black neighborhoods on the south side of Chattanooga are a virtual industrial wasteland, home to about 40 suspected hazardous waste sites. The "New South" is not so "new." There are a few hate groups around, like the Hamilton Country Christian Guard in East Ridge (a suburb) and the thinly veiled racist rhetoric of David Duke and Pat Buchanan is immensely popular here.

Around the time of the Gay Pride Parade

controversy in June (controversial because the city government tried to tell the Pride Committee where and when it could march. Threatened ACLU action put the city council in its place real quick!), activists learned of a planned Ku Klux Klan rally in reaction to the Gay Pride Parade. The Klan march was going to be sponsored by the Lookout Mountain Knights of the KKK and was set for Saturday, Sept 11. The march was supposed to be against the Gay Pride Committee and in support of the white cops who had recently been acquitted in the "accidental" death of Black motorist Larry Powell. Powell was arrested for driving under the influence on Feb. 5 and died as a result of a series of three chokeholds applied by the pigs to "restrain" him after he allegedly resisted arrest. A grand jury cleared the pigs of any wrongdoing in May. The Powell murder and other cases of police brutality and murder have been the focal point of an anti-cop campaign by a broad coalition of activists which resulted in the now-infamous Chattanooga 8 incident. [For more info on all of these events, please see Sept 1993 *Love and Rage* (Vol. 4 #4) —PG]

Local anti-racist activists from the Justice Alliance, the Concerned Citizens for Justice and the newly formed Robin Hood Collective began to organize an Ad Hoc Coalition Against Racism and Police Brutality. The Ad Hoc Coalition was formed to promote and organize a vocal and disruptive counter-demonstration to the planned Klan march. We were pleased that the idiots in the the Klan gave us three months

to organize. In late July we learned that the Krazy Knucklehead Kreeps had withdrawn their request for a permit to march. The Ad Hoc Coalition felt it was important to have a demonstration anyway, to express solidarity with the Gay Pride Committee, demonstrate against racism and hate groups, and address the ongoing problem of police brutality in Chattanooga.

Although some outreach was done in July, we intensified our efforts throughout August. The Ad Hoc Coalition decided to host a Rock Against Racism concert the evening of the 11th and to sponsor an anti-racist activist mini-conference on the 12th. Throughout August invitations were sent to a variety of groups around the region and across the country. We sent mailings to radical gay and lesbian groups, anti-racist groups, anarchist groups, African-American community groups and others. In the 2 1/2 weeks preceding the march we focused mainly on Chattanooga: we distributed press releases, spread thousands of fliers throughout our community, and we even got on radio talk shows to publicize the event!

As Sept 11 drew near, we realized we had never applied for a permit from the city. After a brief meeting we decided that since part of the demo was focusing on police brutality, why ask the pigs for permission to march?

The demonstration itself was quite a success. Activists from all over came to support us. Folks from Atlanta, Knoxville, Murfreesboro (TN), Alabama, Memphis, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, New York, and New Jersey came for the demo and conference. A big "thanks" for everyone who came out!

We marched around downtown Chattanooga for about an hour. We took the streets and the cops couldn't (or wouldn't) do a damn thing about it. We marched down to the fish prison (aquarium), the newest tourist trap in town, and ruffled a few feathers down there. The ruling elite hate it when tourists are exposed to anything other than what they paid for in their vacation package! We had a successful rally at the Chattanooga/Hamilton County (In)Justice Building.

There we heard a variety of speakers addressing the issues of racism, homophobia and police brutality. Everyone got a good laugh when a wayward AYFer blocked the pigs' video camera with a huge red and black flag, and when we all started to chant "jump! jump!" at the pigs who were filming us from the top of a nearby parking garage. After the rally we took to the streets again and headed to the park to get free grub from the newly formed Food Not Bombs group. The Rock Against Racism concert began at 4:30 and attracted quite a crowd. Funny how folks will come out for music but not to demonstrate about important issues.

There were a few problems with the demo. Not enough local folks came out. I think that this can be attributed to a number of factors. Since there were no fascists

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Fighting Fascism in Madrid

ANTI-FASCISTS IN MADRID HAVE been putting pressure on the neo-nazis there through frequent, militant street confrontations. The anti-fascists have done such a good job making a clear threat to nazis that fascist fashion has gone out of style (unlike in Mexico City, where wearing swastikas and iron crosses is all the rage) and real fascists can be identified by their continued adherence to those styles. At the front of anti-fascist militancy are the SHARP (SkinHeads Against Racial Prejudice) skins in Madrid. A group called Kaña al Facua has promoted the image of SHARP skins fighting "boneheads." There are also many unaffiliated kids confronting fascists in the streets.

The police have been on the side of the fascists in these confrontations. One night about 20 anti-fascists had gathered to confront some fascists who were hitting some rappers at a disco. When the cops came they detained the anti-fascists for 1-1/2 hours, while doing nothing to or about the nazis.

Two groups in Madrid, KARA and KRA, have put out a pamphlet for high school students on anti-racism and anti-fascism. For info contact:

KR@, APDO 156.225
28080 Madrid SPAIN

Anti-Fascists Battle London Police

BY JULIA

TENS OF THOUSANDS OF ANTI-FASCIST protesters assembled in Welling, a suburb of London on October 16, to respond to an increase in violent attacks on Blacks and Asians in Britain and the gaining of a council seat for the racist, right-wing British National Party (BNP). The intention of the demonstration, organized in part by Class War Federation, was to confront the BNP at their headquarters.

Over 7,000 London police officers (one-quarter of the London police force) had assembled in advance in full riot gear to defend the BNP and break down the growing anti-fascist movement in Britain. As police stormed the crowd, protesters, many of them masked, were hit with truncheons and other police weapons as they chanted "Police protect the Nazis." Many were wounded and bleeding as the police riot ran its course. A yet unspecified number of anti-fascists were arrested.

The British government defended its alliance with the BNP by referring to the protesters as "just out to cause trouble." ★

activist. As the solitary white member of the Chattanooga Eight, Johnson is a dangerous example of treachery to Chattanooga's white power structure. The Chattanooga Police care as much for Alsee Rutledge as they do for the many Black people who have been beaten or died in their custody.

The use of rape and sexual assault charges against Black men has a long history in Southern lynch law. While Rutledge's actions are wretched, neither Johnson nor Marshall wants him subjected to the Chattanooga Police Department's style of "justice."

Johnson answered Marshall's request for support in confronting Rutledge for the same reason he has supported Chattanooga's Black community in confronting the Klan and racist police terror. It is precisely for this commitment to stand up against all forms of oppression that Johnson has been singled out for attack.

Johnson needs the support of anti-racist, anarchist, and all radical activists. He needs money to cover his legal expenses. Send money and letters of support to:

John Johnson
c/o the Justice Alliance
P.O. Box 281
Chattanooga, TN 37401



Cops Attack Anti-Klan Activist

ON SUNDAY, SEPT 12, ONE DAY after the successful anti-Klan demonstration he helped organize, anti-racist activist John Johnson of Chattanooga, who is white, was arrested for assaulting his neighbor, Alsee Rutledge, who is Black. Chattanooga police have attempted to portray this as a "racial incident." The Chattanooga Police Department has a long history of racist attacks on the Black community and their effort to portray Johnson as a racist was promptly dismissed by Black community activists Lorenzo Komboa Ervin and the Rev. James L. Moss. Along with five other members of Chattanooga's Black community, Johnson, Ervin, and Rev. Moss have been indicted for demonstrating against the police murder of Black motorist Larry Powell this spring and are known as the Chattanooga 8.

The incident began at 2:30 am after the demonstration when many of the people who had come from out of town were sleeping in the building of Rutledge and Johnson's apartments. At this time

Sunyatta Marshall, a 16-year old woman from St. Louis, Missouri, awoke to find Rutledge's hands between her legs. Rutledge had been sexually harassing women and men and had been constantly drinking or drunk since people started arriving for the demonstration Friday night. Marshall, who was sleeping in the hallway between Johnson and Rutledge's apartment, pushed Rutledge off her and screamed. Rutledge fled into his apartment. Marshall went to Johnson's apartment to get help and then kicked at Rutledge's door to confront him. Rutledge came to the door with a club threatening to "beat the motherfucker" who was banging at his door. A series of confrontations ensued in which Rutledge was disarmed. He was also apparently maced and hit in the legs.

In the morning the police were called and came to the apartment building. They dismissed Marshall's account of the events. Later that afternoon Johnson was arrested at his home. The police had called the media for the arrest and claimed that

Johnson had used racist slurs against Rutledge. Rutledge was released from an ambulance outside the apartment building at the moment Johnson was being arrested. What the cameras could not catch was the fresh smell of liquor on Rutledge's breath as he was let out of the ambulance. When Johnson was arrested, Marshall demanded to file a complaint. She was told by the police that she could not file a charge because the courthouse was closed on Sunday. Rutledge had encountered no such barrier in filing his complaint earlier that day. Marshall had to return to St. Louis to attend school but made repeated attempts to file a complaint through the St. Louis Police Department and over the phone to Chattanooga. These efforts, too, were rebuffed and the Chattanooga police hung up on her several times. Since Marshall has been unable to file a complaint, the incident of sexual assault will not be admissible as evidence in Johnson's case.

The charges against Johnson are simply an attempt to silence an effective anti-racist

Nazis Routed in Auburn, NY Front Nationale Meeting Attacked in Montreal



Photo by Q. Sakamaki

A COUPLE DOZEN MEMBERS OF the USA Nationalist Party were prevented from marching Saturday, September 25, in Auburn, New York, by a crowd of about 1,500 demonstrators. The Nazis were chased out of town after the windows of their van were smashed by the crowd.

Harriet Tubman settled in Auburn after spending her life guiding slaves to freedom and fighting the slave system. The Nazis were attempting to march on a park named after Tubman.

The anti-Nazi demonstration was organized primarily by the National Women's Rights Organizing Committee (NWROC), a front group of the Revolutionary Workers League, a Trotskyist organization that has a branch in Syracuse, New York. ★

USA Nationalist Party To March in New Hope, PA

THE USA NATIONALIST PARTY, A Nazi skinhead organization based in Philadelphia, has announced their intention to march on Saturday, November 6 in New Hope, Pennsylvania. New Hope is a popular queer resort town and the USA Nationalist Party has entitled their march "Gay Bash '93." After the march the group plans to hold a rally in nearby Washington Crossing State Park. People from Pennsylvania, New York City and else-

where are organizing rides to New Hope and planning to confront the Nazis and prevent them from marching. For further information contact:

November 6 Anti-Fascist Coalition
c/o Love and Rage
PO Box 853 Stuyvesant Station
New York, NY 10009
tel. (212) 460- 8390

lied outside to protest the presence of neo-Nazi politicians like Le Gallou.

A much larger protest was held on the evening of September 22, when the French FN representatives attempted to hold a secret organizational meeting with the Quebec chapter of the Front Nationale and other far-right organizations like the Heritage Front and the paramilitary skinheads from The Church of the Creator.

More than 1000 people marched through the streets of northern Montreal and made their way to the FN meeting site. Riot police surrounded the building, having already escorted the fascists to safety. (A few neo-Nazi boneheads who stayed behind were dispersed by police but a few anti-fascists managed to catch up with some of them and get in a few punches.)

Although the march was successful in forcing the cancellation of the FN's organizing meeting, there was no direct confrontation between the fascist politicians and the anti-fascist demonstrators. Not content with merely forcing cancellation of the FN meeting, militant anti-fascist demonstrators decided to redecorate the meeting hall which had knowingly rented out space to fascists and fascists, tossing paint filled eggs against the walls and smashing windows. The demonstration then dispersed without incident. No anti-fascist demonstrators were hurt or arrested. ★

Black Youth Railroaded for Cop Killing

By SCOTT, TRISHA & B

ON SEPT 25, 1992 MINNEAPOLIS police officer Jerry Haaf was killed in a South Minneapolis restaurant known as a police hangout. The eyewitness reports were confused and incomplete, but the police and the media soon agreed on a story: that two young African-American male gang members entered the restaurant and shot Haaf in the back. The police and media also agreed that the beating of a blind African-American man by MTC (bus) police earlier that day and a subsequent meeting at which many people expressed anger over police brutality were the motives for the shooting.

In the days following, Minneapolis cops carried out a brutal assault, arresting or detaining hundreds of "suspects" (any African-American male). The opportunity was also taken to break off ties with and to attack United For Peace, a coalition of gangs attempting to reduce violence in the community. Also during this time at least eight young African-American men were killed, supposedly as a result of gang conflict. However, many have suggested that these deaths were actually the result of an organized white racist/police attack to instill even more fear into the community.

In the following months the Minneapolis police arrested eight young African-American men in connection with the cop-shooting. Five were charged with murdering or conspiracy to murder officer Haaf, and the other three were charged with murdering Ed Harris, one of the eight African-American men killed later, supposedly because he was an informer. One of the defendants, a juvenile, was charged in both killings. It is these eight defendants who have come to be known as the Minnesota 8.

In January six African-American women came together and formed the Committee Seeking Equal Justice for the Minnesota 8.

The goals of the group are to provide adequate legal defense and general support for the 8 and their families, while organizing on participatory grass-roots principles. The Committee also works to further expose the racist injustices of the legal system, media and government that had already condemned the 8.

From the very beginning railroading and brutality by the justice system was plain to see: bail for the defendants was excessive (\$3 million), several were beaten and/or put in isolation for minor "offenses" (like cursing guards after being denied medial attention), and they have been denied adequate legal representation. The Committee quickly began to deal with those issues, bringing them to the public's attention, and funds have been raised with hip-hop benefit gigs, rallies, public forums and the distribution of newsletters, petitions, buttons and shirts.

From the start the Committee has been made out to be an extremely controversial group. The media and the state have equated support for the Minnesota 8 with support for cop-killing. This, combined with police terrorization, successfully muted existing community and justice groups including United For Peace, leaving the Committee as the only organized opposition to the legal system's rail-roading.

The Committee has not backed down. During the first trial, that of A.C. Ford, who was charged with conspiring to kill the cop, the Committee staged provocative rallies inside the Hennepin County Government Center, denouncing the judge for making racist remarks such as "If you wanted a jury of your peers you should have never moved to Minnesota" and for allowing hearsay as evidence for the prosecution while denying extra time for the defense to use a supporting witness for A.C.'s alibi. Another serious injustice denounced by the Committee has been the use of anonymous jurors,



A.C. Ford embraces friend after court date

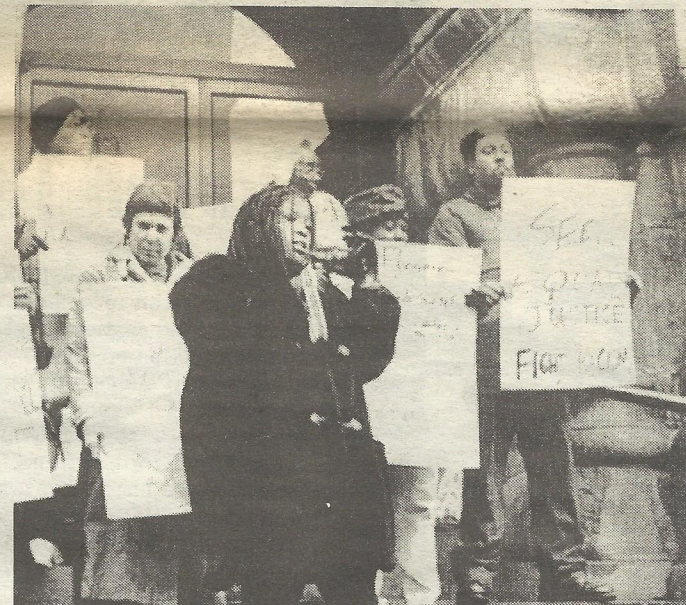
used for the first time in Minnesota, in all three trials so far. Members of the Committee have pointed out that this practice is part of the racist hysteria surrounding "gangs," and seriously affects the views that the already-biased, predominantly white and middle-class juries held against the defendants before the trials started.

The Committee has sponsored forums providing local and national activists space to speak while linking the case of the Minnesota 8 with institutionalized racism nationwide. Another important aspect of the Committee's work has been giving support for the prisoners by providing clothes and food and keeping them in contact with the outside world, thought letters, phone calls and visits. For Mwati McKenzie's birthday several Committee members went to the jail in spite of threats from guards, and held up banners of support, receiving an excited and joyous reaction from the prisoners.

There have been two trials so far. Both of the defendants, A.C. Ford and Shannon Bowles, have been convicted. Both cases are being appealed. If the appeals are not successful the two men face

life in prison. The appeals will be based on, among other things, the fact that the key witness for the prosecution recanted and admitted to being coerced by the police, that all of the prosecution's "evidence" was based on hearsay, and that the use of anonymous juries created unfair biases. The Committee is looking nationwide for attorneys to handle the appeals.

Mwati McKenzie, who is charged with murdering Officer Haaf, is just starting his trial now. During the jury selection the defense was able to seat two African-American jurors out of six. At this point the defense requested that the jury selection be stopped since it was thought that this was the fairest balance achievable. Surprisingly, the judge granted the request; however, the prosecution appealed and the decision was overturned. The State Supreme Court has declined to hear an appeal by the defense, and then McKenzie refused to participate further in jury selection. When the judge asked what rights he was giving up, McKenzie said, "I'm not giving up anything," since his rights had already been taken away.



Supporters of the Minnesota 8 Rally at City Hall

Two of the defendants, Lee Rockmore and the anonymous juvenile, have agreed to plea-bargain and testify against other defendants. This was after being isolated, beaten and threatened with life imprisonment. The others are still awaiting trial.

Many white anarchists have been consistent in supporting and working with the Committee. We think it is the responsibility of white people to destroy white supremacy. We also think it is important to follow the direction set by the African-American women who started the group.

The Committee will continue to exist after the cases are finished because the situation of the Minnesota 8 is not by any means unique. The Committee hopes to be a support and action group against racism in the legal system.

For more information and/or donations for legal and family support, please contact:

The Committee Seeking Equal Justice for the Minnesota 8
PO Box 40355
St. Paul, MN 55104
Hotline (612) 339-4796

NO QUESTION ABOUT IT

In a recent ABC mailing, the Baklava Collective (publishers of *Wind Chill Factor* zine) mysteriously crossed the *Love and Rage* address off of a contacts list with the words "Not Anymore!" We're not quite sure how the compañeros in Chicago made the mistake, but *Love and Rage* continues to support prisoners and write about their struggles as it has for almost four years. We hope that this clears up any confusion. ★

Grand Juries Attack Activists

Animal Activist Jailed for Contempt

ON OCTOBER 5, ANIMAL liberation activist Kim Trimiew was jailed on contempt charges for refusing to testify before a federal grand jury in Spokane, Wash. Grand juries have been called to investigate Animal Liberation Front (ALF) actions in Oregon, Michigan, Utah and Louisiana as well as Washington. Kim has invoked her Fifth Amendment right to remain silent twice since her first appearance in March, 1993. Kim will remain jailed until the judge decides to release her, or until the Spokane grand jury's term ends.

Of all the grand juries investigating the ALF, the one in Spokane has been the most aggressive. It was responsible for the 158-day incarceration of Jonathan Paul and the current jailing of author Rik

Scarce, who is still being held after more than four months in the Spokane County Jail.

The grand jury process has been used extensively by the US government to harass and impede political movements. The targets in the '60s were the civil rights, anti-war movements, and the Black Panthers. In the 1970s it was the feminist, Puerto Rican independence movements and the American Indian Movement. In the 1980s, it was the Central American sanctuary movement. Today, government

repression focuses on the animal liberation and environmental movements.

Historically, government disruption has ranged from overt violence to covert disruption and disinformation to legal harassment. Grand juries have been employed specifically to force activists to spend time, money and energy defending themselves. These "investigations" have also served to create divisions between those who will cooperate and those who won't, as well as to spread fear

and intimidation, and to threaten activists into inaction.

Folks are encouraged to write to Kim Trimiew and support her choice to stand against grand jury harassment and government repression of political movements. You can reach her, as well as Rik Scarce, care of the

Spokane County Jail
1100 W. Mallon
Spokane, WA, 99201

from an Earth First! press release. Contact EF! at:

PO Box 5176
Missoula, MT 59806
earthfirst@igc.apc.org

Colorado Grand Jury Attacks ACT UP

ON AUGUST 12, A COLORADO Grand Jury handed down indictments against three members of ACT-UP (the

Aids Coalition to Unleash Power). Lorna Jane Wheeler, Madrid St. Angelo and Taylor St. John were each charged with two felonies and two misdemeanor counts. They allegedly participated in a Jan 14 "desecration" of a Catholic cemetery, in which gravestones were covered with plastic bags painted with messages protesting Church policies and Church opposition to condoms.

The three are charged with criminal conspiracy, criminal mischief, and desecration of a venerated object, all of which carry long prison sentences. Interestingly, the indictments neatly coincided with the arrival of the Pope in Denver. The state of Colo-

rado has been plagued recently with homophobic violence, no doubt encouraged by the controversial Amendment 2, which outlawed the protection of the rights of lesbians and gay men.

The Colorado chapter of the National Lawyers' Guild has voted to represent Lorna, Madrid and Taylor. Money is desperately needed to pay for the legal fees.

Checks can be made payable to ACT-UP/Denver. Specify that the money is for the defense fund:

Freedom Defense Fund
ACT-UP/Denver
PO Box 9752
Denver, CO 80209

—from ACT-UP Chicago press release, Sept 7, 1993



Darren Thurston Freed

ANIMAL ACTIVIST DARREN Thurston received a suspended sentence and two years probation on Sept 3, after being held in Edmonton Remand Center for 14 1/2 months in connection with several Animal Liberation Front actions. The judge ordered him to pay restitution of \$26,725 for damage to University of Alberta property and \$47,000 for damage to a fish company's property.

He entered guilty pleas on August 19 to a count of Breaking and Entering to Commit Theft of Over \$1000 (Canadian) in a 1992 ALF liberation of 29 cats from the

University of Alberta Research Station, and to a count of arson in a 1991 ALF action in which three trucks of the Billingsgate Fish Company were burnt. Activists should note that the police obtained most of their education from an informant, Jessica Michelle Charlotte Sandham.

The ALF Support Group is raising money to help Darren pay his fines. Send donations to:

ALFSG
PO Box 75029
Ritchie P.O.
Edmonton, Alberta T6E 6K1
Canada

Emergency in Little Hawk Case

ALEJANDRO GILBERT Little Hawk Ruiz, who has been in prison for fifteen years on murder convictions, is now on his last appeal. He is a Native American of the Domiquez Clan of the Chumash tribe of Southern California. He has had three execution dates already, the most recent in 1989. Although he was a member of the American Indian Movement, imprisoned only two years after Leonard Peltier, his case seems to have been forgotten by many.

The state of California continues to ignore Little Hawk's pleas and the evidence which could prove him innocent. During his trial, his lawyer admitted he did little to defend Little Hawk, and no witnesses were called in his defense. He was convicted on third party hearsay with no

opportunity for cross examination; the court admitted that an error occurred in the original trial when hearsay testimony was accepted. The same investigator who had been used repeatedly by the prosecution was also used by the defense. There was no examination or follow-up of cultural background for Little Hawk (though he practiced Native American religion, he was accused of witchcraft), so that he was labeled as Mexican in prison.

Donations and support are desperately needed to help Little Hawk's case. For more information, please contact:

Little Hawk Defense Committee
Katy Night Wind
800-03 N. Second St.
Pottsville, PA 17901
Michael Lawrence (Little Hawk's lawyer)
(415) 621- 2493

Update:

Mumia Abu-Jamal

WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY reported on the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, the Black journalist who is a former member of the Black Panthers and supporter of the MOVE organization. He remains on death row at Huntingdon, PA state prison. In 1991 the US Supreme court twice turned down his petitions for review. His lawyers, led by Leonard Weinglass, are now preparing a new legal challenge in the Pennsylvania courts.

Mumia was the co-founder and Minister of Information for the Philadelphia chapter of the Black Panther Party. He wrote articles for the Black Panther Newspaper. He has been a journalist since 1970 and was elected President of the Philadelphia chapter of the Association of Black Journalists in 1980. He became a supporter of the MOVE organization in 1978 after 600 armed cops attacked their home. In the course of that assault, one police officer was killed and 11 MOVE members were subsequently convicted of his murder. In 1981, Mumia was hospitalized with a bleeding

stomach wound after being shot by a police officer and was later charged with the murder of another officer.

During his trial, Mumia was denied the lawyer of his choice; all but two out of 12 potential black jurors were rejected in favor of white jurors. He was convicted of murder. On July 3, 1982 the prosecutor argued successfully that Mumia should get the death sentence because of his political history and beliefs, as well as his membership in the Black Panther Party. Letters of protest can be sent to:

Governor Robert Casey
Main Capitol Building, Room 225
Harrisburg, PA 17120

Donations for Mumia legal defense can be made payable to the Black United Fund and sent to:

Equal Justice
POB 5206
Hyattsville MD 20782

Equal Justice is also planning to place advertisements in Harrisburg and Philadelphia newspapers on Dec 9, the anniversary of Mumia's arrest, to demand that his life be saved. Contact them if you wish to be listed. ★

Anarchist Black Cross and Other Prisoner Support Groups

ABC Baltimore
PO Box 19245
Baltimore, MD 21213

ABC Chicago
c/o WCF
PO Box 81961
Chicago, IL 60681

Nightcrawler ABC
PO Box 20181 Tompkins Sq. Station
NY, NY 10009

ABC Minneapolis
PO Box 581354
Minneapolis, MN 55458-1354

Paterson Anarchist Collective ABC
PO Box 8532
Haledon, NJ 0708-8532

ABC Portland
c/o Rosebud Commons
1951 W. Burnside
Box 1928
Portland, OR 97209

ABC Wisconsin
PO Box 173
Madison, WI 53701-0173

Prison News Service
PO Box 5052, Stn. A
Toronto, ONT M5W 1W4

[Tanaquil Jones is an organizer for the Campaign to Free Black Political prisoners and POWs in the United States. She was interviewed by Love and Rage on Oct 7.]

When did you first become politicized?

Tanaquil Jones: When I look at my politicization, I don't really locate it at a point in time. I think that the fact that I was born poor, black and female...I really think this misogynist society influenced my consciousness even as a child. My experiences and the experiences of

way that I thought was unjust. I think that in every household there is violence and how you respond is in some ways a reflection of your politics. Are you going to side with the oppressor or the oppressed?

I was very outspoken as a child, and I fought back. I grew up in the 60s, and for me the 60s had a major impact. The Black power movement had a major impact

and Black counterparts on the campus, but it was a good experience for me. It gave me tremendous contacts both on the campus and off, and allowed me to establish relationships

Tanaquil: I became involved in political prisoner work around that time. I was initially involved in an organization called Freedom Now which is essentially defunct. It was supposed to be a national and international campaign that was working on amnesty for political prisoners and POWs. But I got frustrated because I felt it was not giving the type of attention and focus to Black and New Afrikan political prisoners that it should have. Since they were the longest held of the political prisoners, and they had received the least amount of support, I felt that they merited special attention.

What is the distinction between Black and New Afrikan?

Tanaquil: Most of it has to do with ideological outlook. For us in the Campaign, we don't base our support for prisoners on ideological questions. If they are revolutionary nationalists who believe in the five states [Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, Louisiana] as the Republic of New Afrika or the New Afrikan People's Organization as opposed to being former members of the Black Panther Party and members of the Black Liberation Army, basically we're not sectarian. We feel that Black people have not made a decision how they want to identify themselves or how they want to struggle so for us, people's ideological perspective is on the question of the strategic vision, is not one that in the Campaign we make an issue of. To us the issue is that these people have contributed to and been a part of a liberation struggle and therefore need to be supported.

Why do you think that the support of political prisoners is so important?

Tanaquil: Well, I think that as we become politically active and involved in our work we all face the possibility of becoming political prisoners. I think that there's a reason why, for example, the federal government targeted the Black Panther Party. They saw it as one of the most effective organizations, and in fact it was. It had tremendous mass support and there has been no other organization since that time that has enjoyed the kind of support that the Black Panther Party did. As we become more effective in our organizing, more radical, as we embrace armed struggle as one of the options we have to consider, as we come up against the enemy, we all face that possibility. You could call it a selfish reason as an activist.

I also feel like it is a link to the past where we get to concretely support those who have participated in the liberation struggle of our people. I think

Fighting for the Freedom of Freedom Fighters

people in my family made me realize at a very young age that things were different if you were poor, things were different if you were Black, and things were also different if you were a woman.

Growing up poor, growing up on welfare at a time when you basically had no rights as a poor person, social service agency representatives could come into your house at any time. They could monitor and assess whether your parents were good parents and, based on their assessment, you could be removed from the home and placed in foster care. So there was that sort of intrusive relationship that the state had towards our family and I felt it was a very threatening and powerful relationship based on our state of powerlessness.

In addition both of my parents differently internalized their oppression and in many ways acted out their oppression in self-destructive ways that made their children the targets of their madness. They were not able to successfully come to terms with their powerlessness and to figure out ways to effectively confront it. The household that I grew up in was in many ways very violent, very abusive. There was a lot of neglect. We were often abandoned.

Seeing my father act out against my mother, it made me identify with the oppressed. I took the side of my mother, especially when she fought back because I saw her being targeted by my father in a

on my consciousness in a very, very powerful and positive way. I got a full scholarship to this very prestigious, elitist school up in Riverdale that I would never have been able to go to otherwise. There were about three to five Black students in a grade composed of 120 students.

We took over the administration and we got a very negative response from the administration, we had faculty as well as parents, calling us on the phone and calling us ungrateful niggers and all kinds of things. From there, after high school I took a hiatus.

I went back to school in 1979. Initially I went to Fordham. I transferred in 1982 to Columbia University and subsequently, having been influenced by Black woman student leaders there I became involved in a group called the Coalition for a Free Southern Africa whose main focus was divestment and education around anti-apartheid work.

How did the divestment struggle develop your politics?

Tanaquil: It was frustrating for me because it wasn't the ideal situation for me. I was on a predominantly white campus and in the minority of Black students who had a radical perspective. I was considered much more militant than my white

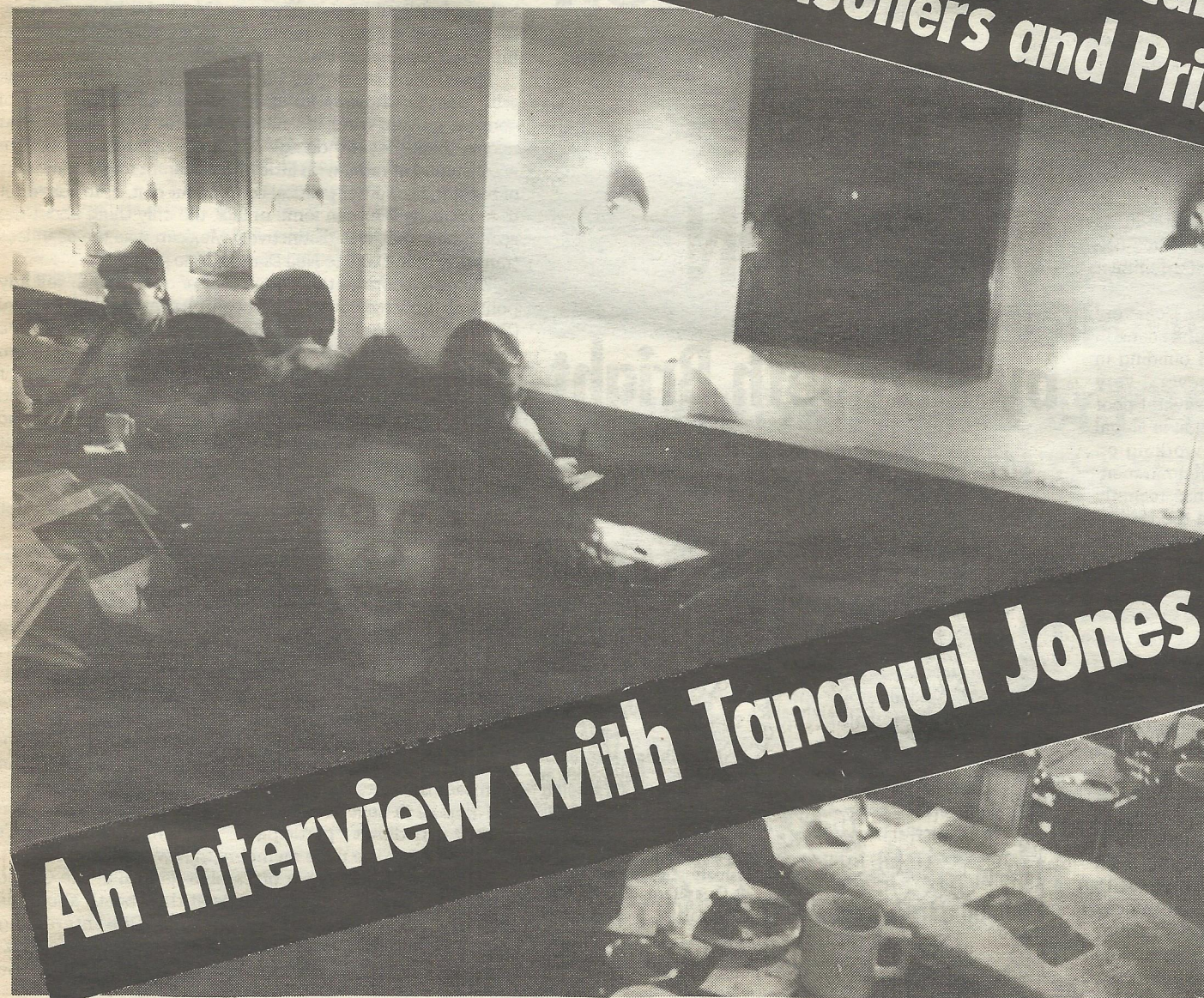
with activists all across the country which I still maintain to this day. One of the important things about our focus is that we tried to link the struggle against apartheid to the struggle against racism in the United States.

A lot of times people find it much easier to struggle around issues that are far away as opposed to issues that are close to home. We can talk about helping the Black South Africans but those same white students would be somewhat reluctant to help the Black students in the South Bronx. People who want to go to El Salvador and join CISPES and help the Nicaraguans but they don't want to help the Puerto Ricans or the Dominicans right here in el barrio. I think that contradiction is the way in which political work becomes exotic.

My organizing experiences were very effective, in terms of the number of people, in terms of the organizing and how many people became involved with the movement. And around the same time I became aware of the existence of political prisoners through a friend of mine who was working through the Center for Constitutional Rights as a lawyer, and was preparing an amicus brief, a friend of the court brief, for a former Black Panther. She asked me to escort her (I had access to a vehicle) so I drove her to the prison and I met my second political prisoner. I had already met one of the members of the Queens 2, Bashir Hamid. And I was really impressed with his political consciousness which was unlike that of most of the people I was coming into contact with. I met Dhoruba Bin Wahad in the fall of 1988.

Was that when you became primarily involved in political prisoner work?

Black Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War The Campaign to Free



that's extremely important because these individuals stand as important examples of resistance. If we put out the message that if you put your life on the line your community isn't going to support you, what is that really saying? That's a very dangerous message. The lack of support for political prisoners is reflected in large part by people's ignorance, people don't know about the existence of political prisoners and when they find out about them they become quite supportive and want to help them in whatever way that they can. Just meeting and knowing about the struggles that these people were involved in, what organizations they were a part of, you come to understand more about the history of repression within the United States and also about the legacy of struggle as it concretely manifests itself through these individuals and through the organizations that they were a part of.

What is the Campaign? How did it get started?

Tanaquil: The Campaign to Free Black Political Prisoners and POWs in the United States was formed shortly after the release of Dhoruba Bin Wahad in March of 1990 after over a decade-long legal battle which culminated in the overturning of his conviction.

(Continued to page 21)

ANARCHISM IN MEXICO HAS SOME OF THE MOST potential for anti-authoritarian organizing anywhere in the world. Because of a combination of social and political factors, the possibilities are tremendous, but the problems are just as large.

Over the past year, Amor y Rabia has become very active in Mexico City (usually called D.F. short for the Spanish for "Federal District"). Ana Laura and Gustavo have been the primary Love and Rage contacts in Mexico. With a production group, they began producing a Spanish-language edition of the *Love and Rage* (Amor y Rabia) newspaper in Mexico City in December of 1992. They opened a squatted community center this August. The creation of a Production Group and the publication of a newspaper, along with the newly-opened squat, has made possible effective revolutionary anarchist political work.

We had both worked with Gustavo and Ana for some time in the New York area but had very little practical knowledge of what the anarchist movement in Mexico was like. We wanted to improve communication between the Mexican and North American anarchist movements (Mexicans do not consider themselves part of North America).

This is not meant to be a complete overview or history of the anarchist movement in Mexico City. It is just the story of our trip—who we met, what we did—and what we think about it. First we'll talk about the Amor y Rabia groups, the groups closest to them and the projects they are working on. Then we'll try to deal with the whole subject of the punk scene and the punk-oriented groups. Lastly we'll talk about the rest of the anarchist scene there and our impressions of some of their politics.

AMOR Y RABIA—SUPPORTING GROUP AND PRODUCTION GROUP

Amor y Rabia in the D.F. consists of a loose group of about 10 people who organize marches and demos, including a May Day march (see vol. 4 no. 3 of *Love and Rage*), Queer Pride/Visibility parade, International Wimmin's Day actions, support protests for Andrés Villaverde Aguilar, march in support of Greek political prisoners and more in the past eight months. They occasionally put on punk shows, have opened a squatted community center and office, and produce a newspaper. Ana Laura and Gustavo have done most of the work typesetting the newspaper (which is currently done on the computers of Colectivo Sol, a Queer publishing collective). However, the decision of what articles to publish, writing, and the folding and distribution of the paper is done by a Production Group which meets weekly (about nine or ten people attended every PG meeting that we went to).

Both Ana Laura and Gustavo have been involved in the Love and Rage project for several years. Both have been members of the Coordinating Group. They coordinated and went on the Durruti Brigade, which was planned as a trip from New York City to Chile (unfortunately stopped in Guatemala due to legal, mechanical, and financial problems). Ana Laura is from the D.F. and has lived there all of her life, except for the months she spent living in the New York City area and working on the Spanish Section of *Love and Rage*. Gustavo is a Cuban exile who lived in Miami for many years and moved to Mexico City with Ana after the end of the Durruti Brigade.

In addition to Gustavo and Ana Laura there are about three people who work on most of the projects and commit a large amount of time, and many others who work on one project or another but not on all of them. Around the people in Amor y Rabia is a larger, amorphous group of people who agree generally with the politics of Amor y Rabia and are unhappy with other options for political action and discussion in what could loosely be called "the anarchist scene" in the D.F. These people come to most of the demonstrations called for or sponsored by Amor y Rabia and support some of the projects.

EMMA GOLDMAN WIMMIN'S COLLECTIVE

Part of the group of people around Amor y Rabia is the Colectivo de Mujeres Emma Goldman (Emma Goldman Wimmin's Collective), an anarchy-feminist wimmin's group. The Collective is the only anarchist wimmin's collective in the D.F. and adds the only undaunted feminist voice to the anarchist scene there.

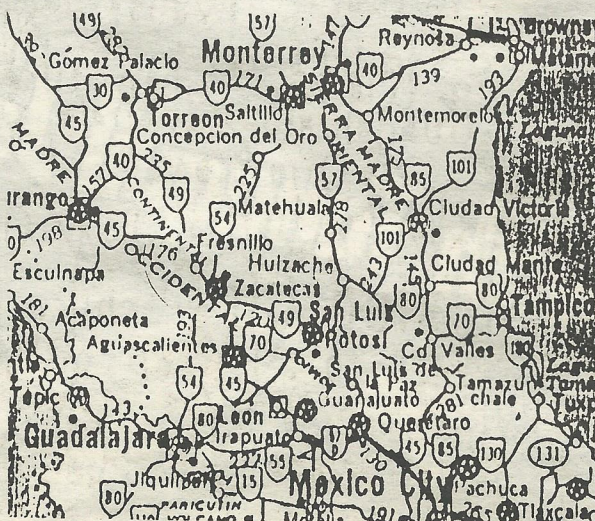
The Collective is made up of about 10 wimmin from very different backgrounds: three or four from the punk scene in the D.F., two from D.P.S.O. (the first squatted building in Mexico City, mostly a crash-pad, but with several very political wimmin living there), a teacher, and several poor wimmin. They vary widely in age. Since abortion is illegal in all of Mexico, the Collective is currently working on issues of reproductive freedom and teaching wimmin menstrual extraction. (A menstrual extraction kit has recently been promised from family planning sources in the US but has not been sent yet. If you want to contribute information, resources, or funds for this project, please contact Ana Laura through Amor y Rabia).

EDICIONES ANTORCHA

Although they are not formally members of any Amor y Rabia groups in Mexico City or in the Federation, Omar and Chantal of Ediciones Antorcha have been enormously supportive of the projects and actions that Amor y Rabia folks in Mexico have carried out. Omar is a lifelong resident of the city. His knowledge of the history of international anarchism, especially the Spanish-language history, is incredible, and his primary projects have been in publishing for quite some time. Chantal is French but her Spanish is nearly perfect. She has been living in Mexico for over 15 years, but maintains some contact with French anarchists and returns to France on a semi-regular basis. She does much of the translating and some of the writing for the books published under the Ediciones Antorcha imprint.



IMPRESSIONS OF THE MEXICAN ANARCHIST MOVEMENT OR WHAT WE DID ON OUR SUMMER VACATION by Elizabeth Bright and Todd Prane



They are both actively involved in anarchist projects and support and participate in protest actions.

THE NEWSPAPER

Love and Rage has been published bilingually out of New York City since its beginning four years ago. The quality of the Spanish Section has varied greatly, and most of the people working on it have not been native Spanish speakers. The idea of a Spanish version of the paper produced by Latinas/Latinos with control over language, content and politics has always appealed to people working on the project. Moreover, since the Spanish section was always smaller than the English section, it has never been possible to fully duplicate the content of the two sections, sometimes giving *Love and Rage* the appearance of having different politics in the two languages.

Amor y Rabia, the newspaper in the D.F., addresses all of these problems and more. It is produced almost monthly, and alternates between one issue coordinated with the New York paper, with continentally-geared content (including translations from the NYC paper), and an autonomous issue with more focus on Latin America and Mexico. The entire press-run of the paper (1,500 and growing) is sold to anarchists and students, making the paper almost financially self-sufficient. Six issues of *Amor y Rabia* have been published so far, with a seventh being printed at press time.

THE SQUAT

When we got to the D.F., the Amor y Rabia folks had already opened but had not yet fully secured a squat in a former police station. The building is not really suited to people living in it, so it will be used as a community space and as a meeting and paper-production site for *Amor y Rabia*. Working on the squat at the beginning of our stay was important because it gave us the opportunity to meet the other people involved in Amor y Rabia there and get to know them. Miguel and Cesar were our two most consistent work-companions on the squat and among the most dependable, committed anarchists we met.

The opening of the squat will help Amor y Rabia organize and grow more than any other single step. Without the squat, there is no reliable space for meeting, working, or hanging-out. This squat, still one of only two liberated buildings in the D.F. (although in all of Latin America land squatting is very common), will solidify the presence of Amor y Rabia and make the extremely difficult task of organizing in Mexico City a little easier. They have already started to offer adult-education classes for the neighbors, and are looking into youth-oriented projects that can involve neighborhood children.

THE PUNKS AND ANARCHO-PUNKS

On Saturdays, you can follow the parade of rockers, punks and misfits across Avenida Insurgentes and past the city's train station to the Chopo street market—two blocks of wall-to-wall people buying, selling and seeing. The sidewalks and the center of the street are lined with booths selling heavy-metal t-shirts and tapes, punk paraphernalia, jewelry, American music of all other types and people doing tattoos. At every break in the crowd are leaflets for upcoming punk/hardcore shows. It is the primary gathering point for the city's thousands of punks and other "alternative" youth.

Unfortunately, the Chopo is light on political content and heavy on consumerism and capitalism. "Punk" tacos and "rockero" ice cream are sold by vendors trying to make a quick buck. Bootlegs of every punk and rock band conceivable are sold for fairly steep prices, knock-offs of t-shirts (with all kinds of typographical and language mistakes) are everywhere, including duped reprints of several Profane Existence shirts.

There is no place in the Chopo to sit or hang out and talk with people; there is no space to talk about the idea of counter culture (and it's not even clear that that's what people think they are doing). American "alternative" culture is consumed at retail with little or no attempt to get some sort of resistance or other political content out of it, or to convert it to a distinctly Mexican form. In fact, the only thing about the scene there that was distinctively Mexican was the seamless transition from D.R.I. to Neil Diamond (no joke!).

The only booth at the Chopo (out of over 100) to sell any political literature was the booth of the Cambio Radical (Radical Change) and Brigada Subversiva (Subversive Brigade) collectives. Brigada Subversiva is a spin-off from the older Cambio Radical Collective, but it was difficult for us to figure out who was in which collective. They hold weekly meetings together on the steps of the Chopo Museum (the original site of the street market and where it gets its name) and carry out almost all of their projects together (with the possible exception of the fanzine published by Brigada Subversiva—Cambio Radical does not currently have any publication).

Both collectives are somewhat oriented towards anarchism but are much more oriented towards being punks. The primary focus of their political work consists of advocacy for vegetarianism and animal rights. When Ana Laura and a female friend founded CR they were, in part, responding to the sexism in the punk scene and also wanting to foster more serious politics and political activity among punks. Unfortunately, both collectives are now almost completely male (Ana Laura has long since completely dissociated herself from CR). We met no wimmin who identified as members of either, although we were told that each collective had one or two young wimmin in it; they just didn't "participate" very much, which didn't seem to bother the male members that we talked to.

We met with a member of Cambio Radical at the Chopo and talked to him for quite a while at their booth about his (and the group's) politics and projects. One interesting point was that he was not interested in workplace organizing or in relating to workers' movements. Most of the

members of Brigada and CR did not and never had worked and, according to the member of CR that we spoke to, had a hard time relating to workers and work issues. They were not (when we spoke with them in July) interested in organizing any actions or protests around the elections in '94 (see Notes of Revolt). There were no political or social movements in Mexico that they were interested in relating to, working with, or supporting. They were primarily interested in putting on punk shows, and publishing and selling their fanzine *Brigada Subversiva*, which comes out roughly three or four times per year.

The only literature that they sold at the Chopo the day we were there was photocopies of the Spring 1992 *La Protesta* from Peru, written just after the coup, *Profane Existence* (including photocopied issues when the originals ran out), and *Brigada Subversiva*. A couple of pamphlets were also available but most of the rest of the space was taken up with boot-legged tapes. Tattooing was being done behind the curtain while we talked.

THE TOTAL CHAOS SHOW

At the end of the first week we went up into the mountains that overlook the center of the city for the first of a series of benefit shows, featuring Total Ch@os from L.A. Amor y Rabia's open anti-fascist stance had pissed-off the local fascists, and we spent about two hours before the show securing the building. There had also been a collective decision before the show that all people entering would be patted down and that weapons, glue and organic solvents (drugs of choice not only in the D.F. but all over Latin America), would be confiscated.

Despite the warnings, we could not have known what that show would be like. From the first too-stoned-to-walk chemos (glue heads) to their drunk and belligerent friends, to the packed crowd of 1,000-1,500, the show was a crash introduction to punk culture in the D.F.

About 60-70% of the people there were high on glue or solvent, and 90% of them were drunk. There were only about 50 wimmin. Even though the show had been publicized as a "benefit," most people wanted to get in for free, the idea being that to charge anyone anything to go to a show was being "capitalist." The violent crowd of over 500 people outside tried to break down the doors to the show. Many had spent their money on beer or on glue. This may sound cool, even a little bit like "anarchy," but in fact it was just a bunch of high and drunk men trying to get into a show for free, breaking one of Gustavo's ribs in the process and hurting several other people.

Inside, the people doing door security were constantly confronted by the problem of swastikas, red armbands and iron crosses. The agreed-upon policy was to confront all of the punks wearing fascist symbols. The lack of political content in the scene became obvious yet again as our questions regarding fascism were repeatedly answered with "Uh, what? Huh? this? Oh, I wear a swastika because I'm against fascists." Those who were too far gone to respond at all (and this was at the beginning of the show) gave up their swastikas at the door.

THE REST OF THE ANARCHISTS

To round out the anarchist scene in the D.F., there is Liberación Autónoma (LA) and the Biblioteca Social Reconstruir. LA is a collective of three people, young and punk veggies very much in the style of CR and Brigada. They are newer to the scene (the past year or so) but have started to work with the other collectives.

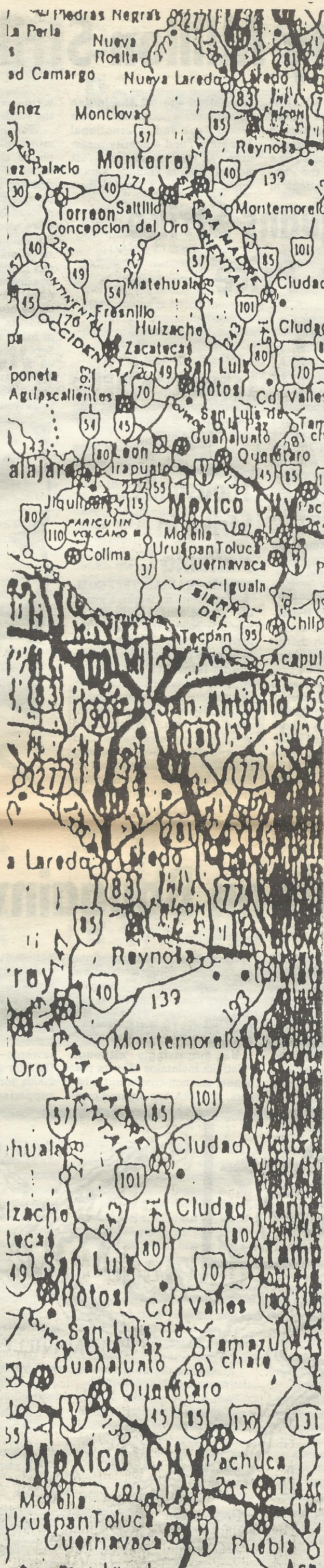
The Biblioteca is a library run out of the personal offices of Fidel Miró, and supported by Ricardo Mestre, both elderly Spaniards who moved to Mexico at the time of the Spanish Civil War. They were both involved in the C.N.T. at that time. Neither Miró nor Mestre considers himself an anarchist now but, strangely, they still attend most anarchist-sponsored events, but not actions. Both see anarchism as too utopian and impossible, and have in the past discouraged anarchist organizing in favor of more reform-oriented politics.

LAS JORNADAS/THE DISCUSSION SERIES

Brigada Subversiva, Cambio Radical and Liberación Autónoma sponsored a series of evenings of discussion for and about the punk/anarchist scene in the D.F. during our last week there. We didn't make the first night, but the schedule for the second was a panel presentation on wimmin followed by discussion/debate, then a performance, and closing with a presentation and discussion on the "Alternative Movement" in Mexico. It was an excellent opportunity to listen to the variety of political opinion in the loosely-defined anarchist scene in the D.F., as over 300 people came.

Most of the wimmin on the panel were the girlfriends of the men in the three groups sponsoring the series, and members of a study group called No Jod@s (roughly, Don't Fuck With Us). One womyn on the panel was the paid secretary of Miró in the Biblioteca. They each gave a short presentation on the theme of wimmin's sexuality. The first presentation was a misreading of the history of the world—a simplified version of how once societies were matriarchal, until men took the power away from wimmin and the patriarchy took over. The moral of the story, for the womyn presenting it, was that it was good to neither be in favor of patriarchy (domination of men over wimmin) or feminism (domination of wimmin over men).

The next two presentations were about abortion. The wimmin on the panel were opposed to abortion and began by saying: "While it is a scientific fact that abortion is taking a human life, we should try to remain open-minded about it," and ended by saying that men shouldn't tell wimmin what to do with their bodies as they had for centuries. It was certainly not an unambiguous pro-choice stance. The last womyn focused on the need for wimmin to educate themselves, since it was as a result of their own ignorance that men treated them the way they did. A phrase often



repeated both by the wimmin on the panel and the wimmin in the audience was "I'm not a feminist, and I'm not a sexist..." with the implication that those were the opposites to be avoided when seeking a moderate middle position.

Many boisterous comments were taken from the crowd, including a number of complaints at the poor preparation of the presentations and a number of political disputes with the presenters. By far the majority of the comments from the crowd were by men.

For the second topic of the evening (the first was ended prematurely, and many people were unhappy with so little time set aside yet again for wimmin to talk, and to talk about wimmin), all of the wimmin left the stage and an all-male panel came forward to discuss the "Alternative Movement" in Mexico. Representatives from several towns outside of the capital were present, but only one of them was interested in an "Alternative Movement" as something concerned with social organization. The rest, including a representative from CR and one from LA, saw being alternative as primarily involving vegetarianism and punk shows.

WIMMIN

Our talk with several of the men who organized the discussion series gave us a very clear picture of the position of wimmin in the "alternative" "movement" in Mexico City. During the "alternative" forum, Todd had raised the objection that only men were speaking, and had said that he found nothing very alternative about that. Many other men had complained, saying that wimmin were free to contribute and that they just didn't want to (there were only slightly more men than women in the room). Afterwards, both of us tried to explain the importance of movements for liberation including the struggle for wimmin's liberation, but it became clear that this man was not interested in talking to Beth. More men quickly joined in the fray, with one actually trotting over his girlfriend and asking her: "Didn't you think you could say anything you wanted at any time?" Of course, she meekly answered, "Absolutely, I just didn't have anything I wanted to say." With that token point made we were assured that wimmin in Mexico were just not like wimmin in the US. The whole conversation explained very clearly why Ana Laura argues that the liberation of wimmin was absolutely central to any movement for liberation; and it also made even less clear what was alternative about what we had been hearing.

CONCLUSION

One of the most confusing aspects for us about the "anarchist" movement in Mexico City was that the majority of people active in it do not consider themselves anarchists. Most "anarchists" seem to think that anarchism=punk=alternative and that none of these have very much political content. Some call themselves autonomists, but we never saw that they had a clear idea of what that meant or how they saw themselves fitting into the autonomist tradition. Others, apparently influenced by the ideas of Miró and Mestre, believe anarchism is a good idea but impractical.

But Amor y Rabia has, over the course of the past year, both crystalized and divided the anarchist movement. They have taken a clear pro-womyn, pro-queer, anti-capitalist, revolutionary anarchist stand in the D.F. They have also established close working relationships with extra-governmental trade unions and engaged in joint actions and mutual support with them. They have created a dynamic and revitalized street-protest presence. All of this has caused tensions with some of the other groups, who either don't see the value of direct actions and street protests, aren't interested in working with groups of workers, or have serious homophobia and sexism that they are unwilling to compromise on.

These divisions happen in many other parts of the world. However, within the anarchist movement, they can represent a point of difficult but necessary growth. Punk is not inherently political, although many punks are political and some groups of punks do political work. Vegetarianism, although much more challenging in Mexico than in North America, is not itself going to lead to large-scale changes in society. But both of these, and many other lifestyle choices, often represent intermediate steps that some individuals take before finding ways to focus those politically-based lifestyle choices into an active set of political commitments which will lead to broader results.

Mexico City has over 18 million people looking for radical change in their lives, and the elections next year promise to set the stage for successful radical organizing. Anarchists can be a part of that. The people working with Amor y Rabia want to be able to concretely influence their own lives. They also want to be able to organize mass movements with other political communities to gain that control over their lives and help others achieve the same. But the problems that face all Mexican anarchists as they approach these situations are complicated. We think that the projects that Amor y Rabia has taken up offer the most serious set of anarchist activities to relate to in Mexico City. These projects and this group are a concrete alternative to the authoritarian and government-controlled "opposition" political parties. They consistently relate to and support non-anarchist social movements that are autonomous in character but widespread in appeal. We hope that other anarchists will take seriously the opportunity to support them.

[Amor y Rabia is currently asking for donations to allow them to purchase a computer. They estimate that for US\$2,500 they can buy a system that will allow them to produce the newspaper monthly and will provide a source of income for other projects as well. Tax-deductable donations of any size should be made payable to "the Aspect Foundation" and sent to:

PO Box 853 Stuyvesant Station
New York, NY 10009

Please tell us that the checks are designated for this special fundraising appeal!★

Twenty Million Strike in India

MORE THAN 20 MILLION workers in India walked off their jobs on Sept. 9 as part of a nation-wide general strike. The strike was called by a coalition group called the Platform of Mass Organizations in

retaliation against the Indian government's cooperation with World Bank and International Monetary Fund austerity measures. At least six states—West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Bihar, Tripura, and Tamil Nadu—

were essentially shut down by the strike.

Workers in state-owned steel mills, oil refineries, chemical plants, military plants and coal mines all across the country participated in the strike. Drug and pharmaceutical plants as well as insurance companies and banks were also closed by the strike. Six million teachers and other state employees walked out, as did postal workers and other employees of the central government. The strikers were supported by organizations of wimmin, students, peasants, and farmers in mass demonstrations. The Sept 9 general strike was preceded by a bank workers' strike on Sept 1, an oil workers' strike on Sept 2, and a Sept. 6 strike by Air India workers.

World Bank and IMF austerity measures have resulted in popular protests in many underdeveloped countries before, due to cuts in social services and loss of jobs. In India, the plan is to privatize or close government-owned industries, cut subsidies to peasants, freeze wages, end restrictions on multinationals, and lay-off workers nation-wide. Three million people have lost their jobs since the implementation of this program in 1991.

In addition to the general strike, the Platform of Mass Organizations has drafted a 20-point document of demands. The list of demands not only deals with the loss of jobs and services as a result of the IMF/World Bank plan, but also calls for the end of bonded labor, and economic, social and sexual oppression of wimmin. ★

Nicaraguans Strike Against Price Increases

IN PROTEST OF NEW VEHICLE registration taxes and gasoline price increases, transportation workers in Managua, Nicaragua and elsewhere in the country went on strike on Sept 20. The country's capital is without buses, taxis, and delivery trucks. The public schools are empty and most businesses in Managua have been closed. Barricades have been put up in the streets to stop traffic, and American Airlines reportedly suspended their flights into Nicaragua. Striking transportation workers have been joined in the city's streets by thousands of Nicaraguans in a demonstration of support. The strike has been characterized by militancy and police violence resulting in some fire-fights which have left at least 3 people dead and many wounded. The police have also made many arrests, estimated by some Nicaraguan organizations to be 200 by the third day, with more arrests following.

On the third day of the strike, the Nicaraguan government agreed to temporarily suspend the new taxes (which have been estimated at the equivalent of US\$200 and US\$500 per vehicle),

but the striking workers did not accept their offer. On Sept 24, government negotiators met with transportation union leaders to begin negotiations.

—from NY Transfer News Service

Thousands Strike in Panama

PANAMANIAN TELECOM-munications workers joined 25,000 teachers on strike on Sept 2, swelling the ranks of the strike to over 28,000. Both groups are protesting the government's refusal to pay salaries which it had originally agreed to, and the strike is one attempt to point out widespread government corruption. One thousand of the striking teachers marched to parliament on Sept 2, carrying brooms to symbolize the need for "house cleaning." The teachers are demanding a US\$100/month salary raise, and have been on strike since Aug 18.

—from NY Transfer News Service



Assault on Bougainville Escalates

By MATTHEW CAPRI

THE CONFLICT ON BOUGAINVILLE reported in the last issue of Love and Rage has intensified considerably. Bougainville is waging a struggle for independence from the imperialism of Papua New Guinea and Australia. The Papua New Guinea Defense Forces (PNGDF), along with Australian military "advisors" and

Bougainvillian "resistance" fighters, has launched operation "Let None Live" against the Bougainville Republican Army (BRA) (formerly the Bougainville Revolutionary Army) and the Bougainville Interim Government.

Not surprisingly, although Australia maintains that its personnel are non-combatant advisors, the BRA has sighted com-

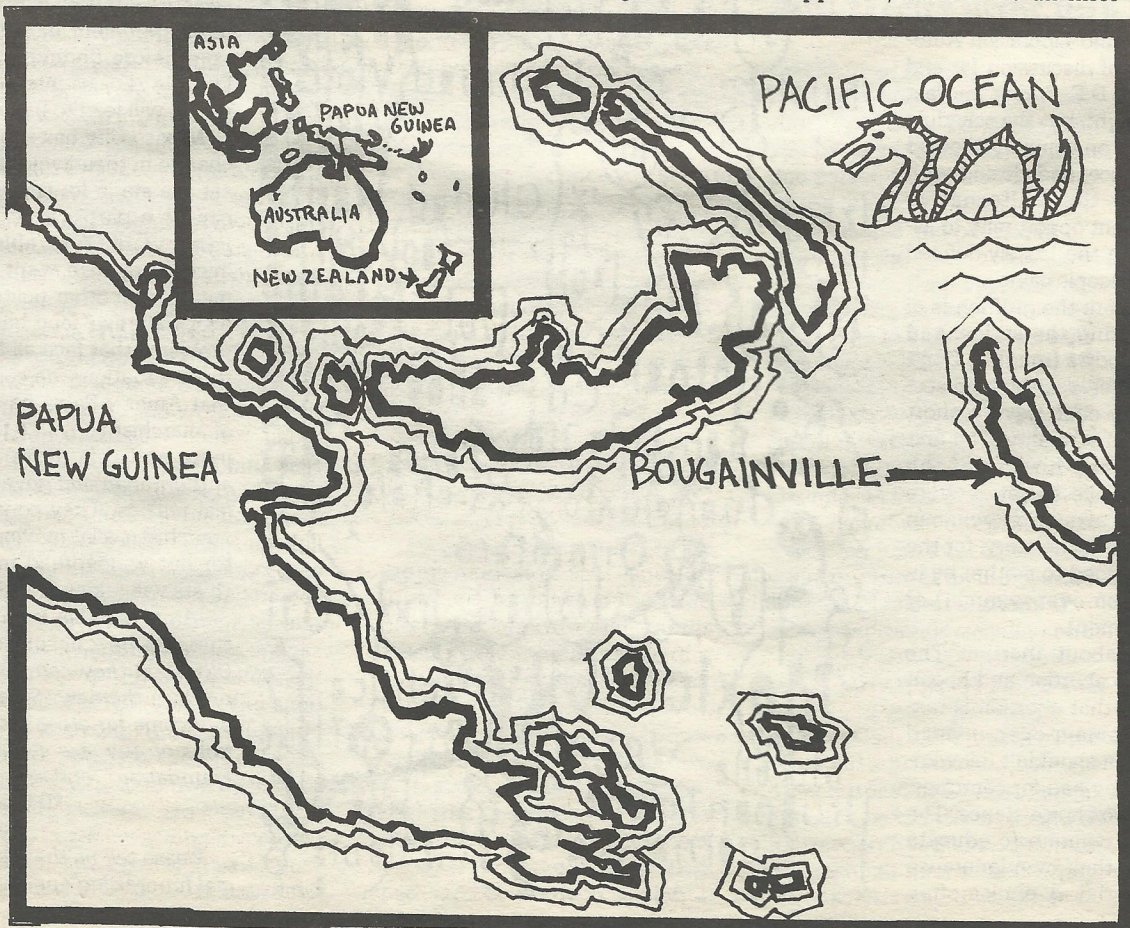
bat-ready Australian troops on the island. However, the "resistance" seems more complicated. Apparently these irregulars are mostly young men from the south of Bougainville, lured into combat both by the promise of cash rewards—4000 kina (1 kina = 1 USD) for a dead BRA combatant, 2000k for the murder of a BRA supporter, 200k to be an infor-

mant—and fear of the consequences of not collaborating.

Recent battles have included an unsuccessful PNGDF attempt to capture the Marai Mission Center, formerly a Catholic mission, now a community center. The PNGDF practice of dropping captured combatants into the sea from Australian-supplied Iroquois helicopters is apparently continuing; the most recent case concerns three Bougainvillians who were being flown by the PNGDF to a "peace ceremony" in early October, but were never seen again. The PNGDF has also set up detention centers which it refers to as "Care Centers." Bougainvillians are imprisoned and sometimes killed in these centers.

Operation "Let None Live" is costing Papua New Guinea an estimated \$100 to \$150 million per year. However, the Panguna copper mine located in south-central Bougainville, still held fast by the BRA, is worth more than \$1 billion per year in revenues, making clear PNG's primary motive in crushing the independence struggle. Despite the high stakes, the cost of the operation has left PNGDF forces inadequately supplied, and they have begun stealing food from Bougainvillians' gardens and fields.

The goals of operation "Let None Live" are obvious; plans of the BRA and Bougainville Interim Government are difficult to find out about. Political information about the islanders has yet to arrive, in part because of the blockade on the island. A critical and analytical piece is planned. ★



Ecuador Grabs Native Lands for Oil

IN A CLASSIC MARRIAGE OF government and big business, the president of Ecuador is encouraging two different oil companies to destroy forests and wetlands which either belong to natives or are parts of national parks. The Dallas-based Maxus Energy Corp. is pursuing a major project in the Ecuadorian Amazon, which includes Huaorani and Quichua lands, Yasuni National Park and the Cuyabeno

Wildlife Reserve. Industrial projects like this one are seen as a threat to native cultures because of the pollution, hostile outsiders, and wage labor system that come with them. Already roads have been constructed into lands which used to be essentially inaccessible and several areas have been contaminated by multiple chemical spills and drilling mud. Two rivers have been dragged and had rocks taken

from them, causing erosion in both river systems. Large areas are beginning to suffer from deforestation.

The state oil company of Ecuador, Petroecuador, is also in the race to destroy forest land. Petroecuador had been working in the Cuyabeno Wildlife Reserve and reapplied to INEFAN (the state agency responsible for the preservation of parks and forests) for permis-

sion to continue its activities there. Their request was denied, the first time in Ecuador that an oil company has been told to stop business in an area due to environmental concerns.

However, President Sixto Durán Ballén has different ideas about Petroecuador. On Aug. 20 Ballén reversed INEFAN's ruling and told the Petroecuador to resume activities in the Cuyabano Reserve. The President's actions appear to be illegal under Ecuador's Forestry Law, and some action against his ruling is expected. The environmental devastation of the reserve, which includes five oil spills in the past two years in the northwest region alone, will continue and probably increase now that Ballén has made his commitment to the oil industry clear. For more info contact:

**Rainforest Action Network
(415) 398-4404**

Native Struggle In Malaysia

THE ON-GOING STRUGGLE by the Sarawak in Malaysia faced another humiliation by the government in August. Jok Jau Evong, one of the Sarawak leaders, was prevented by the Malaysian government from attending the Indigenous Peoples' conference in Peru. Authorities confiscated his passport before he could leave the country. Despite ten years of struggle against logging in their forests, the Sarawak are still not "protected" by the government, and have seen over 800 people arrested and detained. Malaysia continues to be deforested, at a rate reported by the World Bank to be four times the "sustainable" rate.★

Cops Attack Kiosk in Venezuela

By INTI ACEVEDO

OUR COLLECTIVE IS CALLED the Group of Alternative Editors, and it is made up of all of the counterinformational newspapers and fanzines of the city of Barquisimeto in Venezuela. With much work we have been able to open a kiosk of alternative publications, where we distribute, at low cost, alternative material from all over the world, in addition to organizing activities against the Quincentenary, showing movies, giving talks about ecology, campaigns against the military, etc.

The kiosk is located on the boulevard in the center of the city, beside a large theater. That boulevard is totally abandoned and in terrible condition. We started a process of recuperation as an area of free expression. However, soon the political cops began to come by constantly, taking photographs of the kiosk. We were constantly threatened by the cops.

On the 12th of August, 1993 they crossed all of the lines. On the dawn of that day, they took cowardly actions, breaking the

locks of the door and throwing a firebomb into the kiosk. The bomb burned for more than an hour and completely destroyed the kiosk and approximately US\$2000 worth of publications, books (we were planning to have a book fair soon), and we lost tools, placards, furniture and important note books with addresses and other facts.

With the help of libertarian comrades all over Venezuela we are currently working on the restoration of the kiosk. We have increasingly more desire to continue resisting and demonstrating that it is possible to fight for a better world. Today more than ever we need the solidarity of people in all parts of the world, helping us with whatever materials or publications (fanzines, magazines, cassettes, videos, etc.) they can. In spite of everything we have to continue to walk forward and never take a step backwards. They may not know it, but ideas don't burn.

Please write to:

**G.E.A.97
Apartado Postal 109
Barquisimeto, Venezuela**



Yeltsin's Coup in Moscow

(Continued from front page)

WHO WERE THE SNIPERS?

On Oct 4 the pro-Yeltsin media (most others had already been censored) claimed that Communist terrorist snipers situated all over Moscow were the cause of the dozens of deaths that had taken place. This "fact" seems bizarre for a number of reasons. First of all, it seems strange that considerable numbers of armed people were able to leave the Parliament, which was blocked from all sides. Related to this is the question of access. How did pro-Rutskoi forces get to the bourgeois apartments and hotels they were supposedly shooting from? At one fancy hotel, "snipers" were let in by security. Curiously, none of these snipers have been arrested or killed by the police; if they had it would have been big news that the government was succeeding in "protecting" its citizens. As of Oct 12 about 120 weapons had been confiscated by the police, this figure including knives and similar weapons. Many believe that it is possible (and even probable) that pro-Yeltsin KGB sharpshooters are behind the "sniper" situation in this broad attempt to create a situation that legitimized the repression that was to come.

According to one woman, "Yeltsin has a lot of blood on his hands, especially the blood of the people killed in any one of the 'sniper incidents' that were manufactured to create public out-

port neither Yeltsin nor Rutskoi, they too were decreed illegal in a broadcast on Oct 3 on a pro-Yeltsin radio station. (Although the KAS was not in the originally released list of 16 banned organi-



rage and fear and to provide him with reasons to justify his actions and political repressions."

CENSORSHIP

The media has reported on the severe censorship Yeltsin has mandated. Much of the press and a broad, random variety of organizations have been declared illegal. Even though the KAS had issued a statement that they sup-

port neither Yeltsin nor Rutskoi, they too were decreed illegal in a broadcast on Oct 3 on a pro-Yeltsin radio station. (Although the KAS was not in the originally released list of 16 banned organi-

RACISM AND THE NEW REGIME

More recently, the racist face of Yeltsin's regime has been reared. Nationals from the Caucasus republics of Armenia, Azerbaijan

and Georgia and people from the North Caucasus republics of Russia have been systematically singled out and persecuted in the latest anti-crime sweep; they have been severely beaten in public spaces and brutally harassed. More than two thousand people have been deported since the state of emergency was declared by Yeltsin, and tens of thousands have been detained. One government official was quoted saying, "Most of these Caucasus people are thieves and robbers; they commit two-thirds of all crimes in the city." This racist crackdown is the latest and most severe step in Yeltsin's pursuit for a country free of "undesirables."

FALSE CHOICES

In Moscow, anarchists recently issued a statement that the anti-racist forces who take neither opposing authoritarian positions (and there are many!) must organize themselves immediately to fight this racist police state. Their call for a general strike seems somewhat premature, but nevertheless sends out an urgent message to anti-authoritarians all over the world about the severe conditions in Russia. It is essential, like our comrades in Moscow have done, to break down the dualism of either Yeltsin-or-Rutskoi that is portrayed in Western media and embraced by our "leaders." Once we get past this perception and deal with the real complexities of

this situation, we can begin to see the potential for revolutionary social transformation.

[Most of the information in this article was provided by first-hand reports from several anarchist correspondents in Moscow including Mikhail Tsovma and Laure Akai. We are grateful for their timely reporting over electronic mail of these important events.]★

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مہاجرین کے خلاف
مجرمانہ مصلحت کے خلاف
بین الاقوامی دن
پیر ۹ مئی ۱۹۹۴

境界線を打破しよう！
1994 5月9日（月）
移民管理、移民暴力に反対する国際行動デー

PLUS DE FRONTIÈRES
JOURNÉE INTERNATIONALE D'ACTION
CONTRE LES CONTRÔLES À L'IMMIGRATION
ET LA VIOLENCE ANTI-IMMIGRÉS
LUNDI 9 MAI 1994

روز جهانی اقدام در مقابل کنترل مهاجرت
روز درخشندہ ۹ مئی ۱۹۹۴

ABBATTERE LE BARRIERE
GIORNATA INTERNAZIONALE DI AZIONE
CONTRO I CONTROLLI DELL'IMMIGRAZIONE
E LA VIOLENZA ANTI-IMMIGRANTE
LUNEDÌ, 9 MAGGIO 1994



INTERNATIONAL DAY OF ACTIONS
AGAINST IMMIGRATION CONTROLS &
ANTI-IMMIGRANT VIOLENCE

MON, MAY 9 1994

LOVE AND RAGE REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHIST FEDERATION

¡A DESALAMBRAR!
DÍA DE ACCIONES INTERNACIONALES
CONTRA LOS CONTROLES DE INMIGRACIÓN
Y LA VIOLENCIA ANTI-INMIGRANTE
LUNES, 9 DE MAYO, 1994

打破邊界
五月九日，一九九四年
國際大動日
反對移民限制
對抗反移民暴力

OFFENE GRENZEN FÜR ALLE!
INTERNATIONALE AKTIONSTAG GEGEN
ABSCHREKUNGSMAßNAHMEN UND
AUSLÄNDERFEINDLICHKEIT.
MONTAG 9. MAI. 1994

KRAZE FWONTYÉ-YOJOUNEN ENTÉNASYONAL
POU AKSYON KONT KONTWÒL IMIGRASYON
AK VYOLANS KONT IMIGRAN
9 ME 1994

Разомкнем Границы
Международный День Действия против
Иммиграционного Контроля и
Антииммиграционного Насилия
Понедельник, 9 Мая 1994

TEAR DOWN THE BOORDERS



Wobbly Organizer At Temple Fired

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF the World (IWW) organizer Anthony Newkirk, a Ph.D. candidate and teaching assistant at Temple University in Philadelphia, was recently fired by the university in retaliation against his organizing efforts.

Newkirk was active during 1989-90 in efforts by the Graduate Student Employee Association (GSEA), an American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) union, to organize teaching assistants at Temple. In fall 1990 more than 800 of Temple's 1100 graduate employees signed union authorization cards and the GSEA conducted a two-day strike, but the drive ultimately collapsed. When it became clear that the university would not easily accept the unionization of its graduate employees, AFSCME's professional organizers abandoned the drive, refusing even to return workers' phone calls.

In Fall 1992, convinced that business unionism could not effectively meet graduate employees' needs, Newkirk joined the Education Workers Industrial Union 620 of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Last Spring, Newkirk and other IWW members launched an organizing drive based on grassroots, departmental organizing and have held several successful meetings.

In an effort to intimidate its graduate students, the university has decided to make an example of Newkirk. He was told he was no longer welcome to teach at Temple. Although Newkirk had received positive student evaluations for several years, some students allegedly complained about his teaching methods last spring, providing a "justification" for the History Department to ban him from future teaching assignments.

Newkirk was not given a review, an opportunity to contest the decision, or even an opportunity to investigate the nature of the complaints. And although Newkirk was a part-time employee, not a graduate assistant, the university has contested his right to receive unemployment benefits because of his student status.

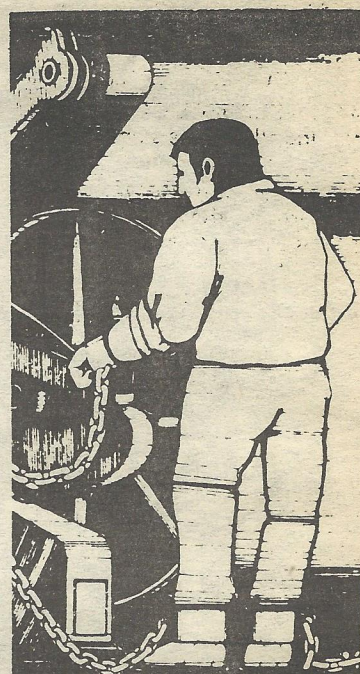
Please write Dr. Carolyn Adams, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences (Anderson Hall, 12th floor, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA 19122) asking

that Anthony Newkirk be given an open and public hearing to clear his name, and that he have the opportunity to continue his work as an educator. The IWW's Philadelphia General Membership Branch (4722 Baltimore Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19143) requests a copy of your letter, noting:

"These letters of support are very important to us because they will establish that graduate students are not alone...and that there is solidarity among workers."

For information write to:
PO Box 762, Cortland NY 13045

—From the Fall 1993 Education Workers Organizing Bulletin



Ojibwa Fight to Reclaim Stolen Land

IN 1942 THE CANADIAN Department of National Defense "borrowed" the Ojibwa Stoney Point Reserve on Lake Huron near Sarnia, Ontario for an use as army base, giving the inhabitants \$51,000 Canadian in compensation and promising to return the land as soon as it was no longer needed.

In 1980 the government of Canada paid an additional \$2.4 million in compensation to the Stoney Point band. Early last year the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs recommended to the federal government that the land be returned to the Ojibwa to rectify a "serious injustice done to the Stoney Point First Nations almost 50 years ago." Despite this the government still holds the land. The base is used only as a six-week summer camp for army cadets and costs \$4.5 million a year to maintain.

Four years after World War II the Ojibwa began their fight to reclaim the land. This effort has been complicated by a split among the Ojibwa. Some descendants of the 1942 Stoney Point band demand that Ottawa recognize the original band and their families and demand the return of the land to them. But the Stoney

and Kettle Point Council claims Stoney Point was never a separate band, and that the land should be given to the Council.

Native protesters have occupied part of the land since May as part of their demand that the military decamp. In June the group served the army with a 90-day eviction notice, but the army refused to leave the base.

The Ojibwa have grown increasingly frustrated by helicopters hovering low over the camp at night. Residents sometimes turn spotlights onto the aircraft to record their serial numbers. On August 24th, police sealed off the base after a military helicopter was shot at as it flew over the camp. Police discovered a bullet lodged in the fuselage and are treating the shooting as an attempted murder despite the craft's safe return. Subsequently the camp was sealed off and officers brandishing a search warrant were sent to the area.

The constant harassment of the inhabitants of the Ojibwa camp includes not only reconnaissance flights but also much closer scrutiny. "A few times the boys chased down soldiers hiding in the bushes," said former resident Debra Bressette. ★

Hawaii Tribunal Finds US Guilty of Genocide

THE PEOPLE'S INTERNATIONAL Tribunal, composed of groups representing indigenous Hawaiians and human rights associations, has found the United States guilty of genocide against native Hawaiians.

The tribunal argued that in 1893 the US government supported a coup d'etat that undermined the sovereignty of the independent kingdom of Hawaii. The international panel of nine judges also denounced as invalid the 1959 "vote" that made Hawaii a

US state. The tribunal asserted that America had violated the charters of the United Nations and the Organization of American States, as well as violating the principles laid out in the American Declaration of Independence. Two hundred onlookers applauded as the tribunal, which has no legal status, asserted that all American land laws in Hawaii were invalid. The tribunal also advocated placing Hawaii back on the United Nations list of non-self governing territories. ★

Repression in Mexico

REPRESSION OF LEFTIST groups, including extra-governmental trade unions and anarchists, has increased significantly in Mexico City in the face of upcoming presidential elections. Several different factions within the PRI (Partido de la Revolución Institucional—Party of the Institutional Revolution, the ruling party in Mexico for nearly seven decades) are vying for power in the form of the Presidency which is up for election in 1994. Since the current president Carlos Salinas cannot run for reelection in 1994, representatives from all of the factions within PRI are trying to consolidate their positions and their power.

Among the events demonstrating increased repression have been several armed assaults on trade union buildings, including the Garmentworkers' Union, where a significant amount of supplies were destroyed. Four youths, including two hunger-strikers, were kidnapped by cops armed with sub-machine guns and a mobilization of supporters was immediately necessary. Another long-term tactic of the government used again recently has been to organize its own, governmental unions in various trades and use these to attack and then push out the existing independent unions. Many of the most important unions in the country are government-controlled.

Three articles of the constitution were recently changed in a move that further emphasizes

this climate of repression. The right to form and meet in groups was removed from the constitution, protection from arrest without judicial order was rescinded, and the number of hours that people can be held without judicial process was raised to 92 hours.

Newspapers in Mexico, including the left-wing ones, have been relatively quiet about the recent spate of repression as they, too, position themselves for the '94 elections. They are afraid of criticizing or falling on the wrong side of a grouping or faction which could be the new ruling group (and which will have the power to shut down their presses). Many of the political and financial forces that run the Mexico City press are also hoping for seats and positions within the new government.

All of this comes at a time when the PRI faces a greater threat at the ballot box next year than ever before, as widespread accusations of voter fraud and dissent in cases of "stolen elections" have solidified into a very strong "anti-PRI" sentiment. The 1994 election will be watched very closely and many believe that the PRI cannot successfully steal this election, as they have previously, without significant protest and possibly open rebellion (open rebellion was a feature of several interim elections in the north which were thought to have been fixed by the PRI since the last presidential elections). A campaign of photo ID cards for voting underscores the sensitivity on this issue. ★



CALENDAR

November 6
Stop the Nazis from Marching
in New Hope, PA

November 9
Remember Pogrom-Nacht (Kristalnacht)
Day of Anti-Fascist Actions

January 15-16, 1994
Martin Luther King Jr. weekend
Love and Rage Federation Council
Meeting. Location to be announced

May 9, 1994
Tear Down the Borders!
International Day of Action Against
Immigration Controls/Anti-Immigrant
violence

US: No Native Rights

One element in the struggle of indigenous peoples for control over their destiny is the effort to win recognition for their human rights and their rights to land seized by colonial settlers. In July the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations, including representatives from the Teton Sioux, Apache, and Haudenosaunee nations, drafted a Universal Declaration on Indigenous Rights. The UN Commission on Human Rights will review the document in February.

Not surprisingly, the United States has been opposed to the Declaration from the beginning. US opposition is based on two things, according to US delegate to the Working Group Kathy Skipper: its use of the word "rights," and problems with land ownership.

Apparently the Declaration uses the word "rights" too much for the US's tastes. It also leaves open all sorts of interpretations—like that Native peoples may have a right to land free from nuclear testing and dumping, or a right to land at all. In addition, says Skipper, giving Natives in the US and elsewhere rights to land

stolen from them will cause disputes with the people who think they now own that land. The US calls this a conflict between the "collective rights" of the "people" of the US versus a "special interest group" like Native Americans.

Native representatives to the Working Group note that the US's reaction is nothing new. Black Feather, the Teton Sioux representative to the Working Group, announced that the people he represents intend to renounce their US citizenship and completely remove themselves from the jurisdiction of the US government, in part by reestablishing the lands of the Lakota Nation as laid out in the ignored Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. The Haudenosaunee representative, Chief Oren Lyons, responded to the US position by saying that it was in keeping with the long history of hostility toward Native Americans.

The meeting in February on the Universal Declaration on Indigenous Rights will show how the international community responds both to pressing Native needs world-wide, and to pressure from the US to ignore them. ★

MacKinnon Law KOs Dworkin Book

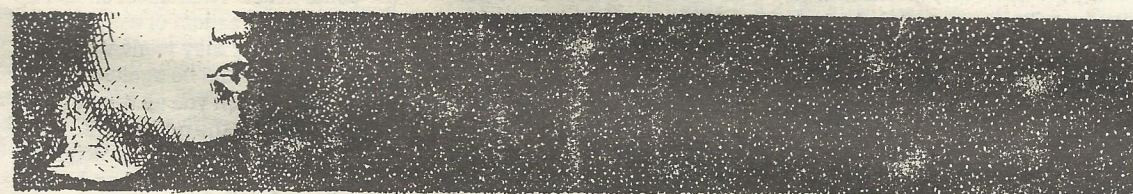
IN FEBRUARY 1992 THE Supreme Court of Canada accepted the legal definition of pornography popularized by US law professor and feminist anti-porn theorist Catherine MacKinnon, which outlaws material deemed degrading to women. Anti-censorship feminists have long argued that MacKinnon's legal definition of pornography, like any expansion of censorship of speech about sexuality, will likely harm rather than help women's liberation.

That has clearly come true in Canada in the past year and a half. The first prosecution was of the gay Glad Day Bookstore for selling *Bad Attitude*, a magazine of lesbian erotica. An estimated quarter of Canada's feminist bookstores have had material seized. Last spring, large book shipments were stopped by Canadian Customs. Volumes seized included: *The Story of O*, John Rechy's *City of Night*, the feminist anthology *Herotica*, *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, and—ironically but predictably—two titles by MacKinnon ally Andrea Dworkin.

Another seizure involved the satirical book *Weeni Toons*; the justification raised censorship to new heights when one official explained that the book could be construed as "degrading to the male penis." Meanwhile, the judge in a related case upheld Canada Customs' seizure of gay erotica on the grounds that casual gay sex was "incompatible with the proper function of society," and "completely degrading," thus fitting within the obscenity definition. A new Canadian organization, Censorstop, is assisting with both the *Bad Attitude* appeal and the

Customs cases. Write to Censorstop at:

PO Box 888 Station F
Toronto, Ontario,
Canada M4Y 2N9.



Twin Cities Forum On Anarchism and Socialism

By TIN-TIN AND K-DOG

On Wednesday, Aug 18 the Ateneo Libertario Political Series and Emma Goldman Anarchist Center co-sponsored a forum in Minneapolis entitled "Anarchism and Socialism: Points of Solidarity, Points of Contention." This forum followed a three-month series of forums and debates on anarchist strategy sponsored by the Twin Cities Anarchist Federation.

Four of the Twin Cities' most prominent political organizations were on the panel including the anarchist collective AWOL, the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation, the Socialist Workers Party and the Freedom Road Socialist Organization/Socialist Organizing Network.

In the discussion the Socialist Workers Party (a formerly Trotskyist group that publishes the weekly newspaper *The Militant*)

emphasized the important role of industrial workers in the revolution, the fascist threat posed by Pat Buchanan's entrance into mainstream politics, and the necessity of solidarity with the Castro regime in Cuba. The FRSO/SON, which has its roots in the Maoist upsurge of the 1970s and puts out the magazine *Forward Motion*, discussed the vital role of oppressed nationalities in the class struggle and the need for a workers' state to repress the ruling class and other reactionary elements in the post-revolutionary period.

Paul O'Bannion from AWOL gave a history of the modern North American anarchist movement and the struggles that anarchists have participated in locally. Julia Jouissance, also from AWOL, talked about the link between the early radical feminist movement and anarchist ideas,

and the need for an explicitly revolutionary anarchist, anti-sexist critique of patriarchy.

The Love and Rage Federation's presentation was divided into two parts. Jean-Marc Delivour laid out a historical critique of Marxism-Leninism that pointed out that its authoritarian ideological foundations have led to a tendency for state control and mechanizing society along bourgeois, patriarchal, state-capitalist lines. Kieran Frazier spoke on the goals and vision of revolutionary anarchism, while also pointing out some of the organizational and ideological failings of anarchism historically, including the lack of participation in anti-imperialist struggles and the counter cultural-ghettoization of the anarchist movement.

This recent forum came out of a commitment to strive for an authentic unity between all those who yearn for freedom and justice, rather than a bogus unity that suppresses so-called divisive issues. These debates are the possible beginning of that authentic unity in the Twin Cities. ★



Detroit's 404 Center Reorganizes

The 404 Willis collective has recently re-formed and reorganized the structure of Detroit's autonomy center. Participants from the last 2 1/2 years, friends from the neighborhood and new friends helped.

In the first 2 1/2 years punk was a dominant feature of the space. Punk shows helped to pay the rent. But the new group wants to move towards being more of a community center and less of a punk space (many feel that the two often limit each other).

In order to do this the \$\$\$ void needs to be filled. We decided to do a better job of asking others for the stuff we need, like food, money, clothes and more. Many participants decided to pitch in five to ten dollars each month. To help with costs the Trumbull Theater (an anarchist-run housing co-op and theater) will hold a benefit once a month. The folks who had been doing punk shows at the space will help out after they find a space (a third ace space!). Between the mentioned tactics and a few get-rich-quick schemes 404 Willis should be able to survive solely as a community center.

We plan to operate a self-serve kitchen every Sunday from 12-3 p.m. The space will be open at least 1-2 other days as a proletarian coffeehouse and/or warm place

to hang out. We hope to continue to be a space for other events like discussions, poetry, and disco parties. This is extra important to many in Detroit's Cass Corridor neighborhood because, unless you have money, there is no place to hang out. The nearby shelters and welfare apartments operate in a prison-like manner, giving folks no place to meet and connect.

As a guerrilla-style operation we want to give a feel of what a liberated society might be like, by putting our ideas into practice and taking care of each other along the way. Organizing ourselves along anarchist lines, emphasizing mutual aid, we share the decision-making and participation with everyone. This is obviously more work than a closed collective, but it is a far greater learning experience. ★

Chicago Infoshop

A NEW INFOSHOP (THE Autonomous Zone) opened in Chicago on Oct 15. The project is the work of the Baklava Autonomist Collective. Stop in to see them at or get in touch at:

1726 W Davidson St.
Chicago, IL 60622
(312) 384-9129 or 384-2991
thak@midway.uchicago.edu

Radical Environmental Health Speaking Tour

Wade Collins is organizing a speaking tour on environmental illness and movements for radical environmental health. Anyone interested should contact:

Environmental Health Tour
c/o Free Society PO Box 7293
Minneapolis, MN 55407

OTHER ANARCHIST CONTACTS

This is a short list of some other anarchist resources. We don't have the space to be comprehensive, so we chose items which cover a broad range of anarchist ideas and activity

PUBLICATIONS

Alphabet Threat
3018 J Street No. 140, Sacramento, CA 95816 (0-65/6 issues)
-a (roughly) bi-monthly, wimmin-centered newspaper, articles on sexuality, revolt, and other fun stuff

Alternative Press Review c/o CAL Press, POB 1446, Columbia, MO 65205-1446 (\$14/4 issues)

—Spin-off from Anarchy magazine, exactly what it claims to be, and well-done

Anarchy c/o CAL (see address above) (\$12/6 issues/18 months)
-a quarterly journal, theoretically oriented, but with a situationist angle, news, lots of letters

Arm The Spirit
PO Box 6326 Stn A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1P7 CANADA (\$10/10 issues)
-an anti-imperialist, autonomist journal, reports on international movements of armed resistance

Bayou La Rose
c/o Wesley Everest, Educ. Proj., 302 N "J" Street
No. 3, Tacoma, WA 98403
-news on native struggles, ecological struggles, and more

Fifth Estate
4632 2nd Ave., Detroit, MI 48201 (\$6/4 issues)
-a quarterly paper, somewhat on the theoretical side, primitivist news, reviews, letters

Ideas and Action
POB 40400, San Francisco, CA 94140 (\$11.50/4 iss)
-the annual publication of the Workers Solidarity Alliance, an anarcho-syndicalist (anarchist union) group, news and analysis about labor, the anarchist movement, the world

Industrial Worker
1095 Market Street #204, San Francisco, CA 94103 (\$10/year)
-monthly (roughly) publication of the Industrial Workers of the World (syndicalists), news, letters, analysis, labor movement stuff

Profane Existence
POB 8722, Mpls, MN 55408 (\$9/6 issues)
-an anarcho-punk paper, with band reviews, anarchist news and history, and scene reports

Rebelle
Les Editions Rouges et Noir, CP 205, succursale "C", Montréal, Québec H2I 4K1 (\$10/year 6 issues)
-monthly French-language anarchist paper, lots of news and analysis

Wind Chill Factor
POB 81961, Chicago, IL 60681 (\$15cash/year)
-a creative bi-monthly (roughly) with letters, polemical tirades, some ongoing discussions, reviews, and Chicago and international news

SOURCES FOR LITERATURE

Most if not all of these folks will sell you anarchist literature by mail.

AYF Distribution
PO Box 8585,
Mpls, MN 55408

Bound Together Books
1369 Haight St,
San Francisco, CA 94117

Ediciones Antorcha
c/o Chantal López y Omar Cortés, Apdo. 12-818, CP 03020, México, DF, MEXICO

Left Bank Books
92 Pike St., Seattle, WA 98101

Librarie Alternative
2035 Boulevard St. Laurent Montréal, Québec H2X 2T3, CANADA

Perennial Books
PO Box B14,
Montague, MA 01351

Right to Existence Bookstore
285 Preckness Ave.
Paterson, NJ

Wooden Shoe Books
112 South 20th St.,
Philadelphia, PA 19103

LETTERS



PROFANE'S NOT DEAD

Dear Profane Existence Supporters,

This is a personal letter from myself, Dan (a.k.a. "Troll" in Profane Existence), to inform you of a very tough decision that concerns my involvement in the collective. After many months of soul-searching, I have reached a decision to cease working on *Profane Existence* and end my commitments to the collective. Over the past 4-5 years, I have been deeply involved with Profane Existence activities and have been one of the collective's main contacts with the outside world. I feel it is my obligation to the collective, as well as myself, to let you be informed of my decision.

The reasons for my departing the collective are numerous and varied, and most of them personal. However, I have no regrets about spending the last few years of my life so deeply committed to Profane Existence and the punk scene in general. This is not a matter of "growing up" or "selling out," but more of a matter of wanting to move on to new projects. I still have faith that the efforts of the Profane Existence collective and other punk activists are valid and their endeavors are worthwhile, and I will continue to be involved with the movement so long as at least there are some of us left. I will personally remain working with the Profane Existence collective until year's end. There are a number of projects I am still involved with here which I intend to help wrap up, as well as passing on the information and experience I have accumulated over the years to the other collective members. The Profane Existence collective will carry on with activities, likely to be scaled down for the time being until the collective is re-organized and projects and workloads are redistributed.

At the moment, Profane Existence is swamped with work and we are working hard to get everything caught up. This is a result of many collective members being away for extended periods of time touring in bands (including two tours myself, with PISSED and DESTROY!) as well as a steady decline in the number of people involved with the collective for a wide variety of reasons. We are working hard to turn this around at the moment and I want to thank everyone who has been waiting to hear from us on projects or payments for their patience and continued support. Profane Existence is NOT a rip-off

organization, but we are human and even I will grudgingly admit to making mistakes.

Thanks to everyone who has lent support to myself and the Profane Existence collective. As well, I want to personally thank everyone who helped out on both the PISSED European tour and DESTROY! US tours of this year. By being able to travel so extensively this past year, I have been able to witness first-hand that punk sure the fuck isn't dead and that it's still a movement that comes from the heart.

Love and Solidarity
Dan

ORGANIZING FOR ANARCHIST REVOLUTION

Dear Love and Rage,

Your September issue was one of the best looking issues yet. I would like to comment on a few things in it. But before I get pulled into things I would like to point out some of the pitfalls of past anarchist organizations and projects so that maybe some things need not be re-lived. 1. Do not base your organization on past disagreements infighting with other groups. Let the new federation stand on what it believes in and not who it dislikes. 2. Of course there should be projects that everyone tries to help, but try to keep all resources and energies from filtering to a center. 3. Start smaller than you can handle and work up, rather than start big and then be forced to down-size, for once you start to down-size it is hard to stop. 4. Do not reinvent the wheel, in other words, in my view, anarchism is an evolutionary movement in that it takes what came before and adds to it. This may be a bit hard because we have left it to non-anarchists and anarcho-arm-chairs to teach us our history. Maybe one project could be a book on the history of activist revolutionary anarchism in the US. You would be shocked to see how much of our history is not included in the other books.

As to the critique of Marxism, the failure of Marxism is that they tried to turn the functioning of human society into a rigid scientific blueprint. Since no such universal plan could ever work, failure was met by increasing the control over society by the controlling elite (the so-called vanguard). In no country where Marxism was tried was it ever able to get past the stage of vanguard control. In no case was it ever even able to establish the so-called dictator-

ship of the proletariat, rather all they had was a dictatorship over the proletariat. Still there are things we can learn from this.

1. If we hope to make anarchism possible it must be based in the struggles of the people and it must be moved by the creative spirit of the people. For if we isolate ourselves from the people we will also only meet failure. 2. Though Marxism failed in its plans, it was successful in the act of overthrowing government, we want to get rid of it, what we can learn is that we need (self) discipline, realistic strategy and organization. 3. Marxists had a lack of understanding of culture and tried to suppress much of it rather than include it in the revolutionary process. We anarchists sometimes do the same thing. We must draw a line between fighting the dictatorships of religion and culture, and the freedom of personal belief. Anarchism should be about the freedom of each person to believe as they want, and the struggle should be against forced beliefs. I wish you all the best and keep up the good work.

In solidarity
Arthur J. Miller
PO Box 5464
Tacoma, Washington 98415-0464

ANTI-FASCIST NEEDS HELP

Dear Love and Rage,

I'm an isolated but passionate Anarchist Punk. I'm writing to you because I need help. I'm just one person taking a strong anti-fascist stand; I've been out talking to people and physically patrolling the streets. But alone I am doomed. I can't express my commitment because alone I am powerless to stop the Nazi skin-heads in my city.

Basically we were invaded by out-of-state organizers like Tony Butler from Atlanta, Confederate Hammer Skins chapters from Georgia, all local boneheads. They have a lot of resources and are recruiting from local highschools and the street at an unbelievable rate. They claim hundreds of members; reliable sources say 65.

A gang of twenty attacked patrons of a local bar where alternative and bi and gay people hang out. (A cool club before the pigs shut it down last month.) They hospitalized several people and split before the cops showed up—some 25 to 30 minutes later, even though their station is only three miles away. I smell the Klan at work here.

Close to a dozen people have

been victimized and still the cops say these are "unrelated, isolated incidents." One friend I know was a pig informer, telling the cops all about the skins. The cops knew it all, but still looked away. The fascists have organized to the point of showing up unchecked on our scene in vehicles of four with bats and chains.

I must organize the anti-fascist elements now. If you could help me in any way, contact me through the address below. I can accommodate somebody up to a week at my place. I don't want to march alone. But my passion is so great that I will fight them alone if it comes to that. I will fight until I can't.

Solidarity brothers and sisters,
Jason Germ
Box 69 University Tower
1700 W. Clinch Ave
Knoxville, TN 37916

Errrrr...

IN THE SEPT 1993 ISSUE OF Love and Rage the following inexcusable errors were committed (we don't even bother mention the ones we have good excuses for!):

—Photo credit was missing from the page 3 photo of two women kissing. The photo was taken by Sher Stoneman and supplied to us by Impact Visuals. The photo may have appeared to be taken in California, but in fact pictured part of the response to the Operation Rescue actions taking place in Minneapolis.

—The title of Ron Taber's article included the words "Part 1." The Production Group has not yet decided whether to run the entire series that Ron is proposing. We are therefore interested in what readers thought of the first one. The issue will probably be decided at the Federation Council meeting in January as part of a discussion of series, in general, and of longer, theoretical articles.

—In the Sept '93 issue in the "Bougainville Fights Toxic Imperialism" article, the leader of the BRA was incorrectly identified as Moses Avini. The BRA is mainly led by Francis Anna and Sam Kauna. Moses Havini (correct spelling) is a BRA international representative. Please see update page 11 for more info.

—The Lower East Side Class War Organizer was left off of a list of the Trenton 7 coalition on the ABC page of last issue. They were members of that coalition. ★

Ervin to Speak on Anarchism and the Black Revolution

LORENZO KOMBOA ERVIN, AUTHOR of *Anarchism and the Black Revolution*, will be speaking in cities in the US and Canada in a speaking tour sponsored by Love and Rage in November.

Born and raised in Chattanooga, Tennessee, Ervin is a former member of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee and the Black Panther Party. In 1968, fleeing a frame-up for his work with the Panthers, Ervin hijacked a plane to Cuba. While in Cuba, and later in Prague, Ervin first became disillusioned with state social-

ism. After being kidnapped and illegally brought back to the US, Ervin was sentenced to life in prison where he was first introduced to anarchism.

In prison, Ervin was engaged in a series of battles with the prison authorities and wrote several anarchist pamphlets, including *Anarchism and the Black Revolution*. An international support campaign eventually lead to Ervin's release from prison after 15 years of incarceration. Ervin returned to Chattanooga where he has remained active fighting police brutality

and organizing against the Ku Klux Klan. Most recently Ervin has become active again in anarchist circles. He attended the Mid-Atlantic Anarchist Gathering in Philadelphia this summer, organized anarchists to come to Chattanooga to confront the Klan in September, and has recently revised *Anarchism and the Black Revolution*.

Ervin will be speaking on his experiences in SNCC and the Panthers, in prison, and fighting the cops and the Klan in the '80s and '90s. He will be addressing the questions that confront the contemporary Black freedom movement from a revolutionary and anti-authoritarian perspective. He will also be speaking on the importance of prisoner support and the need to build a strong Anarchist Black Cross. ★

Selections From

Anarchism and the Black Revolution

(new revised edition)

"BECAUSE OF THE WAY THIS nation has developed with the exploitation of African labor and the maintenance of an internal colony, Blacks and other non-White peoples are oppressed both as members of the working class and as a racial nationality. As Africans in America, they are a distinct people, hounded and segregated in US society. By struggling for their human and civil rights, they ultimately come into confrontation with the entire Capitalist system, not just individual racists or regions of the country. The truth soon becomes apparent: Blacks cannot get their freedom under this system, because based on historically uneven competition, Capitalist exploitation is inherently racist. At this juncture, the movement can go into the direction of revolutionary social change, or limit itself to winning reforms and democratic rights within the structure of Capitalism. The potential is there for either. In fact, the weakness of the 1960s Civil Rights movement was that it allied itself with the Liberals in the Democratic Party and settled for civil rights protective legislation, instead of pushing for social revolution. This self-policing by the leaders of the movement is an object lesson about why the new movement has to be self-activated and not dependent on personalities and politicians.[...]

"This 'White race' designation is a contrived super-nationality designed to inflate the social importance of European ethnics and to enlist them as tools in the Capitalist system of exploitation. In North America, White skin has always implied freedom and privilege: freedom to gain employment, to travel, to obtain social mobility out of one's born class standing, and a whole world of Eurocentric privileges. Therefore, before a social revolution can take place, there must be an abolition of the social category of the 'White race.'[...]

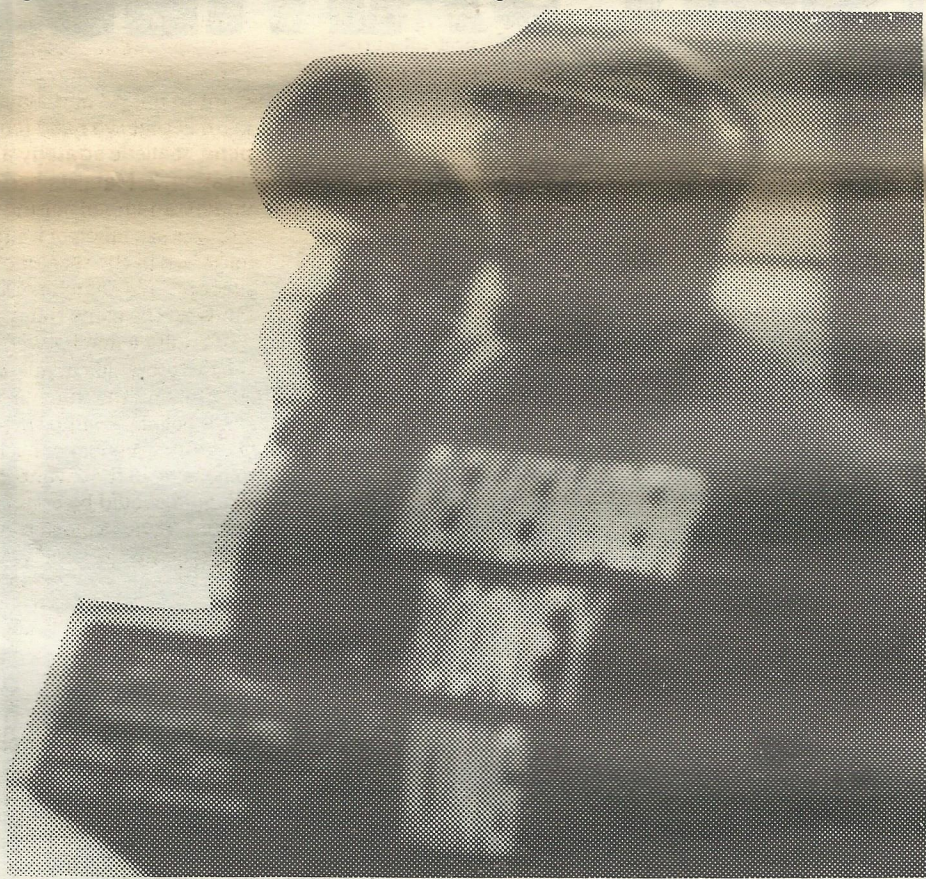
"Blacks (or Africans in America) are colonized; America is a mother country with an internal colony. For Africans in America, our situation is one of total oppression. No people is truly free until it can determine its own destiny. Ours is a captive, oppressed colonial status which must be overthrown, not just smashing ideological racism or denial of civil rights. In fact, not smashing the internal colony first means the likelihood of a continuance of this oppression in another form. We must destroy the very real social dynamic of America being made up of an oppressor White nation and an oppressed Black nation (in fact there are several captive nations). This requires a Black Liberation movement to liberate a colony, and this is why it is not just a simple matter of Blacks joining with White Anarchists to fight the same type of battle against the State. That is also why Anarchists cannot take a rigid position against all forms of Black nationalism (especially revolutionary groups like the Black Panther Party), even if there are ideological differences about the way some of them are formed and operate. But North Americans must support the objectives of racially oppressed liberation movements, and they must directly challenge and reject White skin privilege. [...]

"Once again in the Spring of 1992, we saw a massive revolt in Los Angeles, whose immediate causes were related to the outrageous acquittal of Los Angeles policemen who had brutally beaten Rodney King. But there again this was just an immediate cause of acting as a trigger, this revolt was not a sympathy revolt on behalf of Rodney King personally. The cause of this rebellion

was widespread social inequality in the Capitalist system and police terrorism. This time the rebellion spread to 40 cities and four foreign countries. And it was not just a so-called 'race riot,' but rather a class revolt which included a large number of Latinos, Whites and even Asians. But it was undeniably a revolt for racial injustice first and foremost, even if it was not just directed against White people in general, but the Capitalist system and the rich. It was not limited to just even the inner city in the Los Angeles area, but spread even to White upper crust areas in Hollywood, Ventura, and beyond. This was the beginning stage of class warfare.[...]

"The early stages of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was a contrast in many ways to any Black freedom group to come before or after. Most of the SNCC activists were middle-class college intellectuals, with a small number of

working class grassroots activists, but they developed a working style that was very anti-authoritarian and was unique to the Civil Rights movement. Instead of bringing in a national leader to lead local struggles, like Martin Luther King, jr. and his group, the Southern Christian Leadership Council, was wont to do, SNCC sent in field organizers to work with the local people and develop indigenous leadership and help organize, but not take over local struggles. They placed their faith in the ability of the people to determine an agenda which would best serve them and lead themselves to obtain their goals, rather than being inspired or told what to do by a leader. SNCC itself had no strong leaders, even though it had persons in decision-making authority, but they were accountable to membership boards and the community in a way no other group in the civil rights movement was." ★



Lorenzo Komboa Ervin Speaking Tour Schedule

Nov 2	Washington, DC Beehive Autonomous Collective
Nov 3	Philadelphia, PA Calvary Church
Nov 4	Philadelphia, PA Robin's Books
Nov 5	Philadelphia, PA @ Space Cafe
Nov 7	Jersey City, NJ Public Library
Nov 9	New York, NY Anti-Fascist Forum ABC No Rio
Nov 10	Patterson, NJ Patterson Anarchist Collective
Nov 11	New York, NY Marxist School
Nov 13	Boston, MA Redbook
Nov 15	Williamstown, MA Williams College
Nov 16	Burlington, VT University of Vermont
Nov 21	Detroit, MI
Nov 23	Toronto, Ont.
Nov 27	Columbus, OH
Dec 1	Minneapolis, MN
Dec 2	Minneapolis, MN
Dec 3	Minneapolis, MN

Dates are being planned for Montreal, PQ; Bloomington, IN; St. Louis, MO; Chicago, IL; and Madison, WI, for after Nov 21. Please call Love and Rage for more detailed information.

GOVERNMENTS DON'T FALL BY THEMSELVES. THEY NEED YOUR HELP. JOIN THE FEDERATION.

FEDERATION COUNCIL MEETING IN NEW YORK JAN 14 - 17

Yo! The Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation Council will meet in New York City over the Martin Luther King, Jr. weekend, Friday Jan 14 through Monday Jan 17. Most of the decision-making meetings will be held all day on Saturday and Sunday, but if you don't get here on Friday you'll miss chillin' with the other spiffy folks. Some food will be provided but bring money to help pay for it. Let us know about special needs like childcare, translations, disabilities, etc.

Everyone is welcome to participate in discussions, but decisions at the meetings will be made by delegates to the council. There are delegates from every project and two from every supporting group. Many groups have not yet decided on their delegates. Supporting groups should let us know names and phone numbers of their delegates as soon as possible.

The agenda for the meeting has not been set. A proposal should be ready ahead of time. If you have suggestions or demands, questions or comments, please mail, fax, call, email them to the NY newspaper office NOW! PO Box 853 Stuyvesant Station New York, NY 10009 (212) 460-8390 email: loveandrage@igc.apc.org

☐ Yes, I like the stated politics of the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation and would like to participate in the Federation as it continues to grow. Here's my \$25 to cover the costs of receiving the newspaper (6 times per year), the Federation Bulletin (twice per month) and the internal Discussion Bulletin (4 times per year). [The \$25, if you can't afford it, is waived on request.]

☐ I would like further information about the politics of the Federation. I have enclosed \$5 for the Love and Rage Political Statement Working Papers.

Address _____

City _____ State/Province _____

Zip/Postal Code _____ Phone () _____

Send check or money order to:
Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation
PO Box 3606 Oakland, CA 94609-0606

By NOEL IGNATIEV

C.L.R. JAMES WAS BORN IN TRINIDAD IN 1901 AND died in London in 1989. In the course of his life, he wrote a book on cricket, a study of Herman Melville and *Moby-Dick*, a history of the revolution in Saint Domingue (*Haiti*), a study of Hegel and the application of the dialectic in the modern world, a history of the Communist International, a book on Ghana, in addition to shorter political works, short stories, a play and a novel. He founded and edited the newspaper of the International African Service Bureau in London before the Second World War, and was the editor of the newspaper of the governing party of Trinidad immediately following independence. He is honored in Britain as a historic pioneer of the black movement there and is regarded generally as one of the major figures in Pan-Africanism. And he led in developing a current within marxism that was democratic, revolutionary, and internationalist.

This is a great variety of activities for an individual to undertake, and if the word "genius" has any meaning then it must be applied to C.L.R. James. Most important, however, is not his individual qualities, but the world outlook that enabled him to bring light to so many different spheres of activity. James says, in *Notes on Organization*, that when you develop a new notion, it is as if you have lifted yourself to a plateau from which you can look at familiar things from a new angle. What was James's notion, and how did it enable him to make unique contributions in so many areas?

For James the starting point was that the working class is revolutionary. He did not mean that it is potentially revolutionary, or that it is revolutionary when imbued with correct ideas, or when led by the proper vanguard party. He said the working class is revolutionary and that its daily activities constitute the revolutionary process in modern society.

This was not a new idea. Marx had said, first, that capitalism revolutionizes the forces of production and, second, that foremost among the forces of production is the working class. James, in rediscovering the idea and scraping off the rust that had accumulated over nearly a century, brought it into a modern context and developed it.

James's project was to discover, document, and elaborate the aspects of working-class activity which constitute the revolution in today's world. This project enabled him and his co-thinkers to look in a new way at the struggles of labor, black people, women, youth, and the colonial peoples, and to produce a body of literature far ahead of its time, works that still constitute indispensable guides for those fighting for a new world.

James and his co-thinkers focused their attention on the point of production, which they considered (correctly for the time they were writing) the scene of the most intense conflicts between capital and the working class. In two trail-blazing works, "An American Worker" (1947) and "Punching Out" (1952), members of the tendency led by James documented the emergence on the shop floor of social relations counter to those imposed by management and the union, relations which prefigured the new society.

Not every example James cited was from production. In "Negroes and American Democracy" (1956) he wrote, "the defense of their full citizenship rights by Negroes is creating a new concept of citizenship and community. When, for months, 50,000 Negroes in Montgomery, Alabama do not ride buses and overnight organize their own system of transportation, welfare, and political discussion and decision, that is the end of representative democracy. The community as the center of full and free association and as the bulwark of the people against the bureaucratic state, the right of women to choose their associates as freely as men, the ability of any man to do any job if given the opportunity, freedom of movement and of association as the expansion rather than the limitation of human personality, the American as a citizen not just of one country but of the world—all this is the New World into which the Negro struggle is giving everybody a glimpse...."

That is the new society and there is no other: ordinary people, organized around work and activities related to it, taking steps in opposition to capital to expand their freedom and their capacities as fully developed individuals. It is a leap of imagination, but it is the key to his method. Of course the new society does not triumph without an uprising; but it exists. It may be stifled temporarily; capital, after all, can shut down the plant, or even a whole industry, and can starve out an entire community. But the new society springs up elsewhere. If you want to know what the new society looks like, said James, study the daily activities of the working class.

James insisted that the struggles of the working class are the chief motor in transforming society. Even before it overthrows capital, the working class compels it to new stages in its development. For example, the resistance of the craftsmen compelled capital to develop methods of mass production; the workers responded to mass production by organiz-

ing the CIO, which was an attempt to impose their control on the rhythms of production; capital retaliated by incorporating the union into its administrative apparatus; the workers answered with the wildcat strike and a whole set of shop-floor relations outside of the union; capital responded to this autonomous activity by moving the industries out of the country, in search of a more pliant working class, and introducing computerized production to eliminate workers altogether. The working class has responded to the threat of permanent separation from the means of obtaining life with squatting, rebellion, and food riots. And so forth; this is a continuous process, and it moves the society forward.

James observed the triumph of the counter-revolution in Russia, the crushing of the workers' movement in Europe by fascism, and the role of the Communist Parties, and he concluded that these developments indicated that capitalism had reached a new stage. This new stage, like every development of capitalist society, was a product of workers' activity. The bureaucracy, that alien force ruling over the working class, grows out of the accomplishments of the workers' movement. In a modern society like the US, the working class struggles, not against past defeats but against past victories—against the institutions which the workers themselves have created and which have become forms of domination over them. The social role of the labor bureaucracy is to absorb, and if necessary repress, the

whelmed the Russian proletariat. The rulers of Russia perform the same functions as are performed by Ford, General Motors, the coal operators and their huge bureaucratic staffs." To James, had he lived to witness it, the collapse of Stalinism would have represented but another step towards the formation of a single world system.

This understanding of the "organic similarity of the American labour bureaucracy and the Stalinists" prepared James and his colleagues to see the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, the French General Strike of 1968, and the emergence of the US wildcat strikes of the 1950s and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit in 1967 as expressions of a global revolt against the domination of capital.

James argued that the working class develops through the overcoming of internal antagonisms, not external foes. In an industrial country it is not the guns and tanks of the government that hold the workers down. When the working class moves, the state is powerless against it. This was true in Hungary in 1956, France in 1968, and Poland in 1980.

It is not guns and tanks but the relations of capital within the working class, the deals that different sectors of it make with capital, that hold the workers back. Consistent with this notion, James saw the autonomous activities of groups within the working class as a crucial part of its self-development. As a marxist James believed that the working class, "united, disciplined, and organized by the very mechanism of capitalist production," had a special role to play in carrying the revolution through to the end. But as a marxist committed to autonomy, he believed that the struggles of other groups had their own validity, and that any of them could ignite the general conflagration. In "The Revolutionary Answer to the Negro Problem in the USA." (1948), he opposed "any attempt to subordinate or push to the rear the social and political significance of the independent Negro struggle for democratic rights." In that same work, written long before Black Power, James spoke of the need for a mass movement responsible only to the black people, outside of the control of any of the Left parties.

He and his colleagues adopted a similar attitude toward the struggles of women. "A Woman's Place" (1950), produced by members of the tendency led by James, examined the daily life of working-class woman, in the home, the neighborhood, and the factory, and took an unequivocal stand on the side of women's autonomy. It has become a classic for the modern women's movement, and for the Refusal of Work tendency.

James paid close attention to the struggle against colonialism. In 1938 he wrote *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*, which spoke of the tremendous creative force of the colonized peoples of Africa and the West Indies, and established the link between the masses of San Domingo and Paris. It has since become the standard history of the Haitian Revolution.

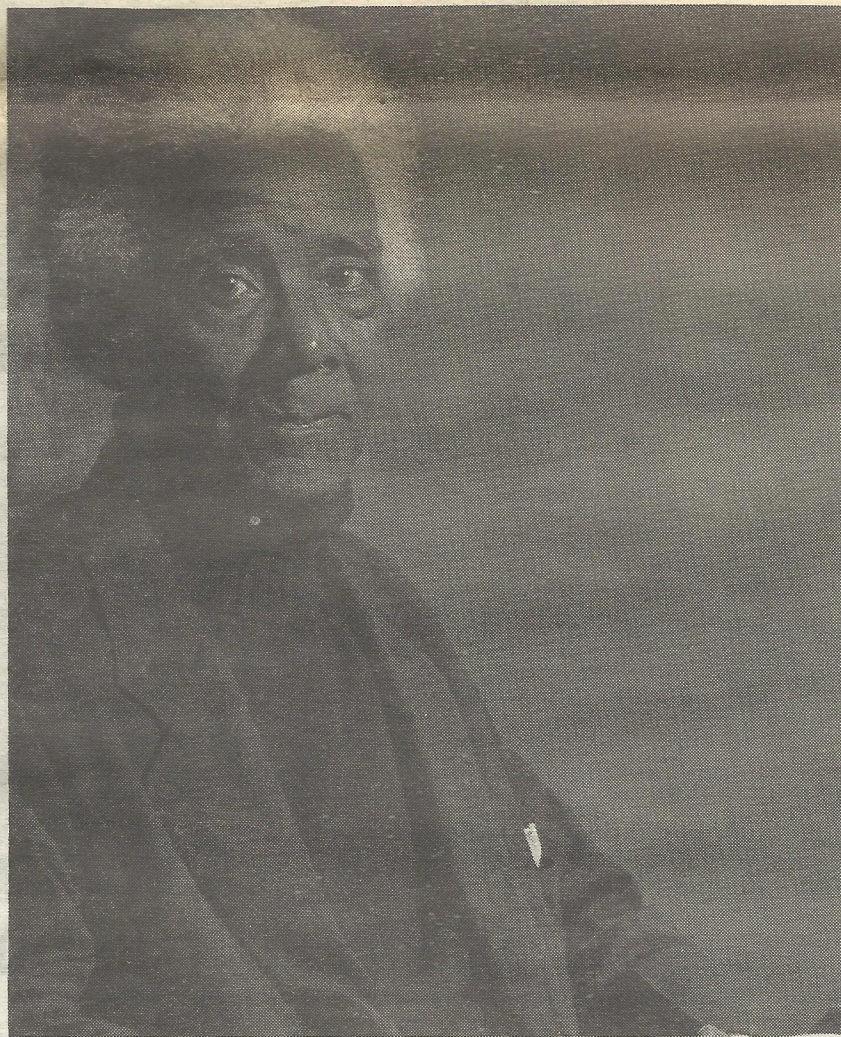
Here you have this revolutionary working class, said James, and at the same time you have the domination of capital, which also expresses itself within the working class. What is the way out of this? James saw a civil war, within the ranks of the working class and within the mind of each individual worker: two ways of looking at the world, not necessarily fully articulated, manifest through different sorts of behavior. One of the ways this conflict appeared was in culture.

The dominant tradition among marxists held that popular culture is just brainwashing, a distraction from the class struggle. To James and his co-thinkers, the point was, how do the outlines of the new world manifest themselves in culture? In *Mariners, Renegades and Castaways: The Story of Herman Melville and the World We Live In* (1953), James demonstrated that the struggle for the new society was a struggle between different philosophies as they are lived out. (It is my personal favorite among his works; among other virtues, it offers the most exciting explanation I have ever read of the process of literary creation.) His autobiographical book on cricket, *Beyond a Boundary* (1962), was not merely a sports book. It was about the people he knew intimately in the

West Indies, and how their actions on the playing field showed the kind of people they were. There is a need for a similar study of basketball and the Afro-American people. Anybody can write about how black athletes are exploited by the colleges and later on by professional basketball and the TV and the shoe manufacturers—and all that is true. But the real point for a revolutionary is how the black people have placed their stamp on the game and used it to express their vision of a new world. Watch Michael Jordan. Here is a person who has achieved self-powered flight. Every time he goes up with the ball, he is saying "in your face" to the society of exploitation and repression. His achievements are not his alone, but the product of an entire community with a history of struggle and resistance. The contrast between the general position of the Afro-American

(Continued on page 22)

Human Liberation and Workers' Autonomy: The World View of CLR JAMES



autonomous movement of the working class, and it scarcely matters whether it is Communist in France, Labour in Britain, or the AFL-CIO in this country.

"The Stalinist bureaucracy is the American bureaucracy carried to its ultimate and logical conclusion; both of them products of capitalist production in the epoch of state-capitalism," wrote James in *State Capitalism and World Revolution* (1950). In that work he called the new stage state capitalism, a system in which the state assumes the functions of capital and the workers remain exploited proletarians. He said that Russia was this type of society. Others before him had come to similar conclusions. James's theory was distinctive: it was a theory not of Russia but of the world. It applied to Germany, England, and the US as much as to Russia. He wrote, "What the American workers are revolting against since 1936 and holding at bay, this, and nothing else but this, has over-

By CHRISTOPHER DAY

Night-Vision, Illuminating War & Class on the Neo-Colonial Terrain by Butch Lee and Red Rover, \$14.95 from Vagabond Press, 496 Hudson St, Suite E14, New York, NY 10014

TODAY SOMALIS ARE KILLING Pakistani UN "peacekeepers" who are part of a US-initiated effort ostensibly intended to defend the delivery of food to starving Somalis. In New York a group of Islamicists (called Islamic-fundamentalists in the Western media), including a Palestinian, a Sudanese, and an African-American, led by an Egyptian cleric who raised troops to fight in Afghanistan for the CIA, stand accused of bombing the World Trade Center, assassinating Meir Kahane, and plotting to kidnap Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger. A Black head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff presided over the murder of more than 100,000 Iraqis to reclaim an oil plantation masquerading as a country called Kuwait, and in Los Angeles a Black mayor called in Federal troops to suppress the largest urban uprising in US history—a supposedly Black uprising in which the majority of arrests were of Latinos and in which thousands of white people took part. A right-wing Black woman, Anita Hill, has become the heroine of white liberal women for taking on Clarence Thomas, a right-wing Black man. In New York a young man is murdered by patriotic skinheads. The young man is a white punk from Georgia, and the murderers are a multi-racial skinhead gang lead by

guage, they are not afraid to admit that they have only begun the process of asking some of the right questions.

Night-Vision relies heavily on quotations from a number of sources, giving it a multi-voiced feel that is unlike most attempts to formulate revolutionary theory. The authors' voices intrude mainly to tie the thoughts of other people together into a sweeping analysis of the new political situation.

The first third of the book is mainly an attempt to lay-out the historical foundations of neo-colonialism in the old period of traditional imperialism. The authors argue that the old world order of (what they call) euro-colonialism was built on the robbing of women in Europe during the witch hunts, and then on the exploitation of African slave labor.

Drawing heavily from *Settlers: The Mythology of the White Proletariat* by J. Sakai (reviewed in *Love and Rage*, Vol. 3, No. 1, January 1992), *Night-Vision* argues that the class structure of the US was built around races constructed to meet the needs of capitalism. "Whites" from every corner of Europe (and elsewhere) filled the highest positions and policed the whole thing in exchange for a set of social privileges, Blacks from just as many different African cultures (and elsewhere) did and still do the hardest work for the least pay (or under slavery, no pay), and so on. These races have no biological foundation, but they do have a social reality in people's lives. This racial organization of US society more or less corresponded to the global relationship between the

convincingly demonstrates that the male-dominated character of Third World regimes (whether they were born of national libera-

policy of outright extermination needs to be made more strongly if it is to be persuasive.

Night-Vision argues, relying on

eagerness to prove the non-existence of a white working-class, selects and misinterprets statistics to "prove" that white settlers

Class Struggle in the New World Order

tion struggles or not) is part of the whole system of the super-exploitation of Third World women and children.

Lee and Rover argue that the US, like the rest of the world, is undergoing a process of "desettlerization" in which the old ideology of imperialist white-supremacy is being replaced by a neo-colonialist multi-culturalism that better corresponds with the needs of global capitalism. They use the movie "Blade Runner" as a tool for exploring the new image of the future: a Latino-Asian Los Angeles with a white ruling class barely holding on and no Black people, supported by armies of artificially created slaves on other planets.

Lee and Rover argue that the old categories of race on which the US empire was built are being abandoned. Concretely, this means that capitalism can no longer afford to support several hundred million white people at an enormously inflated standard

Rosa Luxemburg's *Accumulation of Capital* (1912), that imperialism has depended for its super-profits not simply on the extraction of surplus value through wage labor, but on the continual replenishment of capital through conquest and genocide. This is a persuasive argument about genocide being a "normal" feature of world capitalism. But it is not clear here whether Black genocide is seen as a strong tendency of capitalism, or as an actual deliberate policy with the general support of the US ruling class. What they do argue persuasively is that more and more Black workers have been progressively pushed out of work and into the ranks of the permanently unemployed. The comparison of predominantly Black housing projects to American Indian reservations is a provocative analogy.

Night-Vision is a powerful corrective to all the lukewarm liberalism that passes for "re-thinking" on the left these days. It is a bold attempt to stake out a new approach, and on the whole I believe it moves in the right direction.

The biggest weakness of

came from positions of privilege in Europe, and that all the white people we see working every day for shitty wages aren't really being exploited. *Night-Vision* repeats this error and commits a few of its own.

In *Settlers* and *Night-Vision* the privileges granted white workers are not only a significant obstacle to white workers siding with the rest of their class, they literally propel them out of the working class altogether. *Settlers* relied on statistics about male workers only. It would be hoped that *Night-Vision*, with its grasp on the gendered nature of class relations on a world scale, would have seen the fundamental error in such an analysis. Unfortunately not.

Night-Vision rightly exposes the class contradictions that exist between the neo-colonial classes of African, Asian, and Latino professionals and the super-exploited proletarians of the Third World, but can't see its way to the conclusion that "desettlerization" of whites may also mean a re-proletarianization of at least a section of whites.

We live in a new world. The revolutionary ideologies of the past are no longer

A Review of:

the son of an African diplomat. How do revolutionaries make sense of these events?

Night-Vision is a bold and provocative attempt to grapple with a world situation that does not neatly conform to the old realities. In particular, *Night-Vision* is a challenge to the world-view of the left that came of age during the era of anti-colonial revolts (1945-1975), and the people who have agreed with their ideas. This book argues persuasively that neo-colonialism, a product of both the victory of anti-colonial revolutions and the development of world capitalism, must be understood as a radically new and different system from the old-style imperialism that it has replaced. The book argues that national liberation movements as we have known them represent a passing period in the struggle against the rotten global system that is crushing billions of people and destroying the planet, and that the new era demands the breaking of old alliances and the creation of new ones.

Butch Lee and Red Rover do not claim a name for their brand of politics. They have obviously been deeply influenced by the most visionary anti-imperialists (C.L.R. James, Kwame Nkrumah, and Amilcar Cabral) without becoming enamored of any of the regimes that have emerged from the anti-colonial struggles. They are also deeply influenced by the most radical thinking in feminism without falling into the middle-class faddism that so often passes for women's liberation these days. They offer a provocative and unorthodox reading of Marx. (This reading is undermined by a clumsy effort to avoid attributing quotes of Marx to Marx by name.) They do not call themselves anarchists, but they are enemies of all states and apologists for none. Their revolutionary vision is anti-hierarchical. While they often state their positions in blunt lan-

European imperialist powers and their overseas colonies.

THE RETURN OF THE PROLETARIAT

Night-Vision argues that this simple outline of the US and the world is rapidly becoming a thing of the past, and that any attempt to pose a revolutionary challenge to this society needs to confront the new realities of neo-colonialism.

The largest section of *Night-Vision* is dedicated to analyzing the political economy of neo-colonialism. Since the end of World War II the old colonial empires of the European powers have been broken down into scores of new "nations," neo-colonies that remain under the domination of Western (and Japanese) capital. A similar process, though not exactly the same, has taken place in the US, where the urban centers were abandoned to Black and Latino neo-colonial politicians (Tom Brady, Coleman Young, David Dinkins, and so on), and small sections of these communities were allowed to join the middle and upper classes. *Night-Vision* argues that these are not just token faces of color in the old system of white supremacy, but rather represent a radical reorganization of world capitalism, in which an increasingly multi-national ruling class is exploiting an increasingly proletarianized Third World. The 21st century proletariat is not the white adult male of the euro-centric Marxist imagination, she is an Asian, Latina or African teenager.

One of the most interesting aspects of the analysis in *Night-Vision* is that it sees women and children as the center of the Third World proletariat. *Night-Vision*

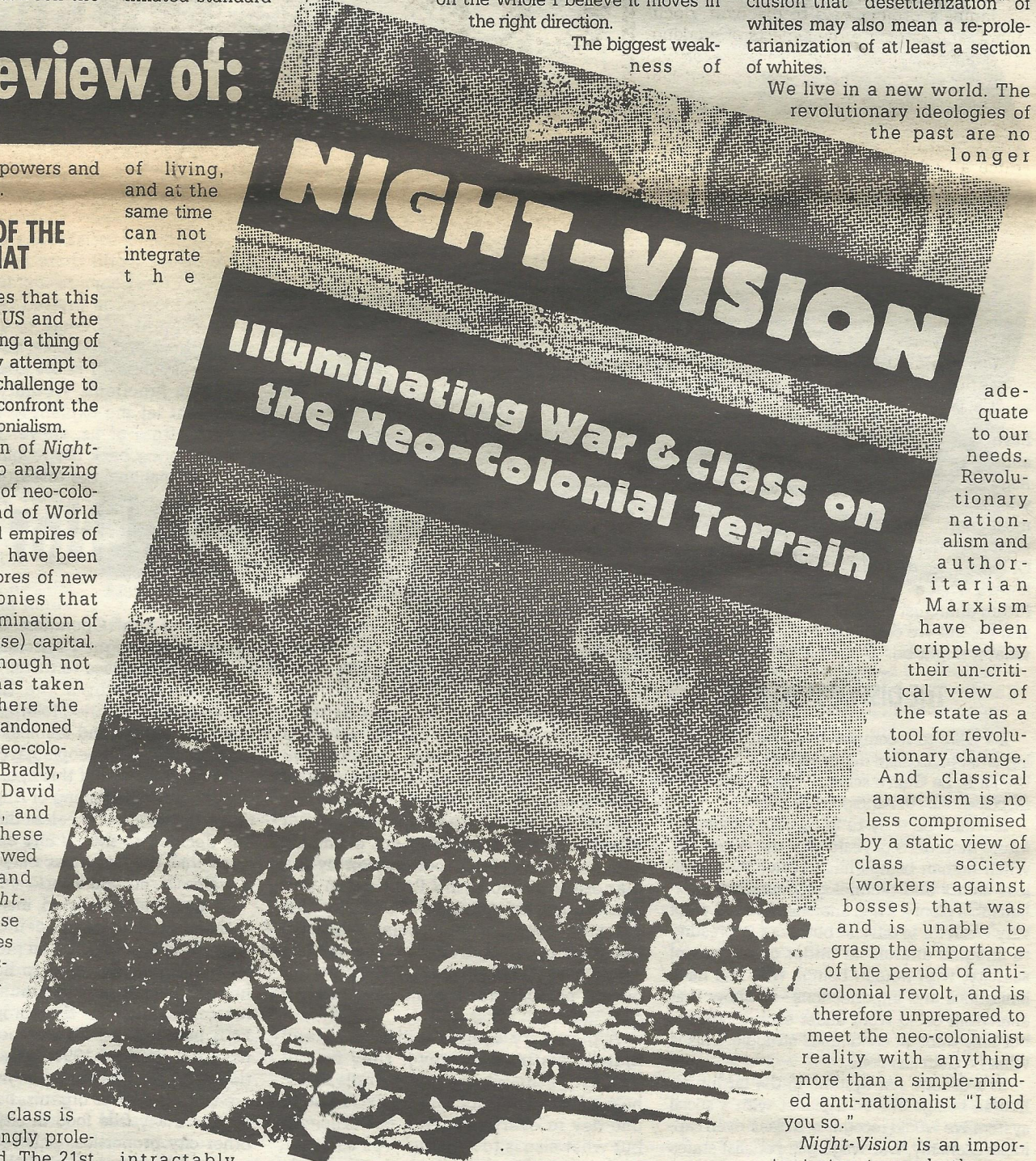
of living, and at the same time can not integrate t h e

intractably insurgent Black community into the new world order. Lee and Rover claim that the response to this predicament is a policy of Black genocide. While there seems to be an abundance of evidence of the genocidal implications of certain domestic US policies, the case for a deliberate

Night-Vision is similar to the weakness of *Settlers*: a willingness to rely on anecdotal and insufficient statistical evidence to support its most serious claims. *Settlers*, in its

adequate to our needs. Revolutionary nationalism and authoritarian Marxism have been crippled by their uncritical view of the state as a tool for revolutionary change. And classical anarchism is no less compromised by a static view of class society (workers against bosses) that was and is unable to grasp the importance of the period of anti-colonial revolt, and is therefore unprepared to meet the neo-colonialist reality with anything more than a simple-minded anti-nationalist "I told you so."

Night-Vision is an important step towards the creation of an authentically anti-authoritarian revolutionary theory for the 21st century. It is a powerful book. Even if it sometimes falters, it will provoke serious activists to re-think crucial ideas. At this point, we can ask for little more.★



WHAT IS DISTINCTIVE ABOUT anarchism is not what it is against but what it is for: its utopian vision of a free society. The many evils of capitalism and the state are opposed by various alternative programs, such as liberalism or state-socialism. Even the state—revolutionary Leninists and various nationalists want to overthrow the existing state, if only to replace it with a new one. But revolutionary anarchism is unique in proposing a nonhierarchical society—a society which is cooperative, egalitarian, individualized and radically participatory. Current anarchist writing does not often express its positive vision. This is true of

minerals for necessities.

At the point the novel begins, Shevek, a physicist and political activist from the anarchist moon, is entering a spaceship to visit the original planet to re-establish contact between the peoples. The story alternates between his adventures on the old planet with accounts of his development in an anarchist society.

As he observes the old society with the eyes of someone who has grown up anarchist, he is like a sane Alice in a crazy Wonderland. The craziness of that society (our society) is made clear, with a minimum of direct explanation.

public opinion and individual conscience, combined with having few limits on behavior. "No law, no limit, no punishment, no disapproval applied to any sexual practice of any kind, except the rape of a child or woman, for which the rapist's neighbors were likely to provide summary revenge if he did not get promptly into the gentler hands of a therapy center. But molestation was extremely rare in a society where complete fulfillment was the norm from puberty on." But Le Guin does not say it never happens. There is also a semi-military volunteer Defense Syndicate, that keeps an eye on the old world.

which you began and then stopped halfway."

THE LIMITATIONS OF ANARCHISM

What makes this vision of anarchism so believable is precisely that it is presented as something lived by imperfect human beings. Public opinion can work so well to control "crime" that it can become its own tyranny. A people indoctrinated in anarchist theory can develop a conformist orthodoxy. The syndicates can become ossified and bureaucratized. Specialized knowledge and influence over others can become a new form of power. Privileges can develop.

The effects of such problems are shown in the life of Shevek and his lover and friends. He develops new theories of physics but is frozen out within the Academic Syndicate by an old-fogey protecting his position.

In response Shevek and his friends form their own Syndicate of Initiative. They publish his theories on their own and set up a radio station to talk with scientists from the old society, eventually visiting them. Despite violent disapproval from the PDC, they feel that they are being loyal to their world's anarchist principles. Shevek "was, in fact, a revolutionary by virtue of his upbringing as an Odonian. He could not rebel against his society, because his society was a revolution, a permanent one, an ongoing process." They shake up and revitalize their society by acting as anarchists.

On the old world Shevek is at first honored as a great scientist, but falls from favor when he supports an anti-war demonstration. In a wonderful speech to the crowd shortly before the soldiers attack, Shevek declares that his society has kept the promise of developing a free society. "I am here because you see in me the promise kept. We have no law but the single principle of mutual aid between individuals. We have no government but the single principle of free association. We have no states, no nations, no presidents, no premiers, no chiefs, no generals, no bosses, no soldiers, no wars. Nor do we have much else. We are not prosperous. None of us is rich. None of us is powerful. If it is Anarres [the moon] you want, if it is the future you seek, you must come to it with empty hands, as the child comes into the world, wholly dependent on the people for his life. You cannot buy the Revolution."

At the end Shevek returns to his moon society. Neither the revolution on the old world nor the revitalization of the new world has yet gone past the first stages. They are on-going struggles. We are left with the great utopian virtue of hope. ★

Plainly this is a description of socialist anarchism. On the old world there is one Russian-style Communist state called Thu. Shevek is invited by a Thuvian agent to "come to Thu and see how real socialism functions." He responds, "I know how real socialism functions. Would your government let me explain it, in Thu? You are afraid of us, there. You fear we might bring back the revolution, the old one, the real one, the revolution for justice

Food Not Bombs

(Continued from page 1)

"Quality of Life" Operation. Under Matrix, Jordan has assigned special units of the San Francisco Police to certain areas of the city (the downtown and the primarily Latino Mission District) to arrest and harass homeless people and criminalize homelessness. Hundreds of people have been arrested or cited as part of this operation since it started at the beginning of August. In addition attacking the homeless directly, Jordan has decided to attack any support structures that the homeless may have, which explains the current attacks on FNB.

Most of those arrested, including several catholic priests, have been charged with violating a court injunction prohibiting FNB from serving free food to homeless and hungry people on the grounds that FNB refuses to apply for the "proper" permits. FNB has applied for use permits in the past, but under a 1991 Parks and Recreation Commission regulation, no use permits are to be issued to organizations intending to give away free food in city parks or on other city properties. This regulation was created to criminalize FNB. The court injunction specifically states that FNB has failed to obtain a health permit. However, a health permit is impossible to obtain without a use permit—a permit which no longer exists in San Francisco.

Both the court injunction and the Parks and Recreation Commission regulation are political ploys originated by former Mayor Art Agnos. Agnos used the injunction and a

previous injunction to arrest over 400 people between 1988 and 1991. Over the past two years, however, the court order stood unused and no one was arrested for serving free food, despite FNB's twice daily meals in front of City Hall. Of the hundreds of people that have been arrested since 1988, nobody has been convicted.

The Matrix Operation is also a part of the anti-immigrant hysteria that has been building momentum in California (as it has been all across the United States and other advanced capitalist countries). Jordan led a recent successful attempt to overturn San Francisco's sanctuary ordinance. This ordinance prohibited the City of San Francisco or the San Francisco Police from cooperating with the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) of the US federal government. Clamoring that the city's jails were being overrun by "illegals," Jordan succeeded in rewriting the ordinance so that the police could cooperate with the INS when they arrested someone and charged them with a felony. Not surprisingly, the number of felony bookings of Latino-surnamed arrestees has increased by 400% since the ordinance was changed.

For more information about the FNB's current situation contact:

**Food Not Bombs 3145 Geary Suite #12
San Francisco, CA 94110
Telephone: (415) 330-5030
email: resist@igc.apc.org or andyrose@netcom.com**

Utopian Visions

a review of Ursula K. LeGuin's *The Dispossessed*

By Wayne Price

Love and Rage as well as most anarchist material. Of course, no one knows what a future anarchist society will be, but we can illustrate what it might be.

THE DISPOSSESSED

If I were to recommend one book describing what anarchism might be like, it would be Ursula K. Le Guin's science fiction novel, *The Dispossessed: An Ambiguous Utopia*.

It would be easy to imagine an anarchist future thousands of years after the revolution, when human beings have evolved into selfless saints and technology pours out inexhaustible plenty. Then anarchism would work very easily! It is difficult but more interesting to imagine anarchism under conditions of scarcity, with human beings who still have limitations and imperfections—to show that anarchism could work under such conditions but only through continuous struggle. This is what Le Guin has done.

In a distant star system, in the far future, human beings live on a planet with a social system we would recognize: a class-riven capitalist economy, war-waging imperialist states and oppression of women. Some two centuries in the past a revolutionary anarchist movement arose, following the teachings of the wise woman Odo. The revolution was beaten back and the Odonians were exiled en masse to the planet's twin, a moon as large as itself but with fewer natural resources. There they have dwelt for 170 years, building their own anarchist nation with minimal interaction with the "mother planet" except for trading

SOCIALIST ANARCHISM

The Dispossessed demonstrates what life might be like growing up in a socialist-anarchist society. As children, the Odonians are taught the value of sharing and the idea that no one can own anything. Self-managed associations of workers (syndicates) carry out economic activity with overall coordination by the planetary council (the Production and Distribution Coordination [PDC]). To this extent it is a planned economy. The PDC has rotating delegates from the various syndicates. It emphasizes "they do not govern persons; they administer production."

A planetary computer lists jobs and individuals pick whatever they find of interest, although the most unpleasant, heavy work is rotated as an extra chore, one day in every ten. "It's not efficient, but what else is to be done? You can't tell a man to work on a job that will cripple him or kill him in a few years. Why should he do that?" People work for the pleasure of it, to satisfy their conscience, and because of social pressure: "One's own pleasure and the respect of one's fellows." Goods are distributed freely at storehouses, except for scarce goods which are rationed.

Social order is maintained primarily by

Tanaquil Interview

(Continued from page 7)



tion. At that time, as I said, I was involved primarily with his case and also Freedom Now, but both of us felt that we needed something specifically targeted on Black political prisoners. So within a year of his release we formed this organization. Its basic goal is to educate people about the existence of Black and New Afrikan political prisoners and to support them, to come up with a campaign to work towards their release which can take any number of forms.

The thing about the Campaign that's different from other organizations is that we stress accountability to the political prisoners themselves.

How do you support them?

Tanaquil: We support them by maintaining communication with them, by telephone calls. New York state has the highest number of Black political prisoners, and we arrange for visits. A lot of our work has been constrained by lack of resources. We don't have an office, we don't have a telephone, we don't have money to pay for a phone. We don't have a fax. We don't have a computer. These are kind of the basic things you need to function. Dhoruba has done considerable work and made considerable headway in raising people's consciousness about the existence of political prisoners. We now have a book which we're using to build awareness about political prisoners, called *Still Black, Still Strong: Survivors of the US War Against Black Revolutionaries*, featuring writings by Dhoruba Bin Wahad, Assata Shakur, and Mumia Abu Jamal.

What do you think it will take to win freedom for Black political prisoners and POWs?

Tanaquil: I think it's going to take a lot of work, for one thing, and its going to take a number of different strategies. For example, in NY [Governor Mario] Cuomo and [NYC Mayor David] Dinkins, the present administrations, are both extremely vulnerable. Dinkins has come out to support Joe Doherty, political prisoner, and he's been a host to Nelson Mandela, I think we can point out those contradictions. On the one hand he supports Black freedom fighters in Africa, but he doesn't support Black freedom fighters here.

Many of the political prisoners in NY state are coming up for parole, so they need people to write the parole board, they need people to offer these people jobs when they come out. We may not be able to secure their release through these channels but I certainly don't think that at this point we have exhausted these channels. I don't think we've even come close to it. We need to petition the UN to look into to the status of political prisoners, the conditions of confinement. They tend to receive longer sentences; they tend to be held in the worst type of prisons. Every political prisoner I know is in a maximum security prison or in some kind of segregated housing unit, some kind of control unit, so changing the conditions of confinement will improve their immediate environment. That can make a difference in terms of changing their quality of life, if you want to call it life, inside of prisons.

I've been inspired by the example of the Germans. Last March the RAF blew up a control unit five days before it opened. It was a \$100 million prison and they blew it up. People need to consider some of those options here. It's too bad we don't have an RAF here for something like the prison in Florence, CO that is being built. They say it is totally robotic, automated; what kind of society builds this type of place for human beings?

Part of what the Campaign wanted to do was analyze the legal status of the different cases using the dossiers I compiled for the tribunal in 1990. We looked at conditions of confinement, looked at health issues the political prisoners were facing, and based on those priorities, decided which political prisoners to focus on in a given year. For example Sekou Odinga was in solitary confinement in Marion. We felt it was important to support him with petition campaigns. Mumia is on death row, so obviously with his life hanging in the balance it is extremely important to focus on his case. But in the last two years the Queens 2 and the NY 3 have had legal developments in their case and so has David Bryce, so has Geronimo Pratt. There are different committees, not of the Campaign but people we are in touch with, who support political prisoners if there are developments in their cases.

Do you see support for Black political prisoners and POWs as playing a role of unifying divided forces within the Black liberation movement?

Tanaquil: Yes and no. I think its easy for people to support the individuals, but people do have ideological differences. I think that there needs to be a unified front and this is a way that people can come together around that.

Ultimately, my hope would be that if the Campaign is effective in this political work, around political prisoners, that that could become the springboard for the creation of a larger organization, that might conceivably, down the line, make a meaningful contribution towards the reestablishment of a viable Black liberation movement.

So how would you describe your politics to people?

Tanaquil: I wouldn't. [laughs] I definitely wouldn't. [laughs] I describe myself as radical but I don't know what it means to be a revolutionary without a revolution. I know the kinds of things that I believe in but I can't really say "I'm this." I wouldn't define myself as a communist, I wouldn't define myself as a socialist.

Would you define yourself at all as a nationalist?

Tanaquil: I would like to say that I define myself as a revolutionary nationalist, but I think that for me a lot of the connotations of nationalism are reactionary and so therefore I have problems with it. To give you an example, some cultural nationalism and its emphasis on patriarchy, I don't support that. Or the kind of nation-building and the idea of a nuclear family, I don't support that. So it's hard for me. I think that that's probably one of the things that as a radical

Black woman has been very, very difficult for me, is to find a definition that I feel comfortable with. I don't feel like I can fit myself into some neat political box. I like to consider myself an evolving revolutionary, so as I learn, as I change, as I go through life, my politics change, but I always see it as changing for the better, changing to become more progressive, changing in terms of my vision being more encompassing and being more committed to a society which is about the development of humanity.

You have described yourself as anti-hierarchical, what does that mean in terms of your politics?

Tanaquil: In terms of the organizations I work with, I don't support hierarchical structures. I don't support hierarchical society. I support the notion of structures being reflective of one's politics and my politics are about the empowerment of people, the empowerment of oppressed people. However that works itself out in our organization can sometimes get complicated.

Obviously in any kind of organization, people have different strengths and weaknesses. The idea is to develop the weaknesses and make the weaknesses strengths. But a lot of times in terms of how does that play itself out in an organization, it gets complicated. Sometimes there might be one person that's a good speaker. No one was born being a good speaker, so you have to figure out how to get everyone to be a good speaker. Sometimes someone can be a good speaker in certain ways, but it doesn't mean that somebody else with a different style might not appeal to other people. It's been something I've been trying to figure out for a long time. It's not like I'm trying to sidestep the issue in terms of what my politics are, but I really have a hard time with defining myself politically.

You were talking earlier about the role of armed struggle and about the Black Liberation Army. What are your thoughts on a larger strategy for transforming this society?

Tanaquil: Frederick Douglass said that power concedes nothing without a demand, and I would say further that power doesn't back up in the face of anything except more power. I think when we're dealing with a powerful enemy you have to be ready to confront that enemy on its terms. And I think that the US is an extremely violent place where people need to use extremely powerful, violent means. I think it's illusionary to think that we could talk people out of their positions of power or that we could sing them out of their positions of power. Inevitably we will have to come to armed confrontation. Like Malcolm said, oppressed people have the right to achieve their liberation by any means necessary and to me that includes armed struggle as an option.

Can an armed power as strong as the United States be defeated through armed struggle?

Tanaquil: I think that certainly we could learn nothing else from history. The US is strong in certain ways but in other ways it's not so strong. The Vietnamese people brought the United States to a stand-off and forced them to withdraw, although they were definitely, militarily, not as well equipped. They did not have the same technology, but they had the determination. One thing that is hard to assess is the human factor in struggle. You can train people to be good soldiers and to be mercenaries even, but when people are determined to fight, I don't think there is any stopping them. In many ways I think that the United States government knows that, I think that they're afraid of their own citizens. I think that it terrifies them. Why would they so consciously repress all progressive ideas? Why would the mass media be so selective on what it puts forth? It wasn't that the Black Panther Party ever represented a military threat to the United States government, it was the ideas that they put forth that represented a threat to the United States government. Do I feel like the United States could be defeated? Certainly, certainly. It'll be the people who will do that, it won't be easy, but yes, it's possible.

What can people do to support the Campaign?

Tanaquil: I would say, materially, they can

support us through sending in donations, they can buy the book that we're selling, *Still Black, Still Strong*, they can write to the PO Box and as we develop strategies we can keep people informed.

People should come out when there are court dates. As a matter of fact people in the New York area should know that Dhoruba Bin Wahad has a civil case against the Department of Corrections starting Nov 1 in downtown Manhattan. People can call the Campaign at (718) 624-0800 and find out details.

In this trial, Dhoruba is going to deal with his punitive transfers and his treatment while he was incarcerated, because as people probably know, I'm sure from reading *Love and Rage*, the United States does not acknowledge political prisoners while they are in jail. They say they just treat you like any other criminal, but in fact they treat you different than other prisoners. Dhoruba was moved a lot, he was put in segregation a lot. Of the 19 years that he spent in jail, seven of those were spent in isolation. So, the case has tremendous possibilities in terms of its ramifications on the Department of Corrections in NY State and how it houses and treats political prisoners. So it's very important. The trial will be going probably for at least two weeks, the first two weeks in November, and if people could come out and show their support that would be extremely useful.

Do you consider yourself a feminist?

Tanaquil: Yes... But let me just say a qualifier when I say feminist. I think that part of the problem is that when people hear the word feminist they associate it with a white middle class organization, an organization, for example, like NOW, the National Organization for Women, or they associate it with reformist and elitist organizations which essentially are women trying to get their piece of the American Pie. I don't consider myself that kind of feminist. I don't want a piece of the pie, I want to destroy the pie that exists, and I want to create another whole type of pie.

So I think that part of what radical women have to do is to reclaim feminism. It's been to me bourgeoisified to a certain extent, and I don't want my concept and my outlook to be associated, for example, with Gloria Steinem, even an Alice Walker. I think that the feminist movement has really failed the majority of women in this country. I think that it doesn't speak to poor women, it doesn't speak to women of color, and for that reason, as well as people's own internalization of misogyny, a lot of women, it would seem, reject "feminism." But as I said, I think that is in large part because it is associated with being white, something that white people are into, and also because it has a class bias.

You've talked about the nuclear family as something you're not particularly pleased with. How do you see people organizing their lives to take care of children without that kind of a family structure?

Tanaquil: I think nuclear families are fine for those who want them, but I think that nuclear families are something that's been forced upon us, just as I feel heterosexual orientation has been. I think if people were free to explore... I'm definitely going to say this to my child: "Hey, go out with boys and girls and see which one you like better." I think that people should be open to making those kind of choices for themselves rather than being told or forced to look at their sexual orientation... In terms of what would be ideal for me: an extended network of friends or being able to raise my children in some sort of community of people that could share those responsibilities. I think it's totally insane for one person or two to be primarily responsible for looking after a child. You need to establish a bond with your child but I also think it's important for them to establish meaningful relationships with people other than their parents. So if I had my way, I would like to have my child raised in a sort of cooperative environment where you could support other people and they could support you.

Thank you for your time.

Tanaquil: Thank you.

Contact the Campaign to Free Black Political Prisoners and POWs at:
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Bronx, NY 10463-0339
tel. (718) 624-0800



Chattanooga

(Continued from page 4)

to confront, a lot of folks stayed home as there would be no "action." Another reason may be that a lot of people in

Somalia

(Continued from page 3)

tion is worse than it was before." (Free Press, see above).

4) Without a strong central government there will only be chaos and anarchy. Neither chaos nor famine is accidental. A USAID representative in the 1980s, who later quit the Agency and became a journalist, writes: In 1981 "I was working for the US Agency for International Development. I was one of many aid workers warning that food aid pouring into Somalia was unnecessary and destroying the country, upsetting the balance of clan power by enriching friends and family of the dictator Mohammed Siad Barre, who were stealing much of the food. In addition to Barre and his pals, the main beneficiaries of the food aid were relief organizations (or NGOs—nongovernmental organizations—as they are now called), who received funding for delivering the food, and the American and European governments, who were able to dump surplus food while calling it foreign aid. [...]

"The reports we wrote predicted disaster, but no one paid them much mind. Food kept coming even as Somalia could have fed itself. As a result, the nation's food supply was controlled by corrupt officials at the docks, not by farmers in the countryside." (Village Voice, see above) Dumping food onto local markets under the guise of aid is a recurrent tactic used by USAID, among others, to undermine local agriculture while forcing the development of export crops. This destroys local self-sufficiency and dispossesses small-plot farmers, who are unable to compete with the low (or free) prices, driving them out of the market and off their lands and concentrating the ownership of land in fewer and fewer hands. As these lands are taken over by international agribusiness conglomerates more and more cash crops are produced for export, increasing the dependency of previously self-sufficient people on staples from abroad.

But in Africa colonialism has not yet succeeded (as it has in much of Central and South America, for example) in breaking the back of the village structures. That failure has cut deeply into world capital's potential profits from that continent. Thus, when elite US forces blew up a building last summer, claiming it was the headquarters of the much-vilified Mohammed Farah Aidid, the bodies that had been blown to smithereens were not Aidid's lieutenants (as reported) but actually communal village and clan elders from around the country who were meeting to create an alternative to the central government authority the US is so keen to install. This information was reported in the Italian press, but not in the US.

Capitalism relies upon getting people to believe that what it says is "human nature" requires a strong central government to "keep everyone in line." It must maintain that "it's always been this way, it will always be this way, and that it's this way everywhere." Communal village structures as exist in Somalia, despite problems, are anathema to the spread of capitalism there. Where they exist, they serve as barriers to the "proletarianization" of the workforce that capital desperately needs in order to extract value. In order for capitalism to spread, communal and clan formations must be crushed.

Chattanooga are very homophobic and did not want to participate in a demo against homophobia. A lot of folks are also scared of the police and the power structure here in Chattanooga. They don't want to threaten their job security and families. The biggest problem is that we have not

"The survival of communal ties and the lack of a tradition of wage dependence have ... fostered a sense of entitlements with respect to the distribution of wealth in the community and by the state," writes Hofstra professor Silvia Federici, discussing other parts of Africa. They are "responsible for the fact that most African proletarians fail to experience capital's laws as natural laws, even though the demand for what industrial development can provide is now a general factor of social change.

"Africans' resistance to capitalist discipline must be emphasized given the tendency in the US to see Africans either as helpless victims of government corruption and natural disasters or as protagonists of backward struggles revolving around tribal allegiances (a myth perpetrated by the Western media). In reality, from the fields to the factories, the markets and the schools, struggles are being carried on that not only are often unmatched for their combativeness by what takes place in the 'First World,' but are most 'modern' in content. Their objective is not the preservation of a mythical past but the redefinition of what development means for the proletariat: access to the wealth produced internationally, but not at the price capital puts on it." (Silvia Federici, "The Debt Crisis, Africa & the New Enclosures," *Red Balloon Magazine*, Winter-Spring 1992)

The US/UN intervention in Somalia exemplifies the new strategy for imperialism in the era of the New World Order, begun in Panama and continued in the war against Iraq. First, build up the local dictator (Noriega, Hussein, Barre) with weapons. Have them do your bidding against forces in the region hostile to US capital. Then, force them into IMF/World Bank/USAID "structural adjustment" programs which impoverish the country and produce famine. If they balk, or if popular resistance to the policies becomes so overwhelming that they can no longer effectively serve the puppet-masters, take them out and find some other lackey to rule. All the while, demonize the "enemy" in the all-pervasive media here at home, and sell the mission by inventing a humanitarian-sounding goal to rally liberals and undercut potential opposition.

CLR James's Worldview

people, pinned to the ground, and the flight they have achieved on the basketball court is an example of the new society within the shell of the old.

The task of freeing that new society from what inhibits it led James to a certain concept of organization. Contrary to what has often been asserted, James was absolutely committed to organization. He spent his whole life building organizations of one kind or another, from the International African Service Bureau to a sharecroppers' union in Missouri to marxist organizations in several countries. But the function of these organizations was not to lead the working class but to accomplish this or that specific task. James argued that, in industrial societies, where the very mechanism of capitalist production unites, disciplines, and organizes the working class, where people take for granted modern communications and mass movements, the idea that any self-perpetuating group of people can set itself up to lead the working class is reactionary and bankrupt. In

made enough strong alliances throughout the community, especially the Black community. This is something we intend to work on in the coming year. We want to build a solid activist "infrastructure" so that we can support each other's struggles more effectively. We also had to compete with two liberal events: a blue-grass fundraising concert for the Native Center, and a commercial Native American Pow-Wow up on Raccoon Mountain. Another mistake we made was not having some sort of flyer to hand out to folks explaining why we were in the streets. Oh

well, lessons well-learned. If anybody else noticed some problems please write and let us know—constructive criticism is always welcome!

The mini-conference went pretty well, all things considered. We decided to start on Saturday afternoon because some of the

Meanwhile, the death toll mounts. Two weeks before the 28,000 US troops arrived in Somalia, "well-armed" and "generously funded" Islamic fundamentalists were reported trying to "establish a stronghold for militant Islam," with the strongest group, Ittihad, making "significant inroads" in Somalia, Ethiopia and Kenya. (The Washington Post, quoted in *The Guardian*, Nov 22, 1992) Yet another facet of the New World Order's crusade is the beating back of Muslim fundamentalism, which serves as a base for opposition to capital's expansion much the same way that the Black church in the US served as a popular vehicle for resisting slavery.

Ironically, as resistance to US/UN troops in Somalia grows stronger, the country is becoming unified—not around a common central government working at the behest of the New World Order, but against a common oppressor who had been welcomed, once upon a time

folks from way off (Yankees!) needed to leave early on Sunday. The conference was a good place for anti-racist activists to get to know each other and share info.

We overwhelmingly rejected a proposal by the Detroit-based Revolutionary Workers' League (RWL) to launch a national coalition against racism. Most folks felt that anti-racist groups and activists are not sufficiently linked across North America. Some felt that the Chattanooga meeting was too small and totally lacking in diversity. Others simply did not want to enter into coalitions with a Trotskyist group.

The meeting resumed on Sunday and for reasons known to the participants, I was not fully able to participate. The feel I got from most activists was that a national coalition against racism would be a good thing in the future, but a lot more local organizing was necessary before it could be launched.

Overall, I felt it was a successful weekend and it showed the strength of Love and Rage to be able to mobilize activists around a specific action. It was also a great opportunity for us to get to know each other better and build friendships and trust. ★

not so long ago, with open arms in expectation of food and friendship, by people who instead found themselves receiving mostly bullets and intensified grief. And in Haiti, as well, they will soon be drawing those same lessons.

Complete citations available on request from Love and Rage or from the author at

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In modern society, whoever leads the working class keeps it subordinated to capital. A revolutionary crisis is defined precisely by the breakdown of the traditional institutions and leadership of the working class. James argued that it was among the sectors of society least touched by official institutions that relations characteristic of the new society would first appear. It is not the job of the conscious revolutionaries to "organize" the mass movements; that is the job of union functionaries and other bureaucrats. The job of the conscious revolutionaries is to organize themselves. For what?—to discover those patterns of activity and forms of organization which have sprung up out of the struggle and which embody the new society, and to help them grow stronger, more confident, and more conscious of their direction. It is an essential contribution to the society of disciplined spontaneity, which for James was the definition of the new world.

[Note: C.L.R. James's writings are available in a variety of editions. The most comprehensive list, with prices, can be obtained through Bewick Editions, Box 14140, Detroit, MI 48214.]★

Palestine

(Continued from front page)

fools" presented a threat to the widespread desire of European Jews to assimilate into the surrounding population. By the end of the 19th century, some Jewish intellectuals had concluded that assimilation was impossible. These early Zionists concluded that Jews could only "normalize" their social existence by building their own completely Jewish nation, occupying all levels and social classes in society. To accomplish this goal the Zionists went in search of "a land without people for a people without land." They found Palestine, a choice that presented them with several key advantages. In addition to the propaganda value of Jerusalem as a Jewish holy site, the Jewish settlers could count on the British mandate authorities in Palestine to provide an umbrella for their activities.

As everyone knows, however, Palestine was not without a people. The existence of the Palestinian Arabs forced the Zionists to confront the contradictions in their own thought. As a result, they split into two camps: Labor and Revisionist. Finding that the early Zionist settlers had reproduced colonial relations with Jews as capitalists and Arabs as laborers, the Labor Zionists called for the segregation of Jewish labor from Arab labor. Thus, all-Jewish labor unions were established, with boycotts used to pressure Jewish capitalists not to employ Arab labor. As one might expect, however, the ascendancy of Labor Zionism only meant the privileging of Jewish labor, not the abolition of Arab labor. Arabs still provided a cheap source of labor for dirty jobs that Jews were unwilling to do.

By the late '70s, Revisionism, Labor's historical antithesis, was gaining strength. The Revisionists have none of the naïveté of the Labor Zionists. They know their relations with the Palestinian Arabs were and are colonialist. Fed by the discontent of Jews of Arab origin, the poor whites of Israeli society, the Revisionist Likud party shed all pretenses of trying to "civilize" the natives. Likud's policy, both explicit and implicit, is to settle the lands occupied in 1967, and even expel more Palestinians to make room for Oriental (i.e. Middle Eastern) and Russian Jews. While the main beneficiaries of this policy are the poorer Jewish colonialists, the shock-troops in the settlements are American immigrants who realize their Jewish identity as Zionist colonialists on the West Bank.

Whichever form Zionism takes, it can never be democratic, nor can it solve the problem of Anti-Semitism since it reproduces a Jewish class separate from the Arab population. It bears the mark of its

colonial origins, and this mark can only be removed by the dissolution of the Jewish state. The current negotiations cannot and will not change these basic facts of life.

UPRISING AND RESISTANCE

The Palestinian Arabs have responded to the Zionist claims to a national state with claims of their own. A war was fought in the 1930s between Arabs on the one hand, and the British colonial administration with the help of the Zionists on the other. Ultimately, the Arabs were betrayed by their own backward leadership, both in Palestine and in the newly independent Arab states. With the partition of Palestine in 1948, the agony of the Palestinian Arabs began.

The revolutionary environment of the late 1960s saw the rise of a number of Palestinian guerrilla groups, but these groups, for all of their nationalist rhetoric, never succeeded in changing the fundamental basis of Zionist colonialism. The first real ray of hope came in December 1987 with the beginning of the Intifada, or Uprising.

From the beginning, the Intifada was associated with workers, as one might expect from the character of Zionist exploitation of the Arabs. The incident that sparked this spontaneous event was a car crash in which several Palestinian workers were killed by an Israeli motorist. The actual circumstances of the crash are unimportant; the symbolic importance of an Israeli going unpunished for causing the deaths of these Arab workers was enough to galvanize the Arab population into open revolt against the Israeli occupation forces.

The Intifada has taken a number of forms, the most famous of which has been the daily confrontations between stone-throwing youths and heavily armed Israeli soldiers. Perhaps more important, however, have been the alternative schools, hospitals, and other institutions established spontaneously by the population of the West Bank and Gaza. Arabs within Israel have also played an important role in stepping up resistance to the Zionist authorities.

The revolutionary character of the Intifada is in its ability to supersede all existing institutions and create an autonomous space for decision-making and action. The Intifada has given Palestinians a taste of freedom which they could not possibly have imagined under the normal conditions of occupation. They have discovered resources they never knew they had and questioned many things they took for granted.

With all of this success, one might ask, why sign a surrender document in Washington? The answer does not lie with the bureaucrats in Tunis, nor in the strength of the Israeli army. The Intifada occurred in Palestinian society due to its grave internal

contradictions. Colonialism has revolutionized Palestinian society, but simultaneously kept it from freely developing along national capitalist lines. The result is a society which is politicized to the core, but still stuck in traditional social forms. The hopeless squalor of Gaza produces revolutionary passion and reactionary fantasy. The "Israeli Arabs" are at once obsequious collaborators and potentially revolutionaries.

PALESTINE WITHOUT BORDERS

In the face of these contradictions, the existing political trends offer no solution. Zionism offers only imperialism and colonialism, its continued existence perpetuates the existence of Anti-Semitism and enslaves the Arab worker. The so-called "left wing" of the Palestinian movement is a historical relic. It still believes that the profound changes within Palestinian society can be articulated within a Third Worldist mishmash of Stalinism and national liberation.

Indeed, the Palestinians face a potentially more terrible fate. The main opponent to the peace agreement is the Islamic movement Hamas. Hamas thoroughly rejects any accommodation with Zionism and demands the establishment of an Islamic state in Palestine. Having learned nothing from history, Hamas seeks only to repeat it. It is clear that civil war looms on the horizon. At present, the Palestine Liberation Organization is being turned into the native auxiliaries of the Israeli army. These auxiliaries will be expected to protect Zionist colonialism from their own people.

Whatever comes of this treason, the Zionist leadership will win. If Arafat is victorious, they will have succeeded in getting the Palestinians to collaborate in their own colonization. If the agreement fails, the Revisionists will likely renew their call for the expulsion of the remaining Palestinian Arabs and the seizure of their land. They will use the failure of the "self-governing arrangement" to assuage international consciences for their atrocities.

There is and can only be one answer to these dilemmas: the creation of a Palestine without borders. It must be recognized that within Palestine there are two cultural groups, Arabic and Hebrew-speaking, but not two peoples. Any acknowledgment of a right to self-determination for the Hebrew-speaking culture constitutes a willingness to perpetuate Zionism with all of its historical characteristics. Palestinian Arabs must also realize that despite the historical justice of their claims, the Hebrew-speaking Palestinians, like the Boers of South

Africa, belong to their adopted homeland. It is not they who must be rejected, but rather the system of privilege which allows them to exploit the rest of the population.

This program is far too radical to be supported by the majority of the bourgeoisie of either group. The Arab workers must join with those Hebrew-speaking elements who are least infatuated with the notion of Jewish privilege, especially the Arab and Russian Jews. Only by representing an alternative vision of what is possible in Palestine can the old order be overthrown.

The Intifada, despite its recent betrayal by the Arab bourgeoisie, provides the model for further militancy. The Palestinian Arab workers must extend the Intifada to include Hebrew- and Russian-speaking workers and intellectuals. Now that the fallacies of separatist nationalism have been revealed in all their splendor the next step is to break down the racist boundaries that divide the Palestinian nation, Arab and Hebrew. From the taxi drivers of Jerusalem to the Russian doctors and Arab engineers who sweep the streets of Haifa, a new common society can be built.

A movement for a Palestine without borders must abolish all divisions between people. This means the dismantlement of internal borders that divide Jews from Arabs and external borders that keep the exiled population out. The right of return must be extended to all who wish to come to Palestine. Ultimately, the future of the peoples of the Middle East as a whole can only be ensured in a world without borders. Palestine can be the first step to the creation of such a new world. ★



Prison Labor

(Continued from page 2)

tary conquests, past and present, are well-documented. Perhaps less well known, though equally significant and well documented, is the Government's diversion of weapons and military equipment to serial killers disguised as heads of state. UNICOR's military production is part of an extensive pipeline that feeds the world's largest weapon exporter.

The US has made much of China's use of prison labor for textile and other exports to the US market. This is said to be a human rights abuse (i.e. that it cuts into the profits of US corporations). The latest controversy revolved around Christmas tree ornaments manufactured by Chinese prisoners and exported to the US. To my knowledge no one has ever been killed by an attack from a Christmas tree ornament, yet tons of military equipment for which US prisoners have provided essential components are exported to bomb, blast, and terrorize their ultimate recipients.

For me, being a revolutionary is the best way to live. Capture and imprisonment involve adjustments, but have not made me repentant for a life-time of anti-imperialism and struggle for justice. I was sent to Marion because of my political beliefs and associations and will likely remain here unless I repudiate them, which I will not do. For me to engage in the production of military equipment as a condition for transfer would be a repudiation of my political beliefs and principles. I will not do it.

Refusing to be an accomplice to US militarism is an act rooted deep in conscience and solidarity with those fighting US imperialism, and trying to survive its onslaught.

It is largely a symbolic act, yet necessary in confronting the collaborative nature of the system. During the recent attack against Lebanon by US-supplied Israeli forces every newspaper, magazine, and newsreel image of the subsequent atrocities—hundreds killed and wounded; hundreds of thousands made refugees—shows a steady movement of US manufactured weapons and equipment.

For the political prisoner, putting principles into practice may be largely symbolic, but demonstrating who we are and what we stand for is better than accommodating the government's agenda. It's important to remember that however small the resistance, someone always steps forward. The magnitude of crimes perpetuated by the US must be opposed, and this cannot be done without risk and sacrifice. The lack of an organized and wider resistance, though lamented, does not negate individual and small group action. History is replete with their examples and their corpses: from the White Rose activists who opposed fascism to the first and few guerrillas of the Sandinista Front for National Liberation; from John Brown to the Industrial Workers of the World who were sent to prison in droves; to Malcolm X and the indomitable George Jackson. For each of them there are the countless unnamed. The only reward short of victory is the sustenance obtained from the spirit of resistance.

It is not a decision made without consequences. The government and Bureau of Prisons' iron fist gives no quarter to revolutionaries, rebels, and dissenters. It's part of Marion's mission to destroy an individual's identity and community ties. One warden stated that "The purpose of Marion is to control revolutionary attitudes in the prison system and society at large." Rather overstated from a bureau-

cratic windbag, but the fact remains that Marion is repression personified in a social experiment. Any outward indication that a prisoner does not conform to Marion's dictates and he is condemned to incessant isolation. For the transgressor there will be no relief—no step closer to personal freedom; no embrace of family and loved ones, no access to expanded work, education, or recreational opportunities; no shot at parole. Added to the burden is the public's indifference and the response of the liberal left, who view prisoners with contempt and political prisoners with hostility.

Yet, through all the years and for all its evil ways, Marion has not destroyed me. All that can destroy me are guards, medical neglect, or a prisoner that doesn't have his head screwed on right. There's an axiom here which declares that all who enter these walls will eat much shit before leaving. It's inherent in Marion's mission. But eating shit is qualitatively different than producing war matériel that's used to put someone else in their grave. Someone else who also experiences a steady diet of oppression. Someone who does me no harm.

It's been 26 years since I moved as a soldier among the Vietnamese people, with rifle in hand, desecrating their land and seeing the ill, the infirm, wounded and dying of those I was assigned to enlighten—or light up—about the virtues of US imperialism. After my discharge, I joined Viet Nam Veterans Against the War, a group of conscience-ridden and war-weary vets who rejuvenated a lethargic anti-war movement when the US bombing of Viet Nam was at its extreme. Overlapping with Viet Nam was the war in Amerika's streets, fought in places like Newark, Detroit, Pine Ridge, Attica, Humbolt Park, and East L.A. Within this war were internecine battles

provoked by police spies and provocateurs and the rapid proliferation of snitches in a drug-saturated, me-first society. And beyond S.E. Asia, US wars of intervention left their bloody footprints in Chile, Argentina, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Angola, South Africa, Cuba and Puerto Rico, to name but a few. As in Viet Nam, the victims are mostly civilians.

Always at war, as the world's policeman, this omnipotent and ubiquitous United States military is charged with enforcing capitalism's code of conduct. Troops were mobilized during the rebellion in Los Angeles. Troops are deployed in Somalia where they now stand accused of human rights violations by humanitarian relief agencies and the Somali people themselves.

Viet Nam changed my view of liberation to mean a constant and protracted struggle against those forces that impose their will on others for power and profit. Freedom is the ultimate expression and condition of a people who control their own destiny. Once before, the government put me in uniform and used me for military purposes. Being young and naive was no excuse for my complicity. They'll not do it again.

Write to:

**Raymond Luc Levasseur 10376/016
Box 1000
Marion, IL 62959**

Note: Without outside intervention, Ray and other political prisoners are to be shipped to a new sensory-deprivation prison being built under a cloak of secrecy in Florence, Colorado. For more information about combatting the spreading of control-unit prisons, write:

**Committee to End the Marion Lockdown
POB 578172
Chicago, IL 60657-8172**

*—from Friends of Political Prisoners,
Madison, WI*