

Las Elecciones, Fraude y los Zapatistas

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LOVE AND RAGE

A REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHIST
NEWSPAPER

In This Issue:
★ The Christian Right
★ Mexican Elections and
Oct. 8 EZLN Communique
★ Revolutionizing Gender
and lots more

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The US and Haiti: Friend or Foe?



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Friend or foe? A Historical Look at the US vs. the People of Haiti

BY MITCHEL COHEN

Hardly a day goes by at the US Navy base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, without some kind of demonstration by the 14,000 Haitian refugees interned behind barbed wire fences and armed guards. Whether singing for the return of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide (who was overthrown by a US-funded military coup in 1991 eight months after winning election with 67 percent of the popular vote), chanting against the inhumane and crowded conditions, wearing white to symbolize their demand for political asylum, or escaping from the camps en masse and trying to swim away from the brutalities of the US military into Cuba proper, the refugees are now in a constant state of rebellion.

On September 6, refugees stormed the fences, hurling rocks at guards and managed to break free of the confines of the base for a short while before being recaptured. On August 22, some 1,000 people broke out of two of the seven internment camps and marched to the center of the base protesting the better treatment given to Cubans and demanding political asylum and the return of President Aristide. Instead of negotiating, the military imprisoned 736 demonstrators in isolated barracks for four days. On the morning of August 13, more than a thousand refugees at several camps began demonstrating against the living conditions and continued imprisonment. Singing and chanting slogans, at least 120 refugees, perhaps as many as 300, escaped from one camp. They climbed over the rows of razor wire fences, dove into Guantánamo Bay, and tried to swim to freedom in Cuba. Some of the refugees clashed with armed soldiers in full riot gear. Twenty troops and 45 refugees were injured. Military officials locked up 330 people who took part in the protests.

That the men, women and children interned at Guantánamo since late June feel compelled to assert their humanity should come as no surprise. Haitian refugees have been brutalized and imprisoned for decades by the US government. Just last year a federal judge ordered Guantánamo closed because of the "outrageous, callous and reprehensible" treatment of some 300 refugees imprisoned for nearly two years because they, or one of their family members, tested positive for HIV. The judge's ruling followed a campaign by the refugees themselves, AIDS and anti-intervention activists, Haitian groups, students and legal workers to shut the camp.

While other countries around the world regularly accept refugees, Washington decided that the 20,000 people who fled the terror of Haiti in June and July were too much to handle. (Malawi, for instance, one of the poorest countries in the world, took

in more than one million Mozambicans in the late 1980s.) So the Clinton administration re-opened Guantánamo as an internment camp and dumped the Haitian refugees on the inhospitable tarmac of a disused airfield.

In fact, of the 24,000 Haitians intercepted in international waters by the US Coast Guard from 1981 until Aristide came to office, only eleven (out of 24,000!) were granted asylum; the rest were shipped back. (By comparison, 75,000 Cuban refugees were picked up in that same period. All 75,000 were granted immediate asylum.)

FLASHBACK

It was late Spring, 1939. Hitler's armies had for two years already begun their conquests. All over Germany the gestapo were rounding up Jews and hauling them off to concentration camps.

Anti-fascists in the US lobbied the government to raise immigration quotas in order to let in Jews fleeing fascism, to no avail. Too many powerful US corporations and businessmen supported the nazis; they found the economic climate within Germany good for business and liked the idea of Germany



Haitian refugees

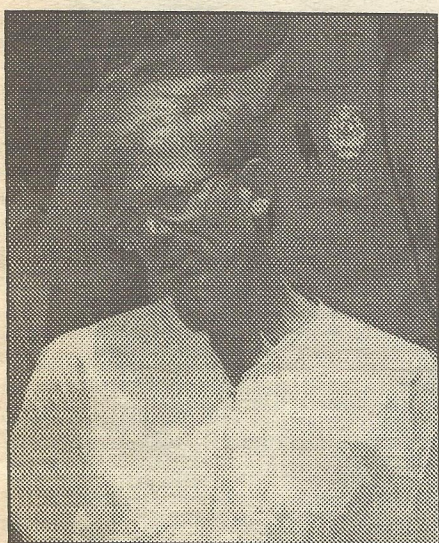
As if that was not enough, US officials harass the refugees in a bid to get "voluntary repatriations" back to Haiti. They've hired interpreters with long-standing ties to the Tonton Macoute death squads to terrorize the refugees, and keep them under control. The food is rancid, health care facilities are poor, and people have no clothes or shoes. Refugees who demand better conditions are denied food or arrested and placed in steel 5 x 6 foot cages. To further isolate the refugees and hide the problems at the base the military has barred outside communication, including contact with families in the US or Haiti. (By contrast, the names of the Cubans at Guantánamo have been published in the *Miami Herald* so that relatives can get in touch.) In letters smuggled out of the camps, refugees report rapes, as well as sexual blackmail and harassment by US soldiers. As one US soldier said to the *New York Times* (Aug. 30, 1994): "I hate them. It's like I'm in a concentration camp." Too bad he doesn't consider how the refugees must feel.

fighting a war against the Soviet Union. The billionaire and extremely anti-Jewish DuPont family of Wilmington, Delaware plotted a coup against the presidency to prevent the US from opposing the nazis. President Franklin Roosevelt bowed to their pressure and refused to increase the quotas, just as he refused to allow aid shipments to the loyalists fighting fascism in Spain.

In early June of 1939, a ship, the *SS St. Louis*, was intercepted by the Coast Guard and prevented from docking. On board were more than 930 Jewish refugees. They were not allowed to disembark in the US. The ship was forced to turn around. Jews were considered the scum of the Earth, pawns in an international power play. No one wanted them. Following the US's lead, country after country rejected the ship's human cargo. In fact, in those years, only Serbia, alone among the so-called civilized nations, welcomed Jewish refugees while Croatia fought alongside the nazis, which is of no small consequence in weighing the civil war raging today in Yugoslavia. With no place to dock, the *SS St. Louis* was forced back to Europe. Many of the refugees later died in nazi concentration camps.

The first wave of refugees from Haiti began with the arrival of the boat *Saint Saviour* on December 12, 1972. From the start Haitians, who were fleeing the brutal Duvalier dictatorship whose family had run Haiti for 30 years with the financial and military assistance of the US, were treated differently than the mostly white Cubans, who flooded into Florida, New Jersey and New York in much greater numbers beginning in the late 1950s. The refugees were met by charges in the US press that "Black Haitians" would be taking away "American" jobs, going on welfare and sapping "our" resources. No one talked about the role of the US in creating the conditions forcing people to flee. We heard much of the need to pay off the compounded interest on the debt to the banks, welfare for the rich, but the debt that we in the US owe to colonized people around the world for their sacrifices and exploitation on which our wealth is built has never been much of an issue.

The island of Hispaniola, of which Haiti now occupies the western half, has its own long history, before being divided by European powers. It was there that Christopher Columbus traveled after first setting ashore in the Bahamas in 1492. There, the native peoples, the Arawak, discovered Columbus on their beach as he claimed the land in the name of Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand of Spain, who, suffering a delightful day murdering Jews at the Inquisition,



Paul Hill killed a doctor and clinic escort.

Armies of Repression: The FBI, COINTELPRO and Far Right Vigilante Networks

BY TOM BURGHARDT, BACORR-NORTH

Over the years, our approach to investigative problems in the intelligence field has given rise to a number of new programs, some of which have been most revolutionary, and it can be assumed that with a continued aggressive approach to these problems, new and productive ideas will be forthcoming. These ideas will not be increased in number or improved upon from the standpoint of accomplishments merely through the institution of a program such as COINTELPRO which is given another name, and which in fact, only encompasses everything that has been done or will be done in the future.

— J. Edgar Hoover, FBI Director: Memorandum, July 15, 1964

COINTELPRO AND THE FAR-RIGHT: THE POLITICAL CONTEXT OF ANTI-CHOICE VIOLENCE

Now that the Christian right's anti-abortion "national cultural and holy war" has evolved into a campaign of arson, murder and terror, mainstream "feminist" groups tied to the capitalist Democratic Party—the National Organization for Women (NOW), National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL), and the Feminist Majority Foundation—are demanding that the FBI investigate anti-choice violence.

In the wake of Rev. Paul Hill's assassination of Dr. John Bayard Britton, clinic escort James Barrett, and the wounding of clinic escort June Barrett on July 29 in

(Continued to page 11)

The Dictatorship of the Vote

BUSINESS AS USUAL IN THE MEXICAN ELECTIONS

BY GUSTAVO RODRIGUEZ

Only a few hours after the elections were over, the various political tendencies conceded to the Institutional Revolutionary Party [PRI, the party which has held power in México for over 65 years—trans.], with just under 50% of the vote. They were followed by the National Action Party [PAN, conservative challengers—trans.] and the Democratic Revolutionary Party [PRD, which the capitalist press calls the "center-left" party, an outgrowth of the PRI—trans.], with very little difference in the polls.

It is indisputable that there was fraud. There has always been and there will always be fraud, only this time the fraud was not the usual theft and alteration of ballots (although we did still see these practices that many had thought were overcome). This time, it was a matter of cybernetic fraud. Now, things were much more centered on the manipulation of the voting public by means of computerized technology.

The old practices of the "carousel," the "full car" and the "pregnant ballot box" [practices whereby people vote more than once or votes are added to the boxes, common in previous Mexican elections—trans.]



were surpassed this time by technology: the corner telephone, feeding by electronic mail, and the secret computers that favored Zedillo [candidate for the PRI]. In addition, there was a shortage of ballots at the special polling booths—an incredible blow that was dealt to the opposition parties—and there was substitution of officials at polling booths.

But the great victory of the dictator party (now with Zedillo at its head) was not due

to the usual fraud. It was not due to the enormous resources of the PRI-government, the access to public funds, the workers threatened with being fired, the thousands of electoral violations committed by the municipal presidents, governors and federal and public functionaries. It was not due to the power of the broadcast mass media

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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 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, and publishes an internal discussion bulletin in New York City, in addition to supporting various actions and campaigns.

Major decisions and overall policies of the Federation are set by an annual conference, or between conferences by the Federation Council.

Ongoing debates and discussions within the Federation as well as timely information can be found in the monthly *Federation Bulletin*, produced in NYC.

The Federation is not a closed circle of friends. You can join the Federation and participate fully in the decision-making process. 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. Please contact us.

At our recent Conference we moved our Federation Office to Albuquerque, New Mexico. The compañeros in Albuquerque have not yet got a post office box. Until next issue, you can address correspondence regarding Federation business, membership, etc. to the New York City address, or call the NYC phone number to find out whether the Albuquerque group has got a PO box yet.

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Boring Disclaimer

Yo, the stuff we print does not necessarily represent the opinions of the Federation or of any member of the Federation. We print lots of things for lots of reasons. Sometimes we print articles we don't agree with, because we believe that they are interesting or provocative. Got it?

Editorial Policy

We encourage you to submit material for publication. Shorter articles are more likely to be printed. 1750 words, a full newspaper page, is a long article. Submissions may be edited. Please include a phone number and address or internet e-mail address so the PG can consult you on editing. Articles not printed may be sent to our internal bulletin unless otherwise noted. All letters will be considered for publication unless there is a 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. 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 ongoing revision of our ideas as a necessary part of any revolutionary process.

Zapatistas Prepared for War: October 8 Communique

Communique from the Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee-General Command of the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN).

México. October 8, 1994

To the people of México:

To the peoples and governments of the world:

To the national and international press:

Brothers and sisters:

The Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee-General Command of the EZLN declares the following:

First: The Federal Army has continued deploying troops in the conflict zone. It has continued its patrols with armored vehicles, entering Zapatista territory. It has continued with its low-flying over-flights by combat aircraft. In the last few days, the garrisons in Altamirano, Las Margaritas and Ocosingo have been reinforced with troops and military fortifications. Dozens of armored vehicles have been sent to Tuxtla Gutierrez and to San Cristóbal de las Casas. Low-flying over flights by combat aircraft of the Federal Army continued during the month of September. Day and night, in the municipalities of Las Margaritas and Ocosingo, the constant over-flights by aircraft seek to intimidate and provoke an armed clash. During the night of October the 7th and the day of October the 8th these threatening over-flights continued.

Second: The soldiers stationed in the municipal capitals of Ocosingo, Altamirano and Las Margaritas are openly preparing themselves for combat, and amongst the troops there are rumors of an imminent attack.

Third: The recent evictions of occupied lands in the state [of Chiapas—translator] have been a show of force, and women and children have been beaten, arrested and tor-

tured—peasants whose only crime is not having land to cultivate. The government has chosen to favor a repression that benefits the powerful instead of a dialogue that would benefit the dispossessed.

Fourth: The peaceful civil demonstrations by our indigenous brothers and sisters throughout the Republic have been answered with repression and intolerance. The repression against our indigenous brothers and sisters in Guerrero deserves special mention.

Fifth: The organizations of ranchers and businessmen continue with their belligerence, threatening and assaulting those who are seeking a dignified peace in Chiapas. We have proof of the participation of members of the public security forces of the state of Michoacán in the training of the ranchers' "white guards." The so-called "civic fronts" have been reactivated by Mr. Robledo Rincón for the purpose of stopping the peaceful civil mobilizations of the Chiapaneco people against the imposition of Rincón as governor.

Sixth: The recent political crime perpetrated against the Secretary General of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI)—a crime whose source should be sought within the government's own ranks—is a murderous response to the democratic impulses in the country.

Seventh: The self-proclaimed "Presidential Spokesperson for the Fulfillment of the Peace Accords in Chiapas," sought to provoke our troops by entering Zapatista territory in a helicopter of the IMSS [Mexican Social Security Institute—translator] and uselessly trying to encourage a division amongst the Zapatista population with government handouts. The renowned "spokesperson" sought to provoke our troops to attack his helicopter in order to justify the breaking of the cease-fire by Federal troops.

Eighth: The Ministry of Health, by means of

their local agencies, has started to remove equipment and personnel that were stationed—under the flag of the International Committee of the Red Cross—in the cease-fire zone of San Miguel, in the municipality of Ocosingo. When he was questioned by the local population, the person in charge of removing the equipment said that he "had orders to remove all the equipment because it's known that Federal troops are going to attack at any moment and all the equipment would be lost."

Ninth: Therefore, in order to respond to these provocations, so as not to be an accomplice to the deceit that the government of Salinas de Gortari is carrying out, so as not to endorse the culture of political crime that characterizes the current government, and in order to reaffirm its commitment to the struggle against fraud and imposition, the Zapatista National Liberation Army has decided to break off the dialogue with the supreme government. Salinas de Gortari has done everything possible and necessary to suspend the dialogue. Since March, 1994 there hasn't been any willingness on the part of the government to resolve the problem. By breaking off the dialogue, the EZLN formalizes the current reality: there is no willingness on the part of the government to seek a peaceful solution.

Tenth: Zapatista troops have finished mining all land access to rebel territory and anti-aircraft units have been deployed. We are ready.

Eleventh: While there is no real willingness to dialogue, and until the necessary conditions are met, the EZLN will not resume talks to find a peaceful solution to the conflict.

Freedom!

Justice!

Democracy!

Respectfully,

>From the mountains of Southeast México. Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee-General Command of the EZLN. México. October, 1994. ★

Oct. 8 Letter from Subcomandante Marcos

To the national magazine *Proceso*:

To the national newspaper *La Jornada*:

To the national newspaper *El Financiero*:

To the local newspaper in San Cristóbal de las Casas *Tiempo*:

Sirs:

I don't know why they say that México has changed, that now nothing is the same, that a new democratic era has begun for the country. I don't know about there, but here everything is the same. The PRI perjures itself and swears (after the disgraceful fraud) that it won fairly. Ranchers and businessmen join in, saying that they "respect the will of the people"—in other words they are saying that they only respect their own will. The Catholic Church is an accomplice (to the fraud). The indigenous peasants know that the PRI didn't

win fairly. They aren't going to endure another PRI governor. They know that a traitor to his own blood can't be allowed to govern.

Little by little the Chiapaneco world is beginning to divide. The wind from above assumes its old forms of arrogance and haughtiness. The police and the Federal Army close ranks around money and corruption. The wind from below once again travels the ravines and valleys; it is beginning to blow strongly. There will be a storm.

We are in the same situation that existed in December of 1993; the country is living in a euphoria of high economic indicators, political stability, promises of better times for ordinary citizens, and promises of continued stability for powerful citizens. In Chiapas there is a PRI government that is said to have "popular support." The country

is calm. Everyone is calm...and then the first hour of January First...Enough already! No? OK. I wish you health and hope you have a little understanding for what's coming.

>From the mountains of Southeastern México. Insurgent Subcomandante Marcos

P.S. Ana María tells me that "the water is rising in the mountain streams." I look worriedly at the greyness that is stretched across the horizon. She adds, "If it doesn't stop raining, those streams are going to run as they never have before." She goes off to check the guards. "As they never have before," I mutter. I light my pipe. The elder Antonio approaches me and asks for a light for his cigarette. I shelter the lighter's flame with my hands. I can just see, in that brief light, that Antonio is crying. Ana María returns. She comes to attention and reports. Then she asks, "The troops are ready. What are we going to do?" I look once again at the greyness that is spreading across the sky and dominating the night. I answer her with a sigh, "We wait. We wait..."

P.P.S. One of the mysteries of Eztaelene is uncovered. A lively and violent wind, sweet and bitter, blows a paper to the feet of an indigenous peasant. On the paper one can read: "Declaration of Principles of the EZLN." "A certain dose of tenderness is necessary in order to walk when there is so much against you, in order to awaken when you're so exhausted. A certain dose of tenderness is necessary in order to see, in this darkness, a small ray of light in order to make order from shame and obligations. A certain dose of tenderness is necessary in order to get rid of all of the sons of bitches that exist. But sometimes a certain dose of tenderness is not enough and it's necessary to add...a certain dose of bullets."

Mexican Elections

(Continued from page 1)

(especially TV), sold-out and handed to the system. NO, A THOUSAND TIMES, NO! The great victory of the state party was due to the complicity of the so-called "opposition"; to the treachery of all those who put out the call to vote; to the treachery of all of those individuals, organizations, and parties who called for "electoral struggle" and for "ballots, not bullets"; it is due to those who mediated and destroyed a possible social revolution that had never been possible. It is they and those who reaffirmed the system through the dictatorship of the vote who bear the responsibility for the great victory of the state party.

They wanted society to speak up. Who now can say that it hasn't? Only now many don't want to know what it has said. ★



All the Dictator's Men

BY MITCHEL COHEN

1. RUDOLPH GIULIANI

In April 1982, a class action lawsuit filed by the Miami-based Haitian Refugee Center seeking the release of 2,100 Haitian refugees interdicted at sea came to trial.

Arguing the government's case against releasing the refugees and urging their "repatriation," another squeaky clean word, assiduously scrubbed so that no blood leaks, was the Associate Attorney General of the United States at the time, Rudolph Giuliani. Giuliani, the man who would a decade later become Mayor of New York City, home to tens of thousands of Haitian immigrants, argued that repression in Haiti "simply does not exist now." The refugees, Giuliani contended, had nothing to fear from the friendly government of Jean-Claude Duvalier. Giuliani based this conclusion on a visit to Haiti two weeks earlier, where he met with Duvalier. The dictator had "personally assured" him, he said, that Haitians returning home from the United States were not persecuted. "Political repression is not the major reason for leaving Haiti," Giuliani concluded.

Eight years earlier James Simms, head of the Haiti desk at the Department of State, had cited this same script word-for-word to justify US policy at that time. Giuliani had memorized his lines well.

According to attorney Arthur Helton, the Director of Immigrant Programs at the Open Society Institute in New York, Giuliani was "the key implementer and an ardent defender of the policy to return the refugees to Haiti." In court (and, earlier, in testimony before Congress), Giuliani claimed that there was no persecution in Haiti and all was fine and proper there. As Helton explains, "It is extremely unusual for such a high-ranking official as Giuliani, who was the top Justice Department official with a specific brief on immigration issues at that time, to personally argue such a case before the 11th Circuit Court."

How is it possible that Giuliani, the Number 3 man at the Department of Justice and a federal prosecutor of some repute and energy, could not be aware of the true situation? Had he not read the papers of the period, nor the statements of hundreds of Haitians who reported being tortured and family members murdered before their eyes? Why didn't he take their depositions and investigate their stories? Clearly, Giuliani latched onto the Haitian dictator's "personal assurance" to cover the atrocities of the policy he espoused.

Upon return from his visit to Haiti, did he apprise the Department of Justice of the Duvalier government's pimping of Haitian slaves to sugar magnates in the Dominican Republic, for which Duvalier was paid a tax of \$1 per slave per day, a slave trade that Giuliani's beloved interdiction policy had the effect of enforcing because it prevented slaves from escaping by sea? Why did Giuliani fail to contact Amnesty International, the Haitian Refugee Center or any of the other human rights groups which had documented hundreds of cases of political repression and torture in Haiti? Are we to believe that Giuliani, the lawyer and government representative, was unaware of the lawsuit filed by Amnesty International on behalf of 10 Haitian trade union leaders who had been locked up and tortured in Fort Dimanche, the headquarters of the Tontons Macoutes death squads, without trial for three years already, at that point? Hundreds of similarly horrible tales of abuse, torture, imprisonment and murder were available, publicized, and matters of public record.

But Giuliani had his own agenda. He was not serving Truth or Freedom but a different master, with different interests. For him, Freedom was only legitimate in so far as it served higher authority, not valid in itself as the *raison d'être* of human existence and community. As Giuliani later philosophized, "Freedom is not a concept in which people can do anything they want, be anything they can be. Freedom is about authority. Freedom is about the willingness of every single human being to cede to lawful authority a great deal of discretion about

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Haiti

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salivated at the promises of gold, plunder and conquest Columbus dangled before them and so funded Columbus's venture.

ENTER THE IMF, INTERNATIONAL MOTHER-FUCKERS

Modern day imperialists are more sophisticated. They kill with their wallets, creating huge swaths of poverty and famine that appear to be "natural" and beyond human control. Exploitation and land enclosure, not genocide (except in occasional circumstances), is their ambition. So in 1981, when the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank instituted a new "structural adjustment program" for Haiti, none of Columbus's language was evident. But the results were the same.

This particular structural adjustment program was designed to uproot one-third of the rural population growing food for local consumption and to force the peasants off their land and into urban areas, lands which their families had cultivated for hundreds of years and which had sustained them. These lands were to be turned over to agribusiness conglomerates producing export crops, forcing the migration of the rural population to urban areas, a mass rip-off enforced by the "newly-trained" Haitian military. Thousands of impoverished, hungry and persecuted Haitians boarded leaky boats and fled, attempting to cross the harsh 800-mile passage to Florida.

Far from being unanticipated, the mass migration was exactly what US/UN strategists had planned. Through "international" organizations such as US Agency for International Development (USAID), the IMF and the World Bank, Haitian agriculture was to be intensely corporatized and made dependent on exports to US markets; and the displaced and desperate rural population would serve directly as cheap laborers in Florida and Haiti and as a "reserve army of labor" to be used by capitalists and large landowners to drive down wage demands and unionizing efforts of American, Haitian and Dominican workers.

All of this was made possible, of course, by prior US intervention. The US intervened militarily in Haiti 24 times in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Even before developing the capacity to "structurally adjust" Haiti's economy to the requirements of US capital, various US administrations took pains to establish US military might in the region, which would ensure ongoing and future economic exploitation. The government planned a military base for Mole St. Nicholas, at the northwestern tip of Haiti overlooking the Windward Passage. It established a military base across the northern end of the passage in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. (Cuba, along with the Philippines and Puerto Rico, was itself part of the plunder taken by the US in the 1898 Spanish-American War.)

In July 1915, the US dispatched thousands of Marines to Haiti. The military occupation lasted 19 years and treated the Haitians with utter brutality and racism, introducing coordinated air-ground bombings into modern warfare. The Haitian patriotic resistance, known as the *Cacos*, was crushed. US soldiers assassinated its leaders, including Dr. Rosalvo Bobo, Charlemagne Peralte and Benoit Batraville.

US Assistant Secretary of State William Phillips described the Haitians as "an inferior

people [unable to] maintain the degree of civilization left them by the French or to develop any capacity of self-government entitling them to international respect and confidence." Smedley Butler, a US Marine Corps Major at the time, prided himself in having "hunted the Cacos like pigs." (Years later, Butler would become Commandant of the Marine Corps and, after reconsidering the role of the US in world affairs and in repressing Haitians, among others, he became an ardent opponent of US imperialism. In fact it was Butler who, selected by the DuPonts to lead a fascist coup to overthrow the US government, immediately reported the plot and turned in the conspiracy to the US Congress.)

During the Marines' occupation of Haiti, thousands of peasants were jailed, tortured and maimed. US forces killed as many as 50,000 Haitians and disarmed the majority of its citizens while establishing a new Haitian police force and army to oversee corporate interests in that country and repress the popular movement.

The US occupation laid the foundation for a century of political and economic domination of Haiti. US capitalists seized control of Haiti's banks. US officials changed a 100-year-old Haitian law that prevented foreign ownership of land and began seizing hundreds of thousands of acres, throwing thou-



sands of people off the land. They legalized the land grab and exploitation by writing it into a new constitution. The occupying army reinstated the *corvée*, the hated system of forced labor, and chopped down the forests to construct a road through central Haiti, so that the new plantations could bring their products to port and export them to the US. The US officials censored the press and arrested political dissidents, trying them in military courts. Many were executed.

FREEDOM'S JUST ANOTHER WORD FOR NOTHING LEFT TO LOOT

Every economic intervention by the United States is accompanied by political repression. In recent times this dirty truism has been sanitized by the sterile language of the "free market." "Intervention" itself is such a clean word. It conjures up images of expert jewelers

tinkering just slightly with some high-class Swiss watch in need of fine tuning, "adjusting" some malfunctioning mechanism, "professionalizing" the military and "democratizing" civil society to set things right. With "intervention" we hardly feel the upheavals it causes in people's lives, the long fingers of imperialism reaching up through the ancient dust, the blood-soaked memories that leak through daily life and permeate all interaction and relationships, but rarely reach the boardrooms of General Electric, Capitol Cities, or the Tisch real estate empire, the owners of the NBC, ABC and CBS networks respectively.

Every American "intervention" in Haiti has taken place in collusion with the Haitian bourgeoisie and big landowners while keeping Haiti in poverty, illiterate and under a perpetual reign of terror in order to extract millions in profits and maintain economic and political control. Consequently, the distinction made by the government between political and economic refugees is, in Haiti's case (as well as in many others), purely a ruse to hide the consequences of the US's own policy, which, when it comes to the government's own actions does not distinguish between economic and political, and the earthquakes it causes in people's lives.

In the early 1970s and again beginning in 1981, new US policy decisions created

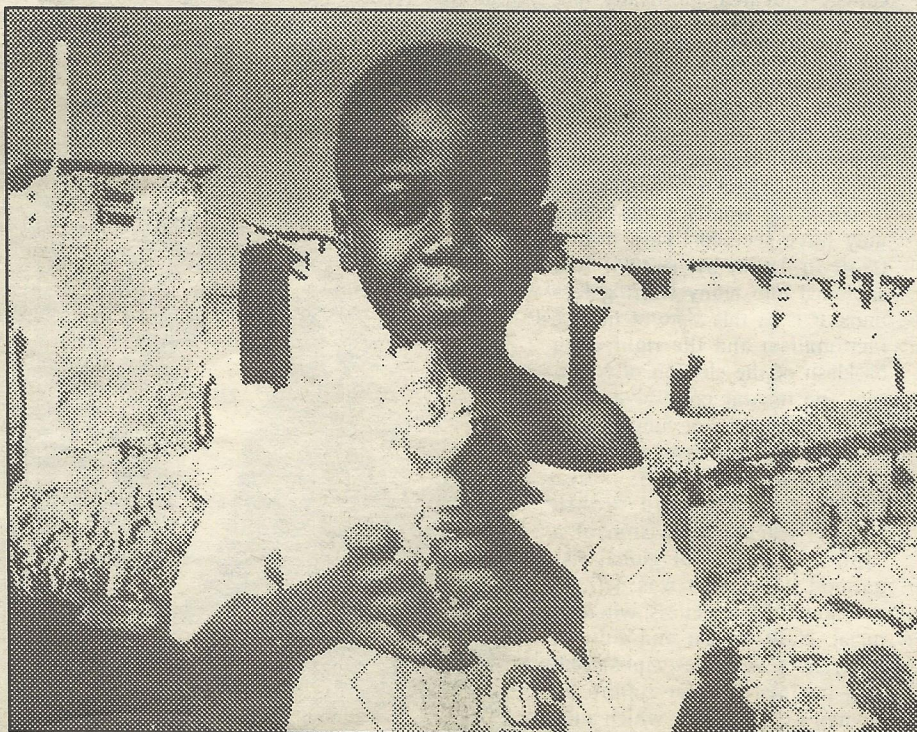
conditions in Haiti that caused thousands of Haitians to take to the sea. The US, already amassing immigrant laborers from Southeast Asia, México, El Salvador and other consequent victims of US imperial wars, and controlled by the new Reagan-Bush government (which spearheaded a sector of capital competing with the mostly banking and petroleum-based Trilateralists, who have different strategic interests), intensified rounding up the refugees.

As with the 1939 boatload of Jews from Nazi Germany (some things never change!), the US refused to grant the new wave of "boat people," as they were then called, safe haven. While the Jewish refugees were refused entry and turned away, the Haitian situation is even more despicable: they are being incarcerated in detention camps run by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), and then deposited directly into the arms of the very fascists they had fled.

AN UNHOLY ALLIANCE

Despite the repression at Guantánamo, people living in the United States have heard little about what is happening. Of course, the Clinton administration has tried to isolate the refugees from the outside world. But just as important, many organizations that claim to advocate for refugees support the Clinton administration's ludicrously named policy of "safe haven." The American Immigration Lawyers Association, the American Jewish Committee, Church World Service, the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, the National Immigration Forum, TransAfrica, and the US Committee for Refugees, among others, endorse capturing Haitian refugees in international waters and taking them to a prison. "We strongly support the safe haven policy," says the National Coalition for Haitian Refugees. Safe Haven is "a human response to a very difficult problem," argues Archbishop McCarrick, the head of the US Catholic Bishops' Migration and Refugee Service.

For seven months of President Aristide's tenure, there were no Haitians applying for political asylum in the United States. Since



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POLITICIZING GENDER: moving toward revolutionary gender politics

BY CAROLYN

The ongoing challenge in feminist discourse over social constructionist versus biological determinist views of gender often remove us from the people feminists would hope to liberate. In writing a critical analysis of the issues involved, it's important for me to locate myself in relation to a politic born of my own contradictions and necessities. As a 26 year old transgender woman I did not come upon these issues solely as a feminist and anarchist. My gender politics developed from my personal struggles starting at an early age. As I grew to recognize the painful disparity between my self-identification as a young girl, then a woman and my socialized identity as a boy, I began challenging gender. Articulating my identity has not been easy. Coming to understand my gender identity has led me to undertake the process of a sex-change. This ongoing process has been augmented by other factors including my economic status. I recognize my white, middle-class and "male" privileges, even while I have lived with a great dissonance of being invisible as a woman-passing as a boy. Gender is imposed. Claiming a biological foundation, gender categories serve to limit freedom. In this sense none of us have any choice.

It is important for me to confront the differences and similarities between myself and other women. It's essential that we don't ignore our uniqueness nor rank our oppression. Acknowledging the specific nature of the oppression transgender people face, we can begin to deal with oppression

tion in my hopes of forging a common language of liberation with all gender outlaws. Transgender identity indicates a refusal to separate transsexuals from bulldaggers, transvestites, drag kings, drag queens, femmes, intersexes, androgynies, gender-fucks and those who refuse all stated categories. However, this position is not necessarily widely held in these communities.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION: WHAT KIND OF REVOLUTION?

The second wave of feminism emerged out of the civil rights and anti-war movements in the late 1960s. Women began to recognize their oppressed status and talk, originally in consciousness-raising groups, about how they were oppressed. Growing out of other radical movements, these early radical feminists tended to be anti-capitalist and to look toward revolutionary strategies for the liberation of all women. Gender was understood as oppressive because it created artificially constructed roles of feminine and masculine to legitimate male supremacy. The destruction of capitalism was not enough, since capitalism only buttressed male supremacy. Different groups of women sought different strategies. Aspects of gender essentialist politics had been with the movement since its inception, but it was only around 1973 that cultural feminism became the dominant form of feminism. Alice Echols has argued that as the "possibilities for radical structural change seemed remote," feminism began to be reinterpreted as the "female principle."



Gender Outlaw at the Michigan Womyn's Festival

generosity, speaking of revolution was to risk being considered "male-identified."

Conversely, radical feminists, like Ann Snitow and Pat Parker, beginning in 1967 had recognized the material basis of women's oppression in capitalism and male supremacy. Sexism was viewed as a psychological condition and men were the enemy only so long as they were complicit in the past and present oppression of women. Radical feminists thus adopted parts of the methodology of Marxists and the left, while critiquing them for not addressing women's issues comprehensively. For cultural feminists, the left, along with all things male, was a contaminating influence. This led women to policing one another to reject "male" political categories and solutions.

The cultural feminists argued that there are innate and immutable differences between women and men. Regardless of whether they stem from the totality of women's history, socialization or biological factors, they argued, these differences should be valued, preserved and protected. All men or those deemed "male-identified" are considered equally oppressive (non-sexist behavior notwithstanding). This has included: Butch and femme lesbians, S/M dykes, pro-pornography feminists, sex workers, transvestites, transsexuals, revolutionary and anti-imperialist women. Such was the case of Jane Alpert.

GENDER ESSENTIALISM: REACTIONARY FEMINISM

Alpert was an anti-war activist and member of an independent collective committed to armed struggle in 1969. After being caught, along with three others, including her lover Sam Melville, Alpert jumped bail and went underground. Soon afterward Alpert joined the Weather Underground Organization (WUO), a group of mostly white revolutionary anti-imperialists. Soon Alpert left the WUO. It



was then that she wrote the widely read and influential essay "Mother Right: A New Feminist Theory," considered a ground-breaking work of cultural feminist theory.

In it, Alpert attacks all leftist revolutionary politics for their inherent maleness, details the sexism in the WUO, and describes intimacies relating to her lover, Sam Melville, who had been murdered in 1971 during the Attica prison uprising. She ends with the crass declaration: "And so, my sisters in the Weatherman, you fast and organize and demonstrate for Attica. Don't send me news clippings about it, don't tell me how much the deaths moved you. I will mourn the loss of 42 male supremacists no longer."

Alpert soon surrendered to the FBI, who proudly said she was cooperating fully and providing details of her years underground. What information she did give is up for debate. Alpert maintains she fed the FBI lies. However, in March 1975 Pat Swinton was arrested with information Alpert provided. Fortunately for Swinton, Alpert refused to testify, pleading "self-preservation." This because the prison newsletter *Midnight Special* had "alerted women in the prison that there was a traitor in their midst."

A Feminist Circle of Support for Jane Alpert, founded by Robin Morgan, celebrated her refuting the "male violence" of the WUO and provided aid during her 2-year prison sentence. Yet when out lesbian and revolutionary anti-imperialist Susan Saxe was captured later that same year, much of the lesbian-feminist community blamed her for FBI snooping in their community and claimed "anyone accused of bank robbery is not a lesbian." Finally, in Ellen Frankfort's *Kathy Boudin and the Dance of Death*, a sensationalist account of the former WUO leader, Frankfort links these women's role in armed struggle with an inability to remove power from their sexual relationships and rejection of the nurturing of motherhood and the pacifism of Kathy Boudin's mother.

In examining armed struggle it is wise to be aware of the potential for self-indulgent adventurism, nihilism and reactionary violence. Macho-posturing is legendary in the WUO history. However, cultural feminists seem only interested in dividing people and behaviors into maleness and femaleness, not questioning whether revolutionary armed struggle might be necessary.

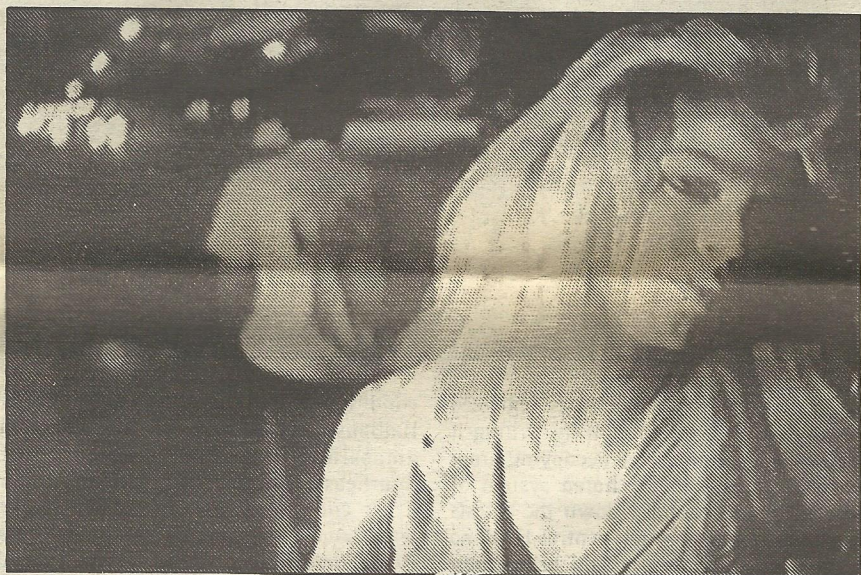
Cultural feminists are a far cry from nurturant in their attacks against male-to-female transsexuals. Transsexualism is troubling to cultural feminists because it illustrates the mutability of gender. In Janice Raymond's book *The Transsexual Empire*, she criticizes transsexuals' "usurpation of female biology," although "he" can never really pass among real women. Transsexuals, according to Raymond, "rape all women," especially lesbian transsexuals, who are appealing to lesbians' "residual heterosexuality." In *Gyn/Ecology*, Mary Daly reasons that transsexuals want to destroy the burgeoning women's community, stating, "their whole presence becomes a member invading women's presence and dividing us once more from each other." These theories, with their conspiratorial undertones, wouldn't be nearly so offensive if it weren't for their widespread acceptance. From former editor of Ms. Robin Morgan's attacks on all things "male-identified" to the Michigan Womyn's Festival's standing policy of "women born/women only" to the feminist press coverage of the murder of Brandon Teena, gender-phobia is alive and well.

BRANDON TEENA: A CASE OF DENIAL

Brandon Teena was a transgender man. Born Teena Brandon, he escaped from his home at an early age to get lost in the bigger city of Falls City, Nebraska. There he lived full time as a man and chose to engage in heterosexual relationships, going steady with Lana Tisdel. Brandon resorted to petty theft and writing false checks. After being arrested for forgery, Brandon's birth identity was intentionally released in the local papers. Soon after, on Christmas Eve, 1993, Brandon was brutally raped by Lana's ex-boyfriend and his friend. Brandon reported these crimes to the same police who had arrested him but they did nothing. One week later, on New Year's eve, Brandon was repeatedly stabbed and shot to death by the same two men. In the mainstream and radical press, Brandon was repeatedly referred to as a woman—a deceptive woman and a self-hating lesbian.

This was the case with Donna Minkowitz's article "Love Hurts" in *The Village Voice*. Brandon, Minkowitz argued, was a self-hating lesbian, who only donned male drag out of necessity. That Brandon defined himself as a male who wanted a sex change is just "false

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Venus Extravaganza

not just from a theoretical base, but by "grappling with" what Cherrie Moraga describes as "the source of our own oppression, without naming the enemy within ourselves and outside of us, no authentic, non-hierarchical connection among oppressed groups can take place."

TRANSSEXUALISM: LIMITING IDENTITIES AND SOURCES OF POWER

People who do not fit into the gender binaries of female and male have always been with us. "Transsexualism" or "Gender Dysphoria" are historically recent definitions used by the medical and psychiatric establishments. A transsexual is basically defined as a person who has a long-standing, internal image of possessing inappropriate sexual characteristics. From this reductionist conception, those transgender people who (mis)happen to seek help from the medical and psychological establishments, (and can afford it) are rated on a gender scale, modeled after Alfred Kinsey's scale to measure sexual orientation. They are then encouraged/told what they are to do to actualize their gender. Make no mistake, the options the medical "experts" are willing to provide are quite conservative. They range from cases of imposed heterosexuality to rigid dress codes and standards of behavior. When we consider homosexuality was defined as a mental disorder until 1973, and transsexualism is still defined as such by the psychiatric establishment, we must regard even their most well intentioned help with serious skepticism.

Gender is not solely a psychological state of being, it is a political status. I've chosen to identify Transgender as a word of libera-

It may be difficult for us today to resurrect the intoxicating sense of empowerment these women must have felt as they forged the way for women's liberation. "Sisterhood is powerful" was more than a rallying cry or book title, it was a part of the sudden mass recognition that women were systematically oppressed. For many feminists, the movement held the common assumption that women's experience was similar and that differences were only imposed from without. This is not without some logic. Most of the early feminists were college-educated, politically left, middle to upper class white women. As the women's movement grew, many of the women who joined came from diverse backgrounds, some of whom were interested only in finding self-help, not in the radical politics of societal transformation.

While the women's movement may have seemed like a united front in 1968, by 1970 it had exploded into many warring factions. It is in this state of intense factionalism and the right-wing backlash of the election of Nixon that the insular counter-culture and liberal politics of cultural feminism must have seemed inviting.

Cultural feminists like Kathleen Barry and Robin Morgan offered the vision of a conflict-free state of global sisterhood. Liberation was defined as a state of femaleness, whereby racial, class, sexual and cultural differences were de-emphasized. In a feminist counter-culture, or women's community, which subordinated political struggle for lifestyle and imposed homo-

Queer Liberation: Expressing Our Outrage!

BY JESSE HEIWA

Stonewall 25 was a sea of rainbow flags, freedom rings, and pronouncements of our arrival into a mythic mainstream. It had a taste and feel of the original, but without getting into the real thing: liberation. On the weekend of Stonewall 25 in 1994, three gay dances, including "Big Guns Over Manhattan," were being held on the USS Intrepid, a warship that during the Vietnam War was used for bombing missions that murdered thousands of Vietnamese (including queers).

In 1970, the Gay Liberation Front named itself after the National Liberation Front (NLF) of Vietnam. It opposed the Vietnam War (or more accurately the United States's war in Vietnam). The initial thrust of the post-Stonewall gay liberation movement was shaped by the 1960s counterculture, the Black civil rights movement, the New Left, and radical feminism. Radical gay liberationists had a vision of revolutionary change both for society at large and for the way gay men and women should live their lives.

What has happened in the intervening years? Richard Burns, Executive Director of the NYC Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center, revealed the current state of affairs when asked his opinion about his organization's fundraiser on the death ship USS Intrepid. Burns replied, "I come at this from a sex focus. There are many kinds of imagery that have been eroticized by gay and lesbian culture. We were beneficiaries of a leather party as well. I don't think it was a pro-military statement."

The problem with this analysis is while gay men in the US can 'fantasize' aboard a

real warship, the Vietnamese who were killed because of the warship can't 'fantasize' at all--they are dead. The point of our protests was that this was a REAL warship, used during a REAL war, against REAL people, and was not an acceptable place for a fundraiser; particularly with the international focus of Stonewall 25. "Big Guns over Manhattan," indeed.

In response to the fundraisers on the death ship Intrepid, a group of people active in struggles around AIDS, reproductive rights, political prisoner support, anti-racism, anti-militarism, transgender rights, and others, came together. We created an open letter to the lesbian/gay/bi/transgender/AIDS communities about why the warship was not an appropriate place for a fundraiser, stating that there were members of our community who would not be complicit with this silence. We expressed our desire to be a beacon for those who wanted our movement to be more than just a 'marketing moment.'

In conjunction with Stonewall Now!, we organized a well-attended forum, "Queer Liberation: From Stonewall to Sellout?" with speakers from Stonewall '69 through the present day. We held protests at the USS Intrepid, being a voice of opposition, while also distributing informational leaflets to people who were attending, with some deciding not to go in. We asked, "Why a hot queer scene on this US war machine?"

Out of all of this, we realized the need for ongoing study and action. We could not sit by as a movement which claimed to speak for all of us was hijacked by a group of people who only take us into account if we want to consume a product/service, or if we try to assimilate into a society that still

debates our right to exist at all. Thus, we have initiated a study circle/action group called OutRage!, named after the direct action during the 1987 March on Washington for Lesbian/Gay Rights at the US Supreme Court in response to the Hardwick decision, which upheld the rights of states to have sodomy laws which discriminate against homosexuals.

OutRage! is a study circle, direct action affinity group, and a conspiracy of hope. We are committed to ending oppression against all queer people while enchanting queer visibility. We are everywhere and so is our OutRage!

Contact us at:

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Photo by P. Pagenhart

Whose Riot? Our Riot!

RECLAIMING STONEWALL

Radical Queer Politics Now!

BY SHERRY

As spring of this year rolled around I became increasingly aware that June 1994 would mark the 25th anniversary of the Stonewall riots. The anxiety this provoked in me stemmed from a deep sense of dissatisfaction and disillusionment with the mainstream lesbian and gay movement. The 25th anniversary of the riots forced me to reassess the way I view political, social and cultural struggle. The anniversary compelled me to reevaluate myself, my relationship to the lesbian and gay community, and to society as a whole. It forced me to look at the riots in a larger social context. Increasingly, I felt a huge gulf between my vision of how Stonewall should be commemorated, and the way in which it was being celebrated by the larger lesbian and gay movement.

For me, Stonewall means more than a date on the calendar when queers are allowed to be proud. Stonewall was a rebellion of the oppressed taking to the streets and fighting back. After much thought, I knew I needed to become involved in the commemoration of the riots that largely shaped my queer identity, but it wasn't that simple. I wanted something more than the empty politics the "official" Stonewall 25 organizing committee was offering. And I certainly knew I didn't want to commemorate Stonewall by buying a t-shirt or dancing on a battle ship.

Fortunately, many other queers also wanted to celebrate the radical spirit of Stonewall. These radicals were sickened by Stonewall 25's appropriation and marketing of Stonewall. Outraged queers banded together determined to build an alternative to what was being offered by Stonewall 25 and the rest of the mainstream movement.

Stonewall Now!, a New York-based coalition made up of radical queers, sought to recapture the radical spirit of Stonewall. The coalition was made up of people who were disgusted with the single-issue, assimilationist direction the lesbian and gay movement has taken, and outraged by a large segment of the community's willingness to dance on a US warship used to bomb Vietnam during the 1960s. Stonewall Now! included people from QUISP (Queers United in Support of Political Prisoners), Radical Fairies, Love and Rage, ISO (International Socialist Organization), ACT UP, college students, and other fed-up queers. The two main events that Stonewall Now! worked on were an anti-US militarism forum and a militant rally and demonstration.

The "Stonewall was a Riot" action took place 10 pm Saturday, June 25, in Sheridan

Square. Stonewall Now! had planned this action for months and much time and work had been invested in it. The main objective of our march was to recapture the spirit of the Stonewall rebellion. To be militant and "to assert our right and ability to take control of our lives." Demonstrators gathered in Sheridan Square ready to take to the streets. Unfortunately, the police were not going to grant us our demands so willingly, especially since we didn't have a permit to be in the streets. The demonstration was scheduled to stop at an Operation Rescue Church; then the piers; then a site of a recent queer bashing; and finally, at the 6th police precinct. The police tried to contain the demo but we got past them and eventually shut down part of the West Side Highway.

For the most part, the demo was very empowering, except when we left the ghetto

and tried to take Chelsea. Once we were out of the Village, the police were less willing to tolerate 500 screaming queers. Fortunately none of the demonstrators was hurt or arrested. The demonstration was largely a success, even if it didn't quite ignite the response most of us were hoping for.

After Stonewall weekend was over, the same questions kept coming up: Where do we go from here? Where is the queer movement going? Do we still want to work together? Was the coalition successful? I'm still left with these and other questions concerning the queer movement. As for Stonewall Now!, the coalition immediately broke up after the weekend. Members didn't find it necessary to continue or to form a new radical group. Some Stonewall Now! members, however, formed a radical queer study group called Outrage! [See article by Jesse, above]

Four months after the 25th anniversary of the Stonewall riots, radical queer activism (at least in New York City) seems dead. Most so-called "radical" activist groups are focusing on November's elections, visibility, and lobbying. As long as queers expend their energies in futile legislative struggles, liberation will take a backseat to reformism and begging and pleading for a "place at the table."

As queers, we need to focus on queer identity as being anti-assimilationist and in opposition to oppressive institutions. We need to stop trying to gain rights within the system. Our struggle for sexual liberation needs to be seen as connected to other struggles. Queers need to position ourselves in a wide revolutionary struggle, instead of focusing on isolated single issues. Building solidarity and trying to create working relationships with other oppressed communities is where our energies need to be spent, not in trying to gain acceptance in inherently oppressive institutions.★

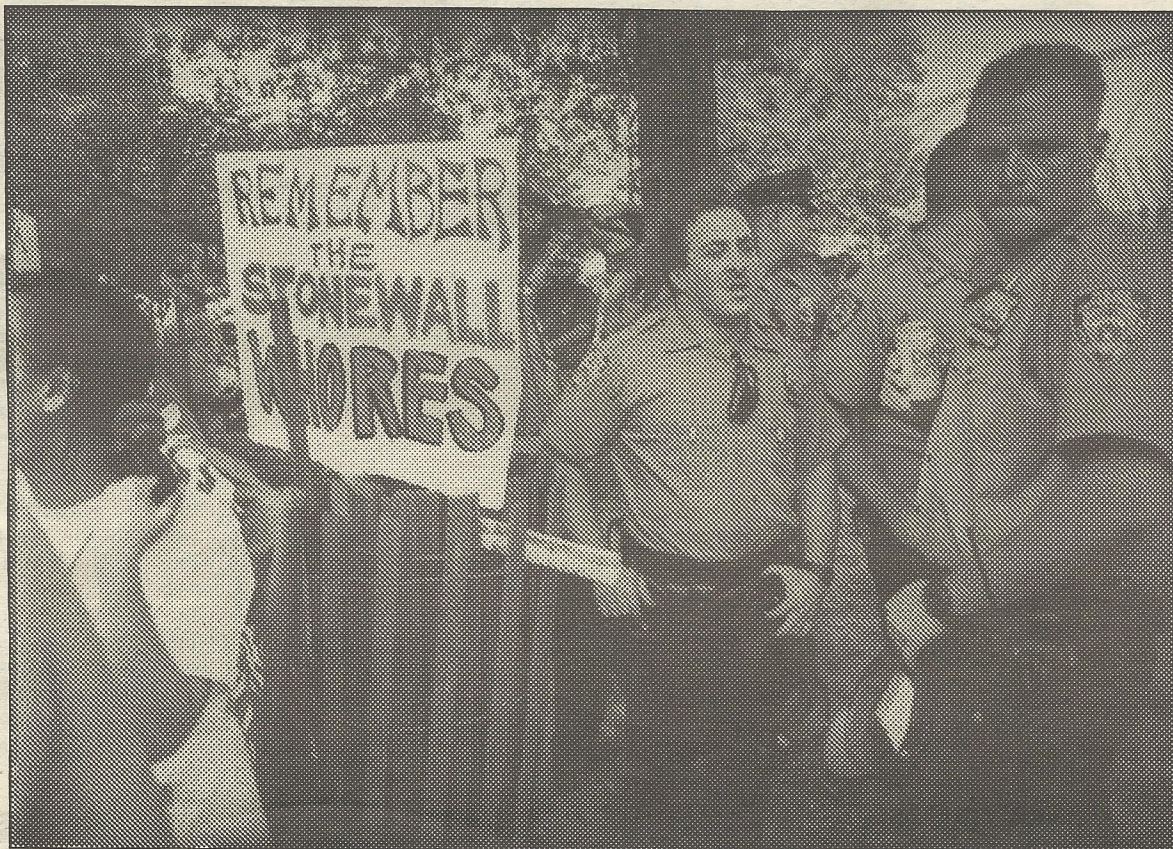


Photo by P. Pagenhart

Strike Movement Challenges Military Rule in Nigeria

BY CHRISTOPHER DAY

This summer a massive strike movement threatened to topple Nigeria's military government. The defiance of Nigerian oil workers, like the Zapatista uprising this January in México, is an indication of some of the new forms of struggle that are emerging in response to the new social, economic and political conditions we call the "new world order."

The two-month-long strike movement which was finally crushed in early September had its roots in the June 1993 Nigerian presidential election. That election, which was "supposed to" end over a decade of military rule, was a contest between two parties created and sponsored by the military government of then-ruler General Ibrahim Babangida. The choice was widely viewed by Nigerians as false, but when millionaire business man Chief Moshood Kashimawo Abiola of the moderately left-leaning Social Democratic Party won, the election was annulled by Babangida.

Mass strikes and public demonstrations forced Babangida to resign and install a civilian ruler, Ernest Shonekan, who was generally regarded as a puppet of the military. Repression was directed at all sections of the democracy movement, including the anti-authoritarian Awareness League, which had a number of its leading figures arrested. The thin veil of civilian rule was promptly torn away in November when another General, Sani Abacha, seized power and announced plans for an elected national constitutional convention.

As the June 27 convention date began to approach, it became clear that the convention would not be allowed to address the complex ethnic, linguistic, and religious issues that divide the country. Nigeria, the most populous country in Africa with roughly 93 million people, obtained independence from Britain in 1960. Like the rest of Africa, Nigeria inherited colonial borders that slice

through ethnic groups and bring together peoples with very little in common. In 1967 the Igbo of eastern Nigeria declared independence, sparking a bloody civil war that lasted until 1970. Since then the Nigerian military has been particularly resistant to any suggestions about the decentralization of power in Nigeria to its constituent regions. But ethnic and regional divisions represent profound disparities in Nigeria, so the refusal to address them led various ethnic and regional organizations, unions, and a fledgling democracy movement to boycott the election of delegates to the constitutional convention.

The National Democratic Coalition demanded that the military rulers step aside and allow Abiola to form an interim civilian government. On May 28 Abiola announced that he would form a government, on June 11 he declared himself President of Nigeria and went into hiding. Abiola was finally arrested on June 22 after addressing a public demonstration. The next few days saw mounting demonstrations in Lagos for the release of Abiola. On June 29 the constitutional convention was adjourned by the government after meeting for only one day. On July 4 members of Nigeria's two oil workers' unions went on strike, demanding that Abacha step down and Abiola be placed in office. On July 6 Abiola was officially charged with treason. The next day soldiers began to replace some of the striking oil workers, threatening to use the death penalty against anybody who interfered. By July 12 strikes had spread to all sectors of the work force in Lagos, including the government. On July 14 a nation-wide work stoppage was called, and within a week the strike had taken hold in the southwestern towns. On July 18, 20 people were killed in demonstrations in Lagos. There were demonstrations in Benin City and Akure, and the homes of prominent, former government officials were

attacked in many towns. On July 26, as government troops were firing tear gas and bullets into the air against demonstrators, leaders of the democracy movement refused to meet with Jesse Jackson because of his ties to Babangida.

In August the struggle intensified. On August 3 police killed five people in street battles with demonstrators, and the five-million member National Labor Congress called on its members to join the strike movement. On August 21 Frank Kokori, head of the National Union of Petroleum and Natural Gas Workers, and 25 other leaders of the strike movement were arrested. Two days later Abacha named new chiefs of both the army and navy, signaling a likely military crackdown. The government disbanded the executive committee of the National Labor Congress and, by September 5, the strike movement had effectively come to an end as increasing repression drove many to return to work. On September 6 the crackdown came as General Abacha decreed that his government had absolute powers, including the power to override judicial decisions, and banned several major newspapers.

While the strike movement in Nigeria finally went down to defeat, it marks an important development in the global struggle against authoritarian power, and raises questions that revolutionary anti-authoritarians everywhere need to grapple with.

The recent struggle in Nigeria and the ongoing struggle in México both involved mass autonomous organizations of the oppressed classes fighting for what is often called "bourgeois democracy." In México, the Zapatistas demanded fair elections, and in Nigeria the workers demanded that a multi-millionaire be seated as president. Anarchists may be tempted to dismiss these demands as illusions. This is a mistake. The demands for democracy are demands for greater space in which to struggle. Around

the world the reorganization of capitalism, represented by International Monetary Fund-imposed austerity measures and free-trade agreements like NAFTA and GATT, are pushing people to the breaking point. Monolithic dictatorships like the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) in México or the military in Nigeria are a major obstacle to any effective resistance to these international forces.

In both México and Nigeria the movements obtained almost instantaneous international sympathy, making it difficult for the major capitalist powers to openly support the governments. The proliferation of communications technology has made it next to impossible for any government to control the flow of information to the rest of the world in the manner that was common as recently as a decade ago.

In both countries, anti-authoritarian politics have played an important role. In México, the Zapatistas have invoked the anti-authoritarian spirit of Magonismo and Zapatismo and demanded the decentralization of power and the reinstatement of the right of collective land ownership. In Nigeria, which has long traditions of non-authoritarian social structures among the Igbo, the 1,000-member Awareness League, an anarcho-syndicalist organization affiliated with the International Workers Association (IWA/AIT), has participated in the demonstrations and strikes since the 1993 election annulment.

The collapse of Leninism as a credible revolutionary ideology has created openings for explicitly anti-authoritarian movements around the world. But these openings confront these movements with the sorts of dilemmas that were easily avoided when our politics were more marginalized. We cannot afford to engage in self-righteous and glib sloganeering when hundreds of thousands of people are in the streets fighting to be free and looking for serious answers.★

INTERNATIONAL News and Notes

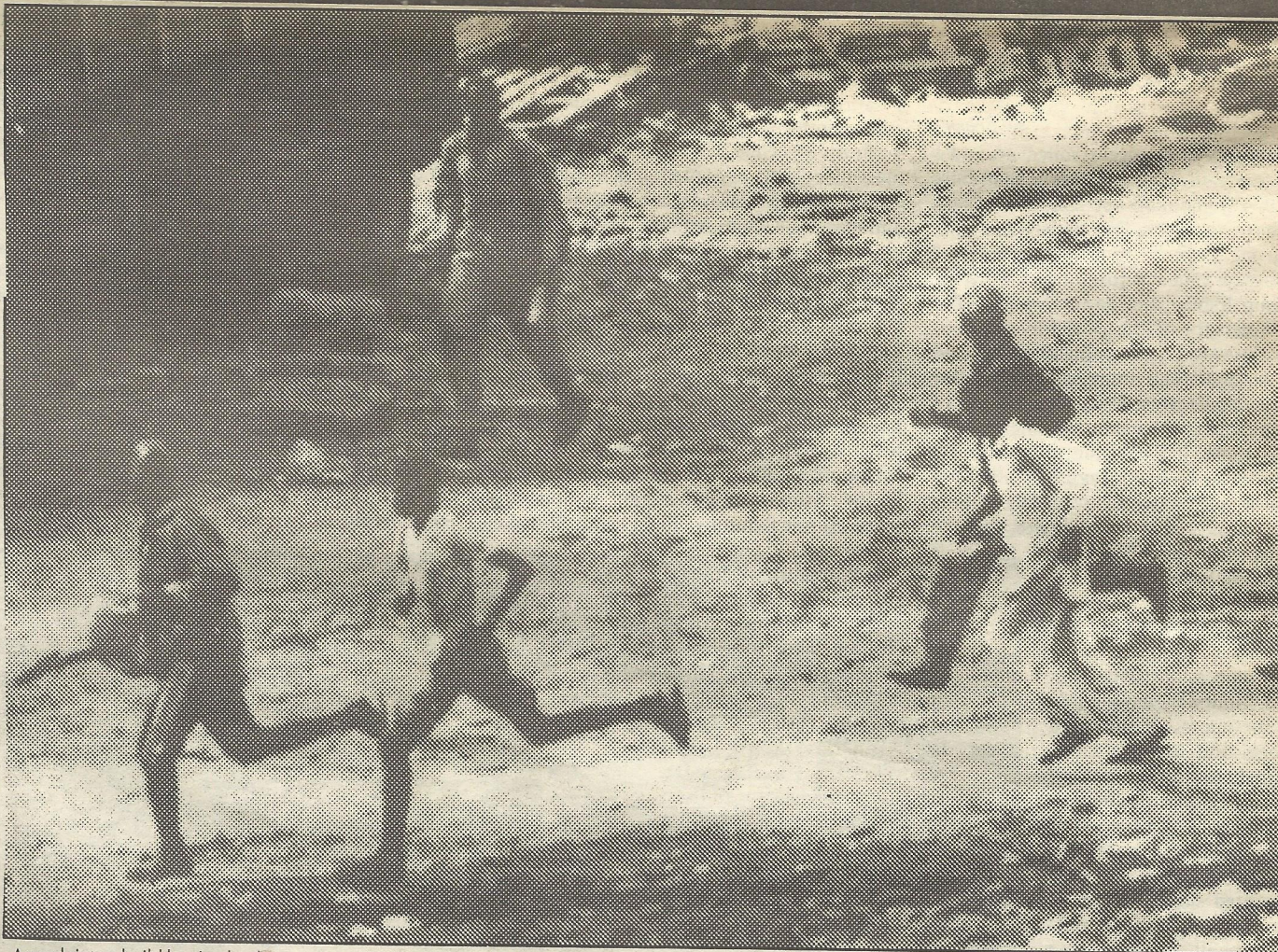
Autonome Antifa (M) Raided

Early on July 5 police in the German city of Goettingen, Lower Saxony raided 17 homes, the leftist bookstore Rote Strasse, a student center, and two printing presses in an attack on the group Autonome Antifa (M). Leaflets, brochures, address lists, computers, files, notebooks and personal items were seized by the police. Autonome Antifa (M) has been one of the most effective anti-fascist groups in Germany, having driven the fascists from downtown Goettingen, staged militant demonstrations at the homes of fascist leaders, and participated in the creation of the Anti-Fascist Action/Nationwide Organization (AA/BO).

This criminalization is directed against the successful, legal public work and coalition politics that have made anti-fascist politics accepted and anchored in wide circles of the population in southern Lower Saxony. In order to criminalize their successful politics and split the anti-fascist resistance in the region, the State Attorney's office has charged, among other things, that "the Autonome Antifa (M) has close contact on several levels to members of the Red Army Fraction (RAF)." (The RAF is an underground armed group.)

Autonome Antifa (M) responded with large demonstrations in Goettingen. On July 7, 2,000 people demonstrated to protest the murder of Halim Dener, a 16-year-old Kurdish boy killed by the police. The demand of "No criminalization of autonomist resistance!" was added to the protest. On July 16 approximately 4,000 people traveled from all over Germany for a demonstration at which the massive police presence was met with paint bombs, stones and firecrackers.

In addition to these large demonstrations of support, the AA(M) has succeeded in gaining the support of local trade unions and less-radical left elements. The large amount of public support will restrict the degree to which the government will be able to persecute the AA(M).★



Armed rioters build barricades, burn cars and battle police in the streets of Lagos.

Blitz Attacked

On the night of Aug. 21 Blitz infoshop in Oslo, Norway was attacked with a powerful bomb. Fortunately the bomb did not seriously hurt any of the seven night guards, though material damages were enormous. Blitz is a squatted youth-culture house that has served as a base for fighting against fascism, capitalism and patriarchy for the past 12 years. In the past year many violent confrontations have taken place in Oslo between anti-fascists and fascists.

The bomb, which was 10 to 15 times more powerful than necessary to be lethal, was thrown toward the small backyard between the main building and pub, but was stopped by barbed wire barricades, and fell on the ground on the other side of the wall. Before the bomb was tossed, two gunshots were fired to get people to come out of the house. If the bomb had hit its target at least two people would have been killed. The bomb did result in broken windows and other damage to Blitz and neighboring buildings. The most militant fraction of the many nazi groups in Norway, Anti-AntiFa, is believed

to be responsible for the attack. German fascists are also suspected of involvement.

On Wednesday, Aug. 24, more than 2,000 people marched in the streets of Oslo in support of Blitz. Solidarity has been forthcoming from more than 60 different organizations, unions and political parties, and friends from Sweden and Denmark joined in the demonstrations.

For more info contact:

Blitz Infogruppe
Pilestredet 30c
0164 Oslo
Norway

Calendar

November 9-13
Native Forest Network Conference
Missoula, Montana
For Information: NFN
POB 8251
Missoula, MT 59807
(406) 728-0867
nfnconference@igc.apc.org

November 18-20
Midwest Radical
Networking Conference
Delton, Michigan
Info: 1573 N. Milwaukee #513
Chicago, IL 60622
(312) 278-0775
thak@midway.uchicago.edu



Direct Action Manual Revived

The Houston, Texas based Black Fist collective is putting forth a call for contributions to a newly revived Direct Action Manual. The Direct Action Manual was initiated by the (now dissolved) Web Collective in San Francisco, California, but was canceled in early 1994 due to lack of support.

The DAM project's end result will be a book with information on taking direct action in your community. We're also looking for international contributions. In addition, the Black Fist collective will be expanding the project to include aspects of grassroots organizing as well as organizing solidarity/defense campaigns, prisoner support and perspectives on building a diverse and active movement.

Please take note that the Black Fist collective is starting from square one—any materials/contributions that were sent to the Web Collective are not in the possession of Black Fist and should be re-directed to the Houston collective. Any and all forms of publicity should make note of this fact.

Support and publicity for this project is critical. The DAM needs articles, art and money to help this project grow and really take off. Please direct all correspondence, submissions and financial contributions (in blank postal money orders or well-concealed cash) to:

Black Fist
15110 Bellaire
Box 317
Houston, TX 77083

Anarchist Bookstore Opens in NYC

Blackout Books, an anti-authoritarian book collective, opened a bookstore/infoshop in New York City's Lower East Side on October 15. Although Blackout will emphasize anarchist books and periodicals which are generally unavailable elsewhere in the city, the store will also carry books on all kinds of political and social struggles, as well as comics, fanzines and works by local writers and artists. Blackout has plans to provide low cost copy service, a library with books for in-store reading, a computer

with e-mail and fax modem, and a local events calendar.

The collective is always looking for donations of used books, computers and office equipment. Anyone interested in more information or volunteering should stop by the store at 50 Avenue B, or write:

Blackout Books
P.O. Box 2281
Stuyvesant Station
New York, NY 10009
(212) 777-1967

ARA Picket

On August 20, Anti-Racist Action Toronto organized a surprise picket at IXL, a neo-nazi store. IXL, which has two locations in Toronto, sells boots, clothing and nazi paraphernalia. It is used as an organizing center and helps fund the Northern Hammer Skins, a large group implicated in racist attacks in a number of North American cities. The picket, part of a larger boycott campaign, successfully disrupted business for over two hours. Furious boneheads were unable to retaliate against the stronger anti-racist presence. ARA Toronto plans to continue with its campaign against IXL this fall.

(sent by Mike Proc, from ARA Toronto)

Campesino Revolt in Guerrero

This past June 21 about 200 members of the Southern Range Peasant Organization (OCSS) marched through the streets of Coyuca de Benítez in the state of Guerrero and blockaded the Acapulco-Zihuatanejo federal highway for three consecutive days, demanding the release of three farm laborers arrested by the State Judicial Police in the village of Tepetitla (which lies in the municipality of Coyuca de Benítez).

During the march members of OCSS chanted: "Death to the police!" while the municipal palace was defended by more than 60 State Public Security troops.

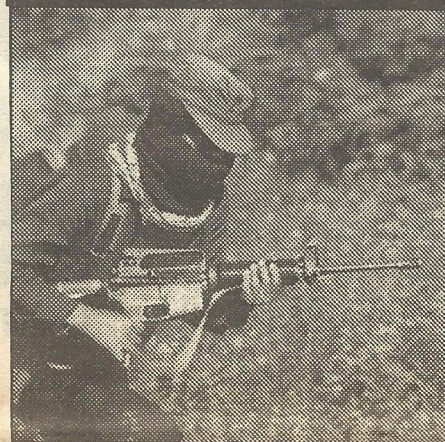
¡Zapatistas!: Documents of the New Mexican Revolution

This is the most comprehensive collection of EZLN documents in any language to date. Along with the introduction by Harry Cleaver, these interviews, manifestoes, and communiqués give a clear picture of the conditions leading up to the January uprising in Chiapas, as well as illustrating poignantly the various communities of people who support the rebellion. Interspersed with black and white photos of people in the mountains of the Mexican southeast, the documents have been divided into chapters which cover the revolt, the first days of the rebellion, the cease-fire, solidarity, broadening the struggle, building ties, the "dialogue" with the government, concluding the dialogue, returning to the communities, the consultations within the communities, and rejecting the government's offer of peace accords, all in the Zapatistas own words.

As Harry Cleaver says in his introduction, "Draw close and listen well, for the voices in this book are multiple and complex, direct and filtered, deadly serious and sometimes very funny. They are the voices of people in struggle."

Copies can be ordered through Love and Rage by sending \$12/copy, postage paid, to:

P.O. Box 853
Stuyvesant Station
New York, NY 10009



NOTES OF REVOLT

Rio Grande Refuge Is Open to Serve the Public

The Rio Grande Refuge in Harlingen, Tex. is a camp for political refugees. For the time being, the refugees are from our continent—the Americas.

The Rio Grande Refuge is a place of rest for those who are struggling to change the ever-present structures of oppression imposed over 500 years ago. Because of this, the Yanqui government wants to close the Refuge. Since July, 1989, they have been tied up in a constant battle against the Yanqui government, as the latter tries to do everything it can to sabotage, impede and slander the compañeros of the Refuge. In July, the compañero Pio Celestino and his compañera (the two in charge of the camp) suffered a serious accident that sent both of them to the hospital for eight months. From that time on, the Refuge had to be administered and managed by the refugees themselves, who confronted the most absurd attacks from the Yanqui "democracy."

The Rio Grande Refuge came about as the result of a serious rethinking motivated by the human exploitation of fellow humans and of nature. Members meditate on the lies of history (how we are taught what the oppressor wants us to learn). The Rio Grande Refuge is an attempt to find solutions, and to offer support and solidarity to every "illegal alien" or any other victim of oppression that knocks at its door.

Manipulation and intentional disinformation have always been among the dirty tricks used by the Empire. This is why it is not surprising that they have spread the word far and wide across the continent that the Refuge had closed its doors. The results were predictable: first, the Refuge has not received any solidarity to continue its

work; second, people became convinced that the government had closed this camp for political refugees.

VOLUNTEERS NEEDED

In order to continue their work, the Refuge always needs volunteers who can offer their time, energy and abilities to the refugees. Generally, the volunteers do everything that the "illegal aliens" cannot do in the US: drive vehicles, go shopping, take the refugees to the doctor, give English classes, help with administrative work, translate, help with planting (the Refuge only engages in traditional agriculture), etc. The minimum stay for volunteers is two to three months, but those who are interested in residing in the community permanently are taken more seriously.

Volunteers should be fluent or moderately proficient in Spanish, with the ability to learn quickly. They should also have political sensibilities and commitments. The Refuge, because of the ideas that motivated its formation, and the decision of the

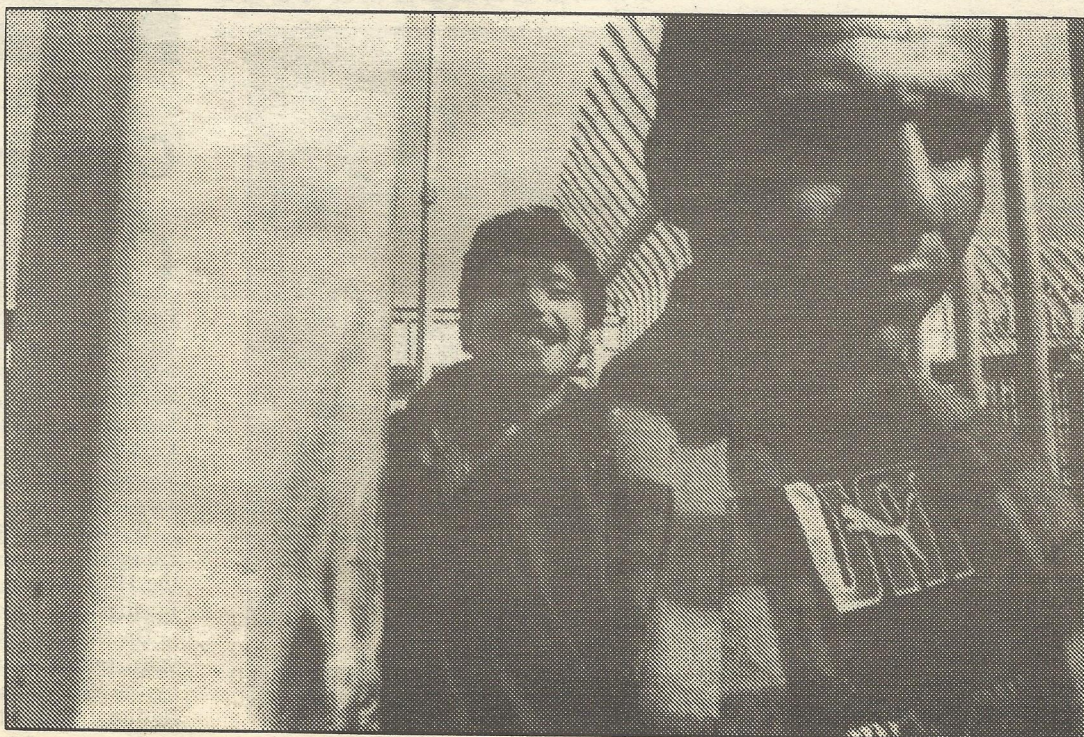
"General Assembly of Refugees," is fundamentally "political and revolutionary, pacifist and non-violent."

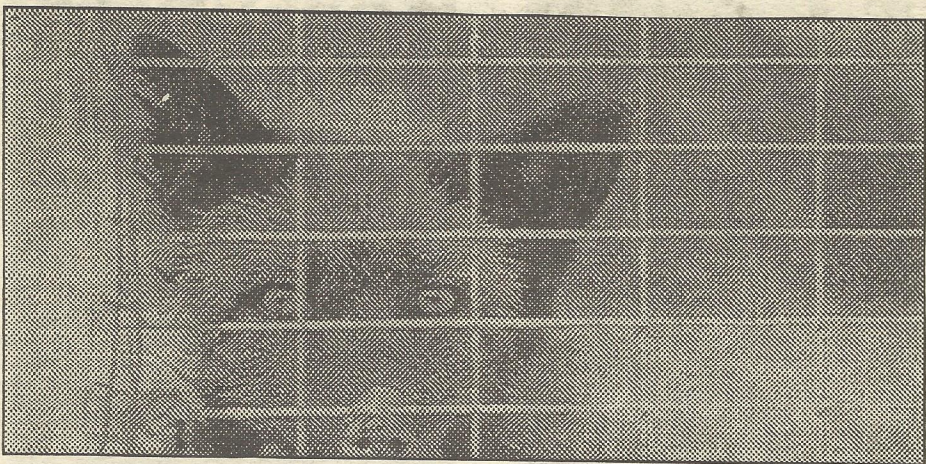
Volunteers are invited to share the life of the refugees: They are provided with food and a place to live. (Costs beyond what is available to the refugees are the responsibility of the individual). People interested in volunteering should write or call, expressing their interest. The Refuge will send you some forms to fill out. Please do not come without writing ahead.

If you want to volunteer, make a contribution, or if you are a political or social refugee, the Rio Grande Refuge is waiting for you!

[In future issues we will carry an expanded report on the Refuge. Don't miss it!]

Refugio del Rio Grande
PO Box 3566
Harlingen, TX 78551
(210) 421-3266; 425-9416





Animal awaiting liberation.

Animal Rights Activist Needs Support

In November 1992, Chicago animal rights activist Lise Olsen was arrested and charged with attempted arson. Earlier that year Lise had hung 21 homemade lanterns near a railroad trestle fueled with a very small amount of gasoline to illuminate a "Freedom" banner that she had hung. The state claimed that these lanterns were incendiary devices. Lise was released on bail and opted for a jury trial, which began on July 25. Despite expert testimony that the lanterns were not incendiary devices, Lise was convicted and jailed pending her

sentencing on August 31. She faces a maximum sentence of seven years.

Lise is desperately in need of letters of support and financial assistance. The Animal Liberation Front Support Group is organizing support:

Lise Olsen
c/o ALFSG
PO Box 8673
Victoria, BC
V8W 3S2
Canada

Two Anarchists In Greece On A Hunger Strike

On June 20, Odysseas Kambouris was arrested, on the basis of dubious evidence, for the attack of a police officer. He was sentenced to remain in prison from the time of his arrest until his trial date. Some of the evidence used to keep him there was obtained by the police in previous arrests for his involvement with the Athens squats and in the anarchist movement. Odysseas has been on a hunger strike since June 21.

In the same hospital, anarchist Yorgos Balafas has been on a hunger strike since July 1. Yorgos was arrested several times by the police for arson, robbery, and 8 murders, including involvement in the murder of 3 police officers. He is in prison now for participation in the murder of a prose-

cutor. He went on hunger strike because he had already served the maximum time allowed in prison without a trial. He was found innocent by a jury, but the judge ruled that he must stay in jail until Sept. 5 due to the other charges against him.

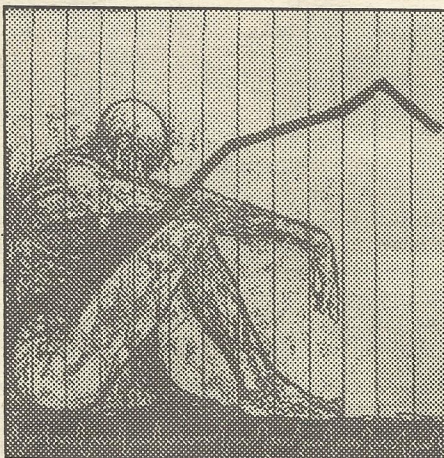
Protests can be faxed to the Greek Minister of "Justice" at 30-1-7755835. ABC in Athens is also encouraging people to stage protests and demonstrations in front of Greek embassies and consulates, Olympic Airways offices, etc.

Anarchic Proposal/ABC
8, Aristidou St.
10559 Athens
Greece

ACTing UP in Prison

ACT-UP/Chicago's Prison Issues Committee is currently working to pressure the state of Illinois to improve its AIDS services in state prisons. At the moment ACT-UP is attempting to gather information on the situations of people with AIDS in the prison system. Please let them know of any support groups, pre-release programs, educational efforts, etc. They also have some resources related to issues of safe sex and treatment. Confidentiality will be respected.

ACT-UP
c/o Jeannie Pijko
4224 N. Hamlin
Chicago, IL 60625



ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

Perotti on Strike in Lucasville

John Perotti began a hunger-strike at Lucasville Maximum Security Prison in Ohio on Sept. 3 to protest his confinement in the hole for refusing to submit to a urinalysis. His refusal was real, but his placement in the hole is only a part of the continual harassment John is subjected to due to his tireless work on the behalf of the rights of prisoners.

In 1990 Perotti was transferred out of Lucasville after a severe beating by 12 prison guards. The guards were not reprimanded, let alone punished for the vicious assault. Early in 1994 Perotti was returned to Lucasville, where these same guards still work. He was placed in the hole; he

responded by going on a hunger-strike that lasted nearly six weeks before he was finally placed in general population.

Please write protesting John's latest confinement and his continuing endangerment at Lucasville:

Warden Terry Collins
Southern Ohio Correctional Facility
Box 45699
Lucasville, OH 45699

and send letters of support to:

John Perotti #167712
Box 45699
Lucasville, OH 45699

International Call for Solidarity with Mumia Abu-Jamal

An international call for solidarity has been made by political prisoners on the behalf of Mumia Abu-Jamal. Mumia was a member of the Black Panther Party in Philadelphia, as well as a distinguished radio journalist. In the 1970s he reported on the widespread brutality of the Philadelphia police, including the political persecution of the MOVE organization.

In 1981, Mumia intervened in an altercation between his brother and a police officer. Mumia was shot and critically wounded; the cop was killed. Mumia was tried for the killing and given a death sentence.

Political prisoners are asking for everyone's help with International Political Prisoners Unite to Save Mumia Abu Jamal: Art and Writings Against the Death Penalty.

They are asking for crafts, poetry, rap, essays, paintings and plays.

Send by November 1st to:

Mary Taylor
164 Lexington Ave.
Jersey City, NJ 07304
(201) 435-3244

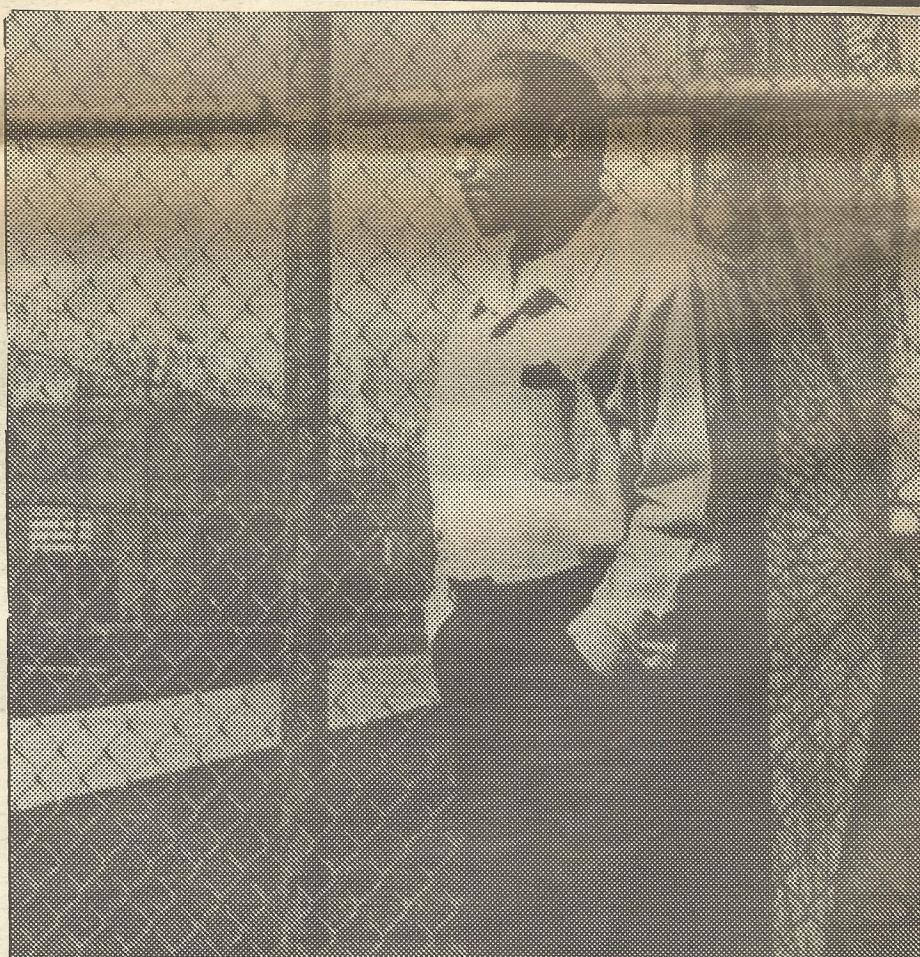
This project has been called by:
Alberto Rodriguez, Kojo Bomani Sababu, Jihad Abdul Mumit, Hanif Shabazz Bey, Larry Giddings, Abdush Shakur, Ricardo Jimenez, Tim Blunk, and Sundiata Acoli.

(Note: Many others have signed on since this project was first called.)

At the recent Love and Rage Federation Conference, an Anti-Prison Working Group was formed. Contact us at:
Love and Rage
Anti-Prison Working Group
PO Box 7075
Minneapolis, MN 55407



Mumia Abu-Jamal



Geronimo Pratt

Geronimo Denied Parole for 13th Time

On August 24, 1994, after deliberating for less than ten minutes, the California Board of Prison Terms and Parole denied parole to Geronimo Pratt for the 13th time in the 24 years that he has been incarcerated. The board violated Geronimo's right to choose representation, barring former Black Panther leader Kathleen Cleaver. Outside the prison a statewide mobilization brought Geronimo's supporters out in force.

Geronimo is just one of many Black Panther Party leaders that were targeted by the FBI's infamous COINTELPRO (Counter-intelligence Program) in the 1960s.

On October 11, Geronimo offered televised testimony to national hearings held by the World Council of Churches and the National Council of Churches. The hearings were entitled: Racism is a violation

of Human Rights. For more information, call (510) 635-7933.

Demand Geronimo Pratt be freed or granted a new trial!

write:

Attorney General Gill Gracetti
210 W. Temple St.
Los Angeles, CA 90012
(213) 974-3511

Send letters of support and contributions to:

The International Campaign
to Free Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt)
PO Box 3585
Oakland, CA 94609
(510) 635-7933

Photo by Jonathan Edwards

Anarchist Black Cross Conference 1994

A Participant's Account

BY GENE AGUILERA

There's a growing need to support prisoners and conduct anti-prison campaigns in North America. In the US, prisons are devastating poor communities and communities of color. They are proliferating to serve the interests of our governors and the rich. Campaigns on behalf of prisoners like Mumia Abu-Jamal, who sits on death row, and much other work need to be done around the issue of control units and the new, more draconian prisons that are being built.

Historically, prisons are part of the system that has been used to maintain white supremacy, patriarchy and class privilege. It's because of its own brutal history that prisons are a hotbed of revolt. So many revolutionaries, radicals and progressives are either still locked down or being harassed by the state. Other prisoners enter the system and have developed a consciousness. When these revolts occur no one is there to support the demands of the prisoners, and to point out the injustice of prisons. Many prisoners organize on the inside, but the lack of organization and strength on the outside makes it difficult for them to get very far. Many of the prisoners we deal with have a wealth of knowledge and experience in revolutionary struggle. In many cases we have little to offer aside from making their lives a little easier. When prisoners are released there is little to plug into and not enough resources to lend a hand.

So how do we move forward and what kind of role can the ABC play in working against these injustices? We decided to get people together to try and answer this question.

SO WE HAD A CONFERENCE

It came about due to a number of factors. Anarchist ideas have been reaching prisoners for many years now through our many good publications and the work that we are doing with prisoners. Sections of the movement have taken up Anarchist Black Cross work.

ABC is a decentralized network that has a long history of support for revolutionary movements and prisoners (in Russia, the Soviet Union, Spain, Italy, Greece, the UK). Traditionally, ABCs were standing committees of other collectives. Other ABCs have been independent and focused only on prison work. But, with the exception of the network that exists in the UK, (see the last discussion bulletin of the ABC conference organizing group) the rest of these groups operate independently of each other.

New ABC groups have been organized in the US and elsewhere, and this, combined with the increased discussion among comrades, prisoners and long-time prison activists, helped to create the energy for such a conference. Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin's *Draft Proposal for an Anarchist Black Cross Network* was widely distributed inside and outside the walls and was supported by many prisoners from different movements. This helped create a base of prisoners supportive of ABC.

This conference was called to give people working on prison issues an opportunity to meet each other and begin the work of building ABC chapters and coalitions in North America. As a result we will be working more closely together on specific projects and working with other groups as well.

At the conference there was a mix of local people interested in prisoner support, representatives of a variety of organizations, observers, former political prisoners, representatives of prisoners and ABC groups. There were about 100 or so people that attended at least part of the conference. Assuming the conference reflects where we are at as a movement, a few things are immediately apparent. First, we need to focus energy on building a multi-cultural movement. While there were people of color present, most of the participants were white and male. ABC has had a better opportunity to work more closely with people of color than the rest of the anarchist milieu because of the nature of prison struggle and through the help of prisoners and activists. Our progress is being followed with interest by prisoners and activists of color. But, people of color are not joining ABC in large enough numbers. This is in part due

to the fact that we are not organizing in communities of the oppressed.

There was confusion about how to move forward during the ABC discussions. It was difficult to organize these meetings because there were no already existing agreements between ABCs on what to focus on. We put out 5 discussion bulletins containing a number of proposals, comments, etc., but there was little response or back-and-forth discussion. Lacking agreement and with no precedents or process to decide how to prioritize discussion topics, it was hard to tell how to focus the conference. The conference organizing group ended up trying to do too much. It was hard to reach agreement on larger goals and even confusion over the decision to implement the *Draft Proposal* after a discussion of its points. There was no agreement to any criteria for being an ABC group or a group that was a part of this network more precisely. Outsiders could justifiably be confused and criticized us for being unprepared. They are right, of course. But we shouldn't kick ourselves so much as try to avoid these problems next time around. We hope to have meetings with groups in our region and build structures on the local level so that we have something to build on next time we meet for a continental gathering.

The discussion of *A Draft Proposal for an Anarchist Black Cross* was incomplete and we will be sure to try to clear up any confusion about it by doing much of the groundwork before the next conference. If we get to the next conference (see below) having already agreed to implement the points and goals of the proposal, then we can spend more time reporting on our progress and discussing the finer points of organizing this movement. We should come to the conference already having made working agreements amongst groups and individuals. We could agree to distribute each other's literature, co-sponsor events, establish war chests, distribute work between the groups with prisoner correspondence and campaigns, develop libraries on the regional level, and begin to take our message to the streets.

The other thing that I think was clear from the conference is that ABC in North America has yet to state why we think organizing as ABC specifically is important or a good strategy towards revolution. I do think that it is important for anti-authoritarians to practice mutual aid and support. Perhaps the fact that we are for abolishing prisons (that is for revolution and not reform) may be reason enough to network with each other. ABC can play a role as a militant tendency within a larger progressive movement that deals with prison issues. We should also be an anti-authoritarian tendency within the revolutionary movement. One of the most important things for us to mull over is what exactly do we have to offer prisoners, because ultimately we will be judged on whether or not we deliver the goods. This could mean anything from focusing on making sure prison-

ers are taken care of (food, money, literature, etc.), to figuring out how we are really going to get prisoners out.

Some of the criticisms we heard from participants were that there wasn't enough discussion on how to organize people to join our ABCs (or who should join).

A number of people suggested that we should have broken down into smaller groups during discussions and workshops to make things more manageable and that the workshops should have been better planned.

We should have had better facilitation because many ended up feeling like they weren't that welcome to participate. The need to be serious about prisoner support work came up a number of times and there was some discussion of the hazards involved.

There were a number of issues that came up that we didn't really get to discuss at length. I'll mention them briefly in the hope that people will begin to think about and discuss them more seriously.

Many, if not most of the prisoners who are politicized on the inside vacillate upon release. There are potentially many sources of the problem. Some are just talking shit

on the inside. Some cannot overcome (and this is the movement's responsibility as well) the realities of post-prison life.

Women prison support activists face specific problems in doing prisoner support work. Most of the focus is on male prisoners and women face sexism from both inside and outside the walls. These are good reasons to encourage women to organize within ABC as well as for male members to try and examine prison issues from a woman's perspective. ABC has serious problems with gender balance if the conference is any indication. Although

on the other hand there are many strong women within the anti-prison movement: Ramona Africa, Bonnie Kerness and women that I know who are in ABC come to mind.

What we did agree on at the conference was necessarily very basic and is the best indication of where we are at. The agreements reached at the conference were:

A number of groups adopted Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin's *Draft Proposal for an Anarchist Black Cross* (contact an ABC near

you for a copy).

We decided to hold another conference. A working group was formed to find a group of people willing to organize a conference in July in their area.

Since the conference, *Arm the Spirit* (and *Prison News Service* in Toronto) have agreed to sponsor the event. Contact ATS or PNS (POB 5052 STN. A, Toronto, Ont., Canada M5W 1W4) for info.

We decided to organize an Emergency Response Network. ATS and PNS agreed to organize it. The ERN is essentially a phone (and e-mail) tree that will be activated in case of prison related emergencies. Five groups volunteered to be the main nodes for this network. The ERN is not limited to ABC groups (i.e. MOVE volunteered to cover their area at the conference and other groups can join the network). Jim Campbell has written a more thorough proposal on how the ERN should function. For more info, contact an ABC near you or call Nightcrawlers voice mail ((212) 802-4544) and leave a message if you are interested in joining the effort.

A monthly calendar of prison-related campaigns and events will be produced by NJ ABC/Paterson Anarchist Black Cross. (Write for a copy or send submissions to NJ ABC, POB 8532, Paterson, NJ 07508-8532)

We decided not to continue publishing a *Discussion Bulletin* and instead to rely on the publications that already exist and have ABC sections to get information out about the ABC (i.e. *Love and Rage*, *Black Fist*, *Plain Words*, *PNS*, *ATS* and others).

A discussion led by Bonnie Kerness focusing on the Control Unit Monitoring Project led to commitments on the part of some of the people who participated in the forum to work on the project. Briefly, the idea is to spend about a year gathering information from prisoners and through our own research to figure out exactly where and why control units have proliferated. As this develops, people on the outside in conjunction with prisoners in control units can continuously monitor as well as take action against the units. The campaign is designed to appeal to a broader audience (including liberals and church groups). We were invited to send a small number of ABC representatives to a working meeting for the proposed Control Unit Monitoring Project to be held in Philadelphia in December. Dema from Nightcrawlers and Tod from Milwaukee volunteered to attend on behalf of ABC and take responsibility for communicating what comes out of that meeting to those who signed up to work on the project. For copies of the proposal, info on control units or the forming network write Bonnie Kerness c/o AFSC, 972 Broad St., Newark, NJ 07102. Anti-Control unit work was also discussed at a recent conference in Boulder, Co. For more info about what transpired there contact Bonnie.

Frank from Black Fist agreed to keep an updated list of ABC groups. ABCs that are not heard from after a six month period will be axed from the list.

After a discussion of the need to create biographies of prisoners to help plug people into the work, it was decided to ask the Prisoner Activist Resource Center (PARC) in Berkeley, California to act as a clearinghouse for the ABC. PARC was already compiling information on a number of campaigns and cases to make available to activists. PARC has agreed to do this and can be contacted c/o the Long Haul Infoshop, 3124 Shattuck, Berkeley, CA 94705.★

Gene is a member of Nightcrawlers Anarchist Black Cross.



Anarchist Black Cross & Other Prisoner Support Groups

ABC Baltimore
PO Box 19245
Baltimore, MD 21213

Nightcrawlers ABC
PO Box 1034
Mott Haven Station
Bronx, NY 10454

ABC Minneapolis
PO Box 7075
Minneapolis, MN 55407

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

Philadelphia ABC
4722 Baltimore Ave.
Philadelphia, PA 19143

Washington ABC
925 U St. NW
Washington, D.C. 20001

Paterson Anarchist Collective
New Jersey ABC
POB 8532
Paterson, New Jersey 07508

Books To Prisoners
c/o Left Bank
BOX A, Pike St.
Seattle, WA. 98101

Colorado Coalition to Shut
Down Control Unit Prison
Rocky Mountain Peace Center
POB 1156
Boulder, Colorado 80306

Crossroad: A New Afrikan
Captured Combatant
Newsletter
1348 W. Irving Park Rd.
Suite 108
Chicago, IL 60613

Native American
Justice Circle
POB 2184
Indianapolis, IN 46206

A Review of 500 Años del Pueblo Chicano 500 Years of Chicano History in Pictures

[500 Años del Pueblo Chicano/500 Years of Chicano History in Pictures—Expanded/Revisado. 8-1/2" x 11", 238 pp, B&W. Published by Southwest Organizing Project, 211 Tenth St. SW, Albuquerque, NM 87102 (505) 247-8832.]

BY BETH BRIGHT AND TODD PRANE

The history of these continents did not begin 502 years ago. The people of the Americas hardly noticed the arrival of one lost and ignorant sailor to a small island in the eastern Caribbean Sea. But things were different from that time on, all over the Americas.

500 Years of Chicano History in Pictures, edited by Elizabeth Martinez, tells one, very important part of the history since then. It tells a story of Chicano history—a story of resistance—starting with Indigenous resistance to the Spanish, and the creation of La Raza, continuing up to the early 1990s.

500 Years is set up as a photo montage with headlines and captions, including poetry and quotations from the famous and not-so-famous figures of Chicano history. The story takes its structure and direction from the content of the images. Words are secondary to the pictures.

What's unique about this telling of the history of Chicano resistance is its accessibility. The power of pictures, both photographs and other artwork, "speak" a powerful story of the struggles of a people. Even for someone who reads neither Spanish or English, the individuals and actions shown would be enough to see the power of a whole people. The book uses images to tell a history with a distinctly non-academic slant.

It's easy to open a picture book; it's easy to feel like you can understand it, like it's talking to you. The pictures themselves are beautiful, both in their content and the quality of reproduction. It is also a rare and valuable collection of such a volume of photographic material. Over 800 photos, drawings and prints make up the volume. In some ways the reliance on photographs shapes (maybe even limits) the telling of the history. The section on early history is short, and struggles since 1930 take up the last two-thirds of the book. But this only serves to increase the immediacy of the book. It is a history that is still being written (and photographed).

THE ROOTS OF LA RAZA

La Raza is "the Race," a cultural and racial identity used by people of Mexican heritage to identify themselves. La Raza was born of the mixing of the Spanish conquistadors and the Indigenous peoples. In 500 Years "La Raza" and "Chicano" are used almost synonymously. The book focuses on Raza living in what are now territories of the US. In this context Chicano and Raza become more interchangeable. In general Chicano refers to people who are Raza but, because they have not been living in México, are not Mexican. Raza were oppressed by the full-blooded Spaniards, followed soon afterward by Anglos (English speakers). By

the 1600s the struggles of Indígenas and of La Raza in what is now México, and the territories which are now the states of Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona and California, often coincided.

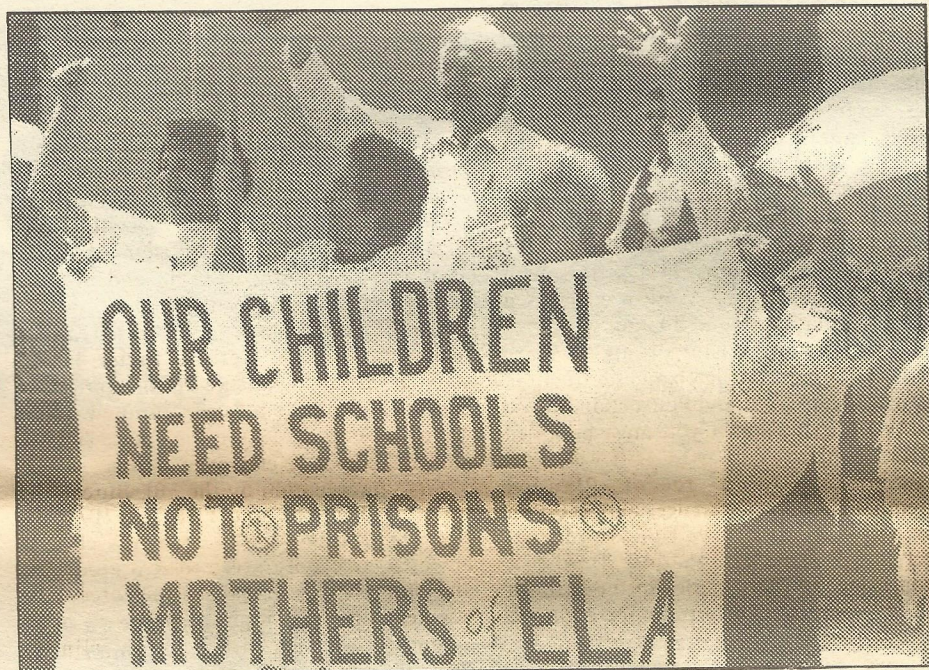
Some of the negative aspects of the relationship between La Raza and the Indígenas are left out of this early history, when the Mestizos were displacing Indígenas, and the modern history, where the same displacement continues, always alongside unity. In spite of this glossing of the history, 500 Años does an excellent job of connecting the oppression of the Indigenous peoples and Raza living in the Southwest. The photos show us an Anglo veteran of the Wounded Knee massacre who leads the Ludlow massacre of Chicanos. They show us continuity between the traditions and lifestyles of the Chicano residents of the Southwest and their Indigenous neighbors.

Most of the history of Chicanos is intimately involved with their economic exploitation by Anglos. Much of the book is devoted to labor struggles of Chicanos, particularly in agriculture. Two ways that the story of labor comes through is in the voices of individuals who participated in the struggles, and through the showing of

the book. From the pictures of female soldiers during the Mexican revolution to wimmin labor activists, to wimmin taking their families across the border, wimmin are present in this book in many different, active forms.

THE SOUTHWEST

The struggle shown in this book is specifically about the region that is now the southwestern US. When the book tells the story of Mexican revolutionary Pancho Villa, what we discover to be important about him is that he came to the US-held territories and was the only foreign military commander ever to take over a town in the US: Columbus, New Mexico. As the history continues, the individual struggles that we see take place in the Southwest. This region has a unique history of Chicano culture and resistance. The Chicano population here is large and vocal, and the struggle here goes on every day. For every step forward for environmental, economic and social justice, a new battle lies just around the corner, from pesticides in the fields to Intel polluting the air and water. 500 Years suc-



Los Angeles, 1990: Mothers of East L.A. marching against building of prison in the community.

the participation of wimmin. Through pictures we see the faces of people who have fought for Chicano rights to better working conditions, wages, health care, living conditions. We see faces of those who have died for these, and faces in celebration of victory when gains were made. And in all of this we see wimmin: in the fields, on the pickets at factories, with babies, with grown children who are fighting, and in leadership positions in their communities. It is rare to see a presentation of wimmin in which wimmin seem to appear of their own accord, because they are everywhere and do everything, and not because someone thought it was a good idea to put them in

ceeds in connecting the Chicano community and its fights today to its history in this region.

LANGUAGE

The use of language in the book is interesting on two counts. The story is driven by the pictures, with captions, headlines, and explanatory paragraphs taking their cues from the photos they accompany. This gives the history less fluidity, since not every moment of importance will have a photograph or picture to portray it. The photos don't just tell us that wimmin were important in the Mexican Revolution, they show us Carmen Robles and other commanders of the day. The result is a history that starts and stops, that focuses and looks away. It takes a bit more work to build a whole picture out of it, but the story eventually comes together, almost as though the connections draw themselves.

The second interesting element in the use of language is the way in which English and Spanish play off of each other throughout the book. Almost all of the text of 500 Años is printed in both English and Spanish, but sometimes headlines are larger in one language than the other. Sometimes the English is on top, sometimes the Spanish. Sometimes, when the words in the two languages are similar, no translation is provided at all. Readers are constantly startled by words in a different language than they're used to popping up unexpectedly. This captures a sense of Chicano presence in the book as well as any of the pictures. But the unorthodox layout and translation of the text in the book also makes native English speakers check themselves more often—it makes Anglos more aware that they are Anglos and that they might have



Soldier from the Mexican Revolution

a place (however dubious at times) in the pictures, too.

THE HISTORY OF THE BOOK

500 Years of Chicano History in Pictures was originally published by the Chicano Communications Center in Albuquerque, New Mexico in 1976 under the title 450 years of Chicano History in Pictures. It has been in and out (mostly out) of print since then—a hard-to-find treasure possessed mostly by New Mexicans and people with the right connections. This reprinting by the Southwest Organizing Project (SWOP) in 1991 has both revised the book (adding scores of pictures, especially from the '70s, '80s and '90s), and has made it available to a much broader readership.

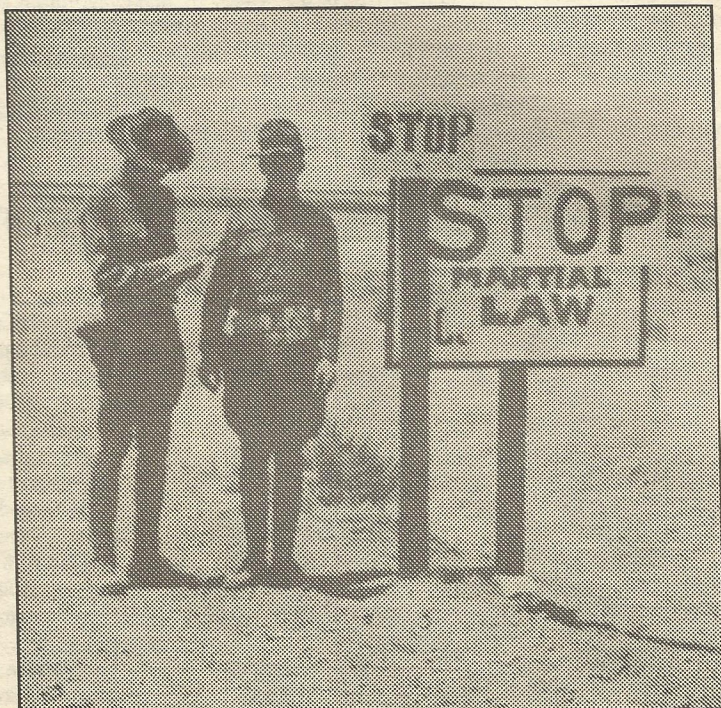
WHEREFORE NATIONALISM?

No anti-authoritarian account of this book would be complete without at least a mention of Chicano nationalism. The use of the term and concept of "La Raza" by Chicano nationalists can be problematic. "La Raza" can be exclusionary—not just of Anglos, but also of other Latinos. In spite of the apparent connections to Indigenous history, Raza in México have been no kinder to the Native communities than have the Anglos here (the Chiapanecos have taught us this). But Raza can also be the position from which an oppressed people inside of the US base their resistance. Anti-nationalist anarchists would be wise to understand this complicated subject before dismissing one more potentially revolutionary community struggling to organize itself.

EMPOWERMENT

Because 500 Años is a political book, with an activist agenda, it does more than tell a story. It emphasizes the ability of people to fight against their oppression, and shows, over and over again, the people winning. While this may be one way of skewing the truth, it is also a way to mobilize and organize in a community. 500 Años succeeds in not only educating the reader on Chicano struggles, but impels her to be involved. The reader knows that this fight affects her, and the successes outlined in the history encourage her participation.

Anarchists in the US talk a lot about working in communities, particularly communities of color. We face many problems doing that, from being a primarily white movement to not setting down roots in any community to ghettoizing ourselves. Books like 500 Años are both tools and examples for community organizing. They offer an informational way into a community through the beginnings of understanding, and they provide a model for successful mobilization. Anarchists in this country need both of these things in order to become relevant and effective in the on-going struggles of the people around us. Happy reading, happy working, happy organizing!★



Colorado, 1936: State militia stop migrant workers at the border.

Christian Right

(Continued from page 1)

Pensacola, Fla., the drumbeat for federal intervention has reached deafening levels.

Armed US Marshals, FBI agents using "special investigative techniques," and police SWAT teams, however, will defend neither women seeking reproductive health care nor abortion providers. Rather, such intervention will transform women's clinics into armed camps. The net result of such a massive show of firepower by the State will not guarantee women's safety at clinics. Neither will such intervention increase women's access to reproductive health care.

Indeed, police intervention on such a grand scale plays into the hands of anti-choice terrorists. They believe that such displays of state power only assist their own propaganda efforts and buttress their assertion that "abortion is murder" and that women who control their bodies are doing something "wrong."

Despite US Attorney General Janet Reno's statement that clinic violence "is a problem throughout the nation," and that "it is appropriate to address an issue of deep concern," two more women's clinics have been fire-bombed since Rev. Hill's murderous rampage.

A clinic in Falls Church, Va. sustained more than \$10,000 in damage on July 30, while a Planned Parenthood facility in Brainerd, Minn. was burned to the ground on August 10; the Minnesota facility did not perform abortions. During the same period in which these two clinics were attacked, a right-wing vigilante was arrested outside a Philadelphia women's clinic; six molotov cocktails were seized from the trunk of his car. Reports of death threats against patients, doctors and health-care workers have skyrocketed since the Pensacola murders.

While the State is poised, through the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act (the FACE law), to legitimize anti-abortion thugs who "sidewalk counsel" and engage in other forms of harassment against women, gangsters such as convicted clinic bomber Rev. Michael Bray, an endorser of Hill's Defensive Action Declaration, insist: "Anyone who truly believes that the slaughter of innocent children is what we have with abortion could go out and shoot an abortionist."

Similarly, other supporters of the "justifiable homicide" position go further. According to the Rev. David Trosch, even pharmacists might eventually become targets. "I would see no problem with shooting a pharmacist" who provided a "morning-after pill" to women who seek to terminate their pregnancies. Trosch, in a July 16 letter that predicted the "massive killing of abortionists and their staffs," pointedly warned

that clinic defenders and reproductive-rights activists "will be sought out and terminated as vermin are terminated."

Rev. Trosch and C. Roy McMillan, Executive Director of the Christian Action Group in Jackson, Miss., believe that clinic escorts and clinic defenders act as "accomplices," and therefore are fair game for right-wing, anti-abortion vigilantes.

McMillan, a weapons specialist who served two tours of duty in Vietnam, states that "Twenty-five years later I have not changed my opinion as to the justification of the US intervention in Vietnam...I assume the enemy I killed were not Christian like me."

Today McMillan believes that the killing of unarmed escort James Barrett was no more than "collateral damage." Apparently McMillan's ideological fervor will come in handy as he and others wage "cultural civil war" on the home front.

Recent protests in Jackson and Gulfport, Miss. targeted Black physician Dr. Joseph Booker, the sole abortion provider for the entire state. The American Coalition of Life Activists (ACLA), a violent front group founded by Andrew Burnett, publisher of *Life Advocate* magazine, and Joseph Foreman, a founder of Operation Rescue and current director of Missionaries to the Preborn (MTP), has vowed to drive Dr. Booker from his practice. Both Burnett and Foreman were signers of Rev. Hill's Defensive Action Declaration.

Daniel Ware, a Rescue America member and friend of Paul Hill's, was arrested in Pensacola last March for having a cache of weapons and more than 400 rounds of high-velocity ammunition in his car. Ware had vowed to "terminate" abortion providers who had gathered in Pensacola for a memorial service for Dr. David Gunn, assassinated last year by Rescue America member Michael Griffin. Although charged with having made statements that he intended "to take out child-killers in a Beirut-style massacre," Ware was released after a Florida jury found him not guilty.

During the Mississippi protests Ware declared, "If you sow death and destruction, you shall reap death and destruction. If you kill by the sword, then you must be killed by the sword."

According to a recent Planned Parenthood news conference, anti-abortion leaders Randall Terry, the founder of Operation Rescue, and Matthew Trewella, a top leader of Missionaries to the Preborn and a Defensive Action supporter, have joined forces with the far-right US Taxpayers Party (USTP).

Planned Parenthood released videotaped excerpts of Terry and Trewella's speeches to a USTP meeting held in Appleton, Wisc. last May. The footage had been obtained by clandestine anti-fascist researchers.

While one speaker urged conference participants to "arm their children," another

asserted that "abortionists should be put to death." The USTP distributed a 100-page manual entitled "Principles Justifying the Arming and Organization of a Militia." The USTP was founded in 1992 by "New Right" guru Howard Phillips. Early supporters of the organization have included Larry Pratt, president of Gun Owners of America, and Julie Makkima, director of the anti-abortion group Fortress International.

Meanwhile, fascists from five separate Ku Klux Klan groups demonstrated outside the Aware Woman Center for Choice on August 20 in Melbourne, Fla. The clinic, targeted by Operation Rescue National's (ORN) 12-week long IMPACT team, a paramilitary "boot camp" for "Christian warriors," in 1993, has been under siege for years.

According to J.D. Alder, Imperial Advisor to a Florida unit of the Klan, the group listed Rev. Hill as "the hero of the month." Alder added, "I put an abortionist in the same category as John Wayne Gacy."

Ostensibly the Klan groups are gathering to protest the presence of US Marshals outside women's clinics. "It's a big brother. It's a government who tries to control people through fear and intimidation," said "former" Klansman John Baumgardner.

However, their real agenda was revealed when Alder stated, "We consider abortion to be tantamount to racial suicide because it's primarily white people killing their babies. I am selectively opposed to abortion. I don't care if Blacks and Jews have abortions. It is white babies that are our primary concern."

The convergence of Christian right reconstructionist anti-abortion theocrats, far-right vigilante outfits such as the US Taxpayers Party, an organization with extensive ties to the quasi-fascist "posse comitatus" movement of the 1970s, and Klan thugs, should not surprise us in the least. Such a fascist united front of terror has been spawned by a system of class exploitation, racism, sexism, and deadly homophobia—i.e., capitalism.

The bourgeois State, unsurprisingly, will utilize fascist and clerical-fascist gangs such as Operation Rescue, Defensive Action and the Ku Klux Klan to terrorize and crush opposition to the State and their "post-modern" corporate employers.

State intervention by the FBI, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF), and the US Marshals at women's clinics however, will only serve to marginalize—and potentially criminalize—one force that has kept Christian Right terrorists at bay: community-based, direct-action, clinic-defense groups.

Those, such as Feminist Majority Foundation president Eleanor Smeal, who call on the FBI "to form a special task force" to investigate anti-abortion terror consciously delete from history the role played by this repressive agency throughout its existence.

Far from being a "neutral" investigative agency concerned with uncovering the depredations of organized crime or "domestic terrorism," the FBI has been the vanguard federal force that has targeted labor, minority groups struggling against racism, the women's movement, queer activists and the Left.

The sordid history of the FBI is littered with the bodies of activists murdered to maintain the status quo. During the 1960s the FBI's role was not to "protect" civil rights workers, but rather, through its utilization of informers and other far-right "assets" inside the Ku Klux Klan, the Bureau actively assisted the KKK in their campaign of racist murder and terror.

Unlike in slick Hollywood popularizations of the period, such as Alan Parker's film "Mississippi Burning," the FBI was instrumental in re-building the Ku Klux Klan in the south "...setting up dozens of Klaverns, sometimes being leaders and public spokespersons. Gary Rowe, an FBI informant, was involved in the Klan killing of Viola Liuzzo, a civil rights worker. He claimed that he had to fire shots at her rather than 'blow his cover.' One FBI agent speaking at a rally organized by the Klavern he led proclaimed to his followers, 'We will restore white rights if we have to kill every Negro to do it.'"

The Bureau's not-so-secret war against the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), the Communist Party (CP), the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the Black Panther Party (BPP), the American Indian Movement (AIM), the Committee In Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), and most recently, the attempted frame-up of Judi Bari and Earth First!, span the decades. Will the clinic defense movement be the FBI's next target, the recipient of an "active measures" campaign?

While the "Cold War" may be over, the search for "enemies" continues. Where "threats to national security" cannot be found, they are created; this is the legacy bequeathed by J. Edgar Hoover to the FBI and its current Director, Louis J. Freeh.

One can only speculate that the Bureau's "reluctance" to investigate far-right advocates of anti-choice violence may stem from their utilization of Christian Right "assets" during the 1980s as the Reagan administration and the Bureau prosecuted their own "dirty war" at home to buttress the terrorist Central American death-squad states propped up by the US Government.

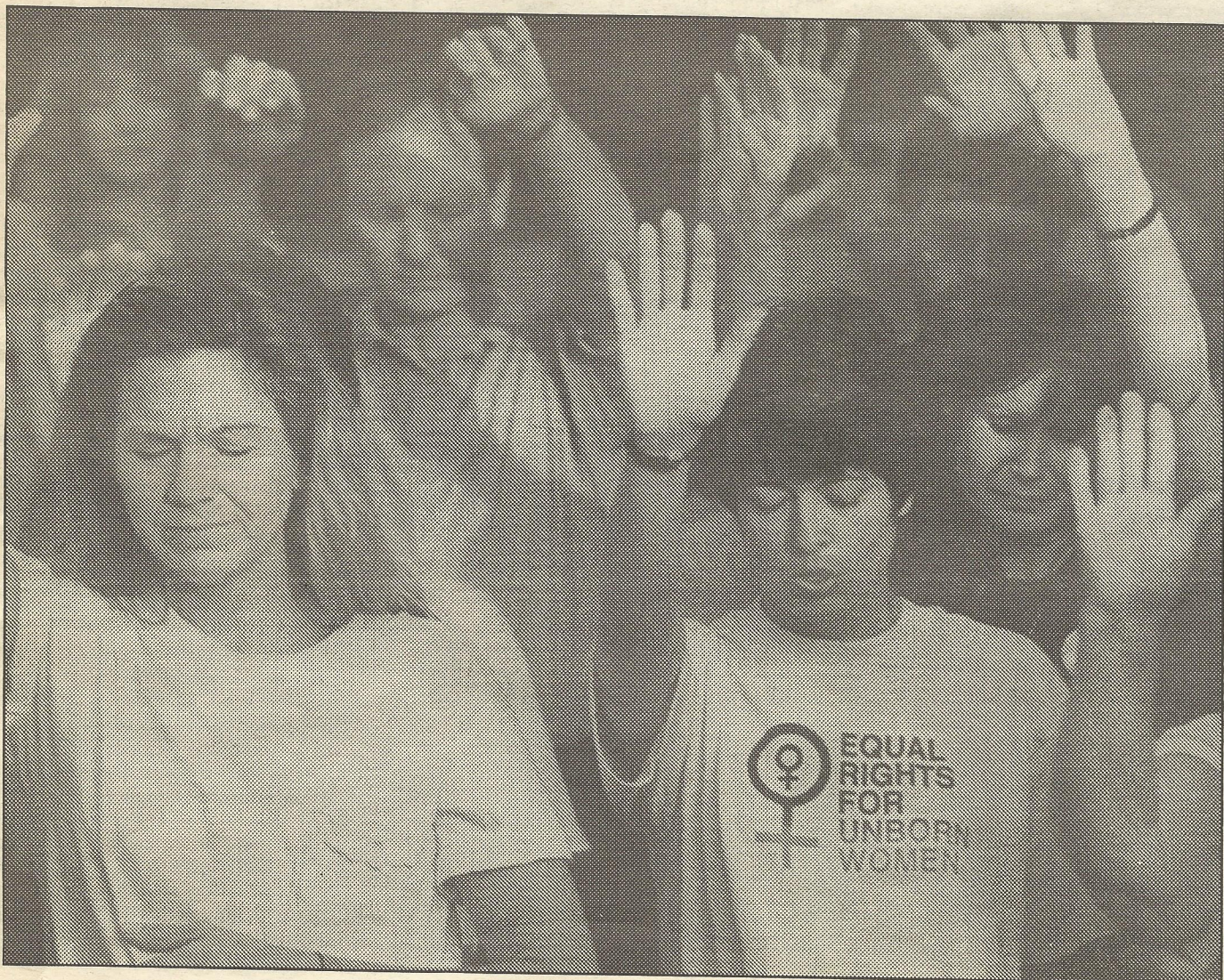
In this writer's view, it is inconceivable that the FBI, the BATF, and other federal investigatory agencies have no knowledge of the interconnections among far- and Christian right terrorists waging their "holy war" against women's rights; a campaign that now spans three decades.

Since 1977, according to the National Abortion Federation (NAF), there have been 128 bombing/arson attacks, 573 incidents of clinic vandalism, 66 attempted bombing/arson attacks, 199 incidents where doctors or health-care workers have been stalked, and 197 death threats leveled against patients, physicians or health-care workers.

In the majority of cases these serious incidents of domestic terror are treated by local, state and federal authorities as unconnected acts of mayhem—with much complicity by "mainstream" media. Rather, such heinous acts of violence against women are evidence of a broad campaign waged by the direct-action anti-abortion movement; a program designed to destroy abortion access through low-intensity war.

As I have written elsewhere, the direct-action anti-abortion movement and the broader Christian Right have temporarily ceded the legislative and judicial domain to their opponents. Having lost in the courts and in the legislatures, they have turned to a broad campaign of arson, bombing, selective violence, and, once again, murder against abortion providers: Randall Terry's "weak link."

As a strategic orientation, low-intensity warfare rests on a simple premise: In order to achieve political objectives by "extraordinary" means, a comprehensive, coordinated set of tactics are required. Such tactics are intended to guarantee that prolonged economic sabotage and the cumulative effects of propaganda, espionage, psychological terror and violence will eventually wear the "enemy" down and achieve the desired goal: destruction of access and the loss of reproductive health care for women.



(Continued to page 12)

To Advance the Class Struggle, Abolish the White Race

BY NOEL IGNATIEV

Race is a biological fiction, but it is a social fact. The white race consists of those who enjoy the privileges of the white skin—freedom from unreasonable search and seizure, the inside track for jobs and careers, not having to fear for their lives every time they leave the home, expecting, if they are female, that the state will protect them from strangers. Its most downtrodden members enjoy a social status above any person defined as “non-white.”

From the standpoint of the working class, the white race is an attempt by some workers to cut a separate deal with capital, at the expense of the class of which they are a part. From the standpoint of capital, it is a cheap way of buying some people's loyalty to a social system that exploits them.

The cops provide an example of how the white race is held together: the natural attitude of the police toward the exploited is hostility. All over the world cops beat up poor people, and it has nothing to do with color. What is unusual and has to be accounted for is not why they beat up black people but why they don't normally beat up propertyless whites. The cops look at a person and decide on the basis of color whether that person is loyal to, or an enemy of, the system they are sworn to serve and protect. They don't stop to think if the black person whose head they are whipping is an enemy; they just assume it. It does not matter if the victim goes to work every day, pays his taxes and crosses only on the green.

On the other hand, the cops don't know for sure if the white person to whom they give a break is loyal to them. They assume it. The non-beating of whites is time off for good behavior and an assurance of future cooperation. White workers' color exempts them to some degree from the criminal class—which is how the entire working class was defined before the invention of race, and is still treated in those parts of the world where race does not exist as a social category.

HOW TO ABOLISH THE WHITE RACE

But what if the police couldn't tell a loyal person just by color? What if there were enough people around who looked white but were really enemies of the state so that the cops couldn't tell whom to beat and whom to let off? What would they do then? They would begin to “enforce the law impartially,” as the liberals say. But, as Anatole France noted, “The law, in its majestic equality, forbids both rich and poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets, and to steal bread.” The standard that governs police behavior all over the world (except where race exists) is wealth and its external manifestations: dress, speech, etc. At the present time, the class bias of the law is partially repressed by racial considerations; the removal of those considerations would give it free rein. White poor would find themselves on the receiving end of police justice as black people now do. The effect on their consciousness and behavior is predictable.

The abolitionists consider it a useless project to try to win the majority of whites, or even the majority of working class whites, to “anti-racism.” They seek instead to compel capital to turn millions of “whites” against it, by rendering the white skin useless as a predictor of attitudes. How many would it take to rob the white skin of its predictive value? No one can say. How much counterfeit money has to circulate in order to destroy the value of the official stuff? The answer is, nowhere near a majority: in the past, five to ten percent fake has proven enough to undermine public faith in the other. Whiteness is the currency of this society; to destroy it would take only enough counterfeit whites (race traitors) to undermine the confidence of the police, etc. in their ability to differentiate between friends and enemies by color.

The abolitionist strategy depends on the coming together of a minority determined to break up the white race. What would the determined minority have to do to plant doubt about the reliability of the white skin? They would have to break the laws of whiteness so flagrantly as to make it impossible to maintain the myth of white unanimity. Such

actions would jeopardize their own ability to draw upon the privileges of whiteness. That is what would define them as race traitors.

Just as the capitalist system is not a capitalist plot, race is not the work of racists. On the contrary, it is reproduced by the principal institutions of society. Therefore, the main target of those who seek to eradicate it should be the institutions and behaviors that maintain it: the schools (which define “excellence”), the unions and employers (which define “employment”), the justice system (which defines “crime”), the welfare system (which defines “poverty”), and the family (which defines “kinship”).

AGAINST FASCISM, AGAINST CAPITAL, AGAINST THE STATE

The collapse of the white race does not mean that all people now classified as white would suddenly become revolutionary. Some, whose class interests rest on exploitation, would remain faithful to the capitalist system. However, once color ceased to serve as a handy guide for deciding who gets a beating and who gets off, many victims of exploitation who previously considered themselves “white” would join with the rest of the working class in waging struggle against capital.

Others would take a different path, seeking to restore the privileges of the white race. Alongside class struggle, it is to be expected that militant white-supremacist movements with anti-capitalist slogans would grow among the poorest and most alienated sectors of white society.

The fascists are the vanguard of the white race; however, the big problem right now is not the white vanguard, but the white mainstream. Any anti-fascist struggle that does not confront the state reinforces the institutions that provide the seedbed for fascism. Moreover, every time the fascists are able to depict their opponents as defenders of the existing system, or mere reformers, they gain support among those whites who believe that nothing less than a total change is worth fighting for. An anti-fascist counter-rally where people gather to hear speeches, chant slogans, and shake their fists in rage is a display of impotence, and the more people who attend, the more they reveal their futility.

Fascism and white supremacy will only be defeated by a movement aimed at building a new world. It is not enough to declare this commitment abstractly, by waving the red or black flag; it must be expressed in the content and forms of the struggle itself. How to do that is no easy question. But it is the question of the hour.

Noel Ignatiev is one of the editors of *Race Traitor*: journal of the new abolitionism. Subscriptions are \$20 for four issues, single copies \$6 postpaid. Write PO Box 603, Cambridge, MA 02140-0005.

[Note from the Production Group: The women of the PG strongly disagree with Noel's statement at the outset of this article that “not having to fear for their lives every time they leave the home, expecting...that the state will protect them from strangers” is a “social fact” for white women. As white women, we have all been harassed by police and fear that we will fall victim to the common practice of police rape and a legal system that still makes it nearly impossible for a woman to “prove” she has been raped. Some of us have also been physically abused in the presence of police that have turned the other way.]

Given that this is the only reference Noel makes to women in his article on class struggle and white privilege, we gave him the opportunity to delete this sentence. He refused, arguing that it is his viewpoint and that it should be left in to “provoke debate.” We find the claim offensive, and we want to point out that we believe it runs contrary to the newspaper's commitment to recognizing the way in which state power is used to uphold patriarchy.]

Xtian Right

(Continued from page 11)

THE FBI, KU KLUX KLAN, AND AMERICAN NAZI PARTY: THE GREENSBORO MASSACRE

Another case which, after all, “only encompasses everything that has been done or will be done in the future,” occurred in Greensboro, NC in 1979.

On November 3, 1979, a posse organized by Klansmen and neo-Nazis murdered five members of the Communist Workers Party (CWP) in broad daylight. Their “crime” had been to organize a “Smash the Klan” demonstration among Greensboro's heavily black and working-class mill workers. CWP members were also union organizers and activists who had upset “the fundamental order of things.”

An essential component for the operation organized by the Klan was BATF agent Bernard Butkovich. The BATF agent, a Vietnam veteran and demolitions expert undercover in the local branch of the American Nazi Party, helped the fascists obtain automatic weapons. After the smoke cleared and five people lay dead, the BATF “asset” assisted the Klansmen and nazis in making their escape.

This anti-communist death squad had been recruited, organized and led by an FBI infiltrator, Edward Dawson. Dawson was also a paid informant for the Greensboro Police Department.

Dawson reported to his handlers that eighty-five Klansmen meeting in near-by Lincolnton had expressed their intent to counter-demonstrate on November 3.

They had stated that they intended to arm themselves for their counter-demonstration and that Klan leader Virgil Griffin was actively calling on Klansmen from other states to participate. It was also rumored that fascists and neo-nazis from the Winston-Salem area had obtained a machine gun and other weapons. They planned to come to Greensboro on November 3 “in order to shoot up the place.”

Dawson reported to Greensboro detective Jerry Cooper that Klansmen and neo-nazis were assembling at the home of a local Klan member and that they were armed. Grand Dragon Virgil Griffin was present.

The police/FBI informant had received a copy of the parade route the day before the CWP-initiated march; the map had been supplied by Detective Cooper. Dawson had driven over the parade route three hours earlier with a contingent of out-of-town Klansmen. Dawson also alerted Cooper that the Klansmen and neo-nazis possessed three handguns and nine long-barreled rifles, including automatic weapons supplied by Butkovich.

Prior to the beginning of the CWP's march and demonstration, Cooper and other police officials drove by the house where the Klansmen and neo-nazis were assembling. They jotted down some license plate numbers and then declared a lunch break—at approximately 10 a.m.!

Less than an hour later, Cooper, trailing behind the fascist caravan, reported “shots fired” and then “heavy gunfire.” However, the tactical squad assigned to monitor the march was still out to lunch.

Two other officers, responding to a domestic disturbance call, noted the absence of patrol cars usually assigned to the area. They arrived at the Morningside Projects, the site of the CWP march. Officer Wise later reported having received a most unusual call from the police communications center. The officers were asked how long they anticipated being at their call; they were subsequently advised to “clear the area as soon as possible.”

Moments later five demonstrators lay dead, murdered in broad daylight by members of the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazi Party. According to anti-racist

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Scene in Los Angeles after the Rodney King verdict.

Other Anti-Authoritarian/Anti-Imperialist Periodicals

The Blast!
PO Box 7075
Minneapolis, MN 55407

The Agitator Index Collective's newspaper. Issue #3 focuses on prison issues, also with a special section on the D.A.R.E. program and articles on Stonewall 25, GATT, Cultural Imperialism, an interview on Zapatista democracy and oh so much more.
\$2 by mail.

Turning the Tide
P.O. Box 1990
Burbank, CA 91507

Journal of anti-racist activism, research and education. This periodical concentrates on anti-racism, with a focus on the neo-fascist christian right and neo-nazis. Also generally includes info on immigration, the Zapatistas and more.
Two dollars by mail.

Industrial Worker
1095 Market St.
Suite 204

San Francisco, CA 94103
The sort-of monthly newspaper of the Industrial Workers of the World. News on labor struggles throughout the world, with analyses of labor struggles and workplace issues in North America.
One dollar by mail.

Black Fist
15110 Bellaire #317
Houston, TX 77083

Excellent periodical with news on worldwide anti-imperialist struggles and Houston local news. Also contains queer stuff, prison/ABC news and more. \$2.

Active Transformation
PO Box 6746

East Lansing, MI 48826
Newspaper with information on local issues and anti-authoritarian analysis.
\$1 by mail.

Armies of Repression

(Continued from page 12)

researcher Michael Novick, the Greensboro massacre "set the tone for neo-nazi organizing by the KKK and other white supremacists in the ensuing decade."

A subsequent civil suit brought against the neo-nazis, the Klan and the Greensboro police resulted in a partial award to the surviving family members of those murdered by the fascists. However the FBI and BATF agents walked away scot-free.

FBI Director William Webster labeled the charge of federal complicity "utterly absurd," even though the killers had been recruited, organized and led on their murderous rampage by Bureau informant Edward Dawson, and automatic weapons supplied by BATF agent Bernard Butkovich were used in the deadly attack.

As we have seen, however, this is simply standard operating procedure; what Noam Chomsky has termed the "demonstration effect" for those who dare to challenge the hegemony of US corporate elites and their fascist and clerical-fascist allies.

CLINIC DEFENSE AFTER PENSACOLA

The search for "endless enemies" by the FBI and other government agencies will continue; of this we can be certain. It is critical that grass-roots organizations continue to defend women's clinics and health care providers from the deadly attacks of the Christian Right.

The clinic defense movement, if it is to remain a vital source of strength and empowerment for women (and, by its heroic example of militant mass struggle, to all who fight against every vestige of capitalist oppression) must begin an active campaign that directly challenges and defeats the Christian Right.

Any "partnership" with repressive government agencies, however provisional, would be a grave political error with consequences impossible to foresee.

Even before the smoke cleared in Pensacola, however, the drum-beat of violence-baiting and specious comparisons between "extremists on both sides of the abortion issue" had begun to reverberate in the bourgeois press.

As with other cases of institutional, state repression cited in this report, the media played a pivotal role in legitimizing attacks by the FBI and other federal agencies on radical and progressive movements. By uncritically presenting Bureau disinformation as unadulterated facts, despite evidence to the contrary, the media are witting and unwitting accomplices for the FBI's on-going COINTELPRO operations against the Left.

Progressive researcher Chip Berlet has described this as a process he terms a "paradigm shift." Through a "paradigm shift," progressive organizations are transformed into shadowy terrorist networks by the media. Oftentimes political disinformation on groups targeted for repression is passed to the media by reactionary right-wing opponents or state agencies themselves; the ubiquitous "unnamed government sources."

According to Berlet's definition, "The perceptual shift from dissent to criminality first goes public with unsubstantiated allegations and conclusions in the media of the reactionary and paranoid political Right. Eventually the right-wing media's attempt to re-frame the public's perception of the dissident group as subversive or criminal spills over into more mainstream media. The dissidents are seen as non-rational, unstable, alien, and capable of odious crimes because of their zealous mindset. Lists of potential crimes are discussed, and finally actual crimes are blamed on the political movement. Ideas that were once merely marginalized are thus criminalized. In some cases, the re-framing is so successful that there is widespread sentiment supporting the attacks. When this process of re-framing is successful, paradigm shift has occurred."

BACORR and Refuse & Resist! representatives who recently traveled to Florida were continually quoted out of context while the primary source material they distributed, linking national leaders and Pensacola anti-abortion activists, went unreported.

They were followed and harassed by local and federal law enforcement officials, while the anti-abortionists were given unlimited access to patients outside the Pensacola Women's Medical Services clinic.

New York Times correspondent Sam Howe Verhovek portrayed BACORR and Refuse & Resist! activists as "fanatics" and "zealots;" that is as "non-rational, unstable, alien," according to Berlet's definition.

Though Mr. Howe Verhovek and other Times correspondents had interviewed BACORR members and were well-aware of evidence in their possession linking "former Klansman" John Burt, Paul Hill and other anti-abortion activists to a plot to stalk and harass Dr. Britton prior to his assassination, this material was ignored. Mr. Howe Verhovek offered instead a piece of unvarnished slander as a substitute for an investigation of the complex interconnections among anti-abortion cadres.

According to Howe Verhovek's hit-piece, "At a rally sponsored by a coalition of abortion-rights groups...one speaker pointedly refused to disavow violence against anti-abortion demonstrators."

The speaker, a member of Refuse & Resist!, had actually drawn the comparison between a battered woman defending herself against her batterer and women who defend themselves from physical attacks directed at them by anti-abortion zealots. Thus, self-defense is transformed, in typical Times fashion, into offensive violence!

While we cannot control the political disinformation of the bourgeois media, we must continue to be clear as to our goals—unrestricted access to reproductive health care for women. The tactics we select in order to achieve this goal must reflect the actual contours of the struggle as it is waged today.

Self-defense is a right of all oppressed people. Just as we would urge a woman about to be raped to use whatever force is necessary to deter a rapist, we would also counsel clinic defenders, patient escorts, or health-care providers to defend themselves from attacks launched by anti-abortion thugs. To countenance anything less is political suicide.

In this regard, we would be well-advised to look to other historical parallels—to the history of fighting fascism, for example—with such knowledge in hand, clinic-defense activists will draw the necessary conclusions.

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES... REPRODUCTIVE FREEDOM, BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY!

(A longer, unedited version of this essay is available with footnotes. Please include \$1 postage.)

For more information on how you can get involved in the battle to win full reproductive rights, contact The Fight Back Network:

Bay Area Coalition for Our Reproductive Rights
(BACORR)
750 La Playa # 730
San Francisco, CA 94121
(415) 252-0750

Refuse & Resist!
305 Madison Avenue #1166
New York, New York 10165
(212) 713-5657

Politicizing Gender

(Continued from page 4)

consciousness" to Minkowitz. Here there is no proof, only Minkowitz's insight based on her desire to essentialize all "women's" experiences. That she doesn't know any transsexuals and hasn't taken the time to study our history might have something to do with it.

After the article appeared, a transsexual woman wrote in to *The Voice* stating that she had not addressed Brandon with male pronouns and had robbed him of his identity, concluding that Brandon was a true transsexual. Minkowitz responded that she didn't believe there are any essential gender categories, and while transsexual's choice should be respected, there is no such thing as a true transsexual. Interestingly, in other columns Donna Minkowitz has stated there are no essential sexual categories, therefore she has chosen to be a lesbian. Yet, if we use the same logic in Brandon's case, can't she accept and respect his choices? In this sense I do claim Brandon a transgender man, not out of my desire to fulfill an agenda, but based on how he lived his life and how he defined himself. *The Village Voice* is only repeating a familiar pattern. As the weekly is statedly pro-queer, this has meant lesbian and gay, not transgender or bisexual. Over the past three years, *The Voice* has only recently published one article by a transgender person.

In "The Menace In Michigan" by Riki Anne Wilchins, she chronicles her experiences at this year's Michigan Womyn's Festival held in August. Up until this year, Michigan has had a standing policy of "womyn born/womyn only," officially barring the transgender community. This policy has not been revised. As Wilchins reports, transgendered women were only allowed in for a single event—being met with cheers, jeers and quite a few threats of violence. It is unclear what the Festival will do in the future. However, I wonder if this small success may divert transgender activism from the necessity of liberating gender in the larger society we live in to carving a niche in the lesbian and gay ghetto.

As for *The Village Voice*, this article cannot negate its history of silence and subtle attacks towards the transgender community. In their special edition debating the homophobia in the film *Silence of the Lambs*, two avowed feminists did not find the killing of a transgender character troubling, considering the strong feminist overtones in Jodie Foster's portrayal of an FBI agent. In the review of the film "Female Behavior," a German documentary by lesbian feminist Monica Treut, another woman in *The Voice* attacked the transgender male character for disavowing "her" femaleness. These small examples I believe illustrate a larger pattern of transgenderphobia in the lesbian and gay community.

As queers gathered in NYC for Stonewall 25, transgender people were again relegated to the familiar status of cheerleaders. Good to have around for a laugh, but not good enough to be a part of the stated demands of the June 26 march on the United Nations. It was all too apparent that no longer are queers struggling for sexual and gender liberation, but for the civil rights of an increasingly small group of people,

abandoning everybody else.

WE STRUGGLE ALONE

Due to our often ambiguous appearance, transgender people present easy targets both for homophobes and sexists. Passing, meaning being able to assimilate in a society governed by gender rigidity, is often necessary and at times desired. Ultimately, it is an acceptance of invisibility. By our acceptance of just passing we are often denying our history, reinforcing a system based on neat and polarized gender roles. But let's face it, gender outlaws have a harder time getting work than most people and if getting a job means wearing clothes and performing tasks that are traditionally gendered then that's survival. Any theories purporting to liberate gender must be located in the day-to-day struggles of transgender people. Also, because of the lack of support in radical circles, transgender people are left to struggle alone—even in the larger queer community support is minimal.

GENDER REVOLUTION: HOW ANTI-AUTHORITARIANS AND GENDER OUTLAWS CAN EMPOWER ONE ANOTHER

The cruelest aspect of how oppression operates is how it teaches us to hate ourselves. Dealing with our own internalized oppression is often the hardest thing to do. Especially when I'm in progressive circles, it hurts so much when I realize that I want to distance myself from other transgender persons. I'll critique drag queens' campy humor as apolitical or I will remark about some transsexuals' "overdone" make-up, as if I wasn't secretly jealous of her "more feminine" appearance. Or I'll just ignore other transgender people because sometimes I want to pretend that they're not me.

At the same time, progressives shouldn't assume that because they've dealt with sexism, racism or homophobia on a theoretical level, they're beyond prejudice or insensitivity. I am sick and tired of people telling me I'm in a "queer safe space," while they tell humiliating jokes about a person's gender difference or discuss whether transgenderism isn't in fact oppressive!

The transgender movement is only in its initial stages. Because of this, anti-authoritarians can find possible allies in gender outlaws—we both want to overthrow authoritarian constructs. The transgender movement needs to broaden its analysis of oppression, while striking at the institutions that oppress us. A transgender "free space" is important. However, that space won't mean much if we don't become committed to challenging the larger society.

For many anti-authoritarians there may be the temptation to "smash gender" or "destroy gender roles." This may seem logical to some. However, I believe this too leads to an alternate form of authoritarianism. The transgender community is neither inherently radical or reactionary, just like any other social grouping, we span racial, sexual, class and political backgrounds—a gender revolution will only be meaningful if it substantively empowers everyone. A part of any revolutionary process involves listening to oppressed communities without assumptions. Questions and criticisms are a part of this, though they hopefully will be aware of their potential to limit the expansion of needed dialogue.

In reality our vision is largely determined by where our identity and its power is located within a society of gender hierarchies and rigidity. In the 1970s, feminists (defined as middle-class college-educated white women) banished Butch and femme lesbians from their movement for some 10 years for their "male-identified" gender roles. Let's not make the same mistakes again. Gender must be liberated, but we all must have a voice in what that means, not from an abstract pre-determined theory, but a synthesis of real people's experiences. From this I believe we will see that many people find gendered roles liberating, while others experience serious oppression through these roles. Any strategy toward liberation must maintain the integrity of all our experiences and be willing to question how different communities can accept divergent and antagonistic needs without creating an atmosphere of punishing silences and real violence. We have a long way to go; our power is in drawing on our collective weaknesses and strengths.★

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

☐ 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) and the Federation Bulletin (once per month). (The \$25, if you can't afford it, is waived on request.)

Name and Address _____

City/State/Province _____

Zip/Postal Code Phone (____) _____

Send check or money order to:

Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation
PO Box 853/Stuyvesant Station/New York, NY/10009

Haiti

(Continued from page 3)

February 1992, when President Aristide was overthrown, more than 60,000 people have applied for political status at US Embassy sites in Haiti, the only channels the US government has set up. (Imagine requiring Jews in wartime Germany to apply for asylum in offices near gestapo headquarters.) Even though they followed every procedure, however dangerous, less than 2,000 have been granted asylum here.

CONCLUSION

Recent revelations in the press that many of the top Haitian coup conspirators have for years been on the payroll of the Central Intelligence Agency, as the left had been saying all along, should come as no surprise. The US created, trained, financed and supplied the Haitian army. According to Gen. Raoul Cédras, the head of the 1991 coup against popularly-elected Jean-Bertrand Aristide, 75 percent of the Haitian army has been trained by the Pentagon. The fascist attachés and Macoutes bloodying the streets of Port-au-Prince today are funded by the US government.

President Clinton, continuing the policies of the previous administrations of Presidents Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan and George Bush, verbally professes his good faith and sincerity in restoring President Jean-Bertrand Aristide and democracy to Haiti. His administration proposes intervention of US/UN troops to "professionalize" the Haitian army and police, which will, supposedly, protect human rights and bolster democracy. He would like it to appear that the US is poised against the murderous Haitian army.

The actions of the US government, however, offer an entirely different picture: one of drug trafficking, crimes against humanity, and diplomatic double-dealing and treachery. The US Drug Enforcement Administration estimates that 26,400 pounds of cocaine enter the US each year via Haiti, with the junta's collaboration and profit-taking, military personnel advised, trained, funded and kept in power by the United States. Beginning with a few hundred "advisers" and under an international organization (the UN), the US plans to "retrain" the Haitian army and police, *not* to indict the death squads and drug traffickers, but to crush the popular movement and bolster allegedly "moderate" elements in the business sector who are opposed to "radical" reforms (like increases in the minimum wage). The US insists that Haitian generals who have made millions in the drug trade be included in a government of "reconciliation"; that Haitian refugees, fleeing for their lives, be picked up

by the Coast Guard and handed over to the police in Port-au-Prince, where they are often tortured, raped and murdered; that the Haitian peoples' cries for justice be met with "amnesty" for the putschists, death squads, and drug kingpins; that when the Haitian military is denounced for human rights abuses, it calls *President Aristide's* mental health into question; that when the Haitian people call for the demobilization of the military, the US responds by sending Green Berets, FBI police trainers and tens of millions of dollars in "technical assistance" to forge a more "efficient" counter-insurgency army.

Despite the fact that the US clandestinely supported the coup in Haiti and has consistently attacked President Aristide, some still argue that US/UN forces are needed to stop the Haitian military from butchering people. Human rights groups, members of the Congressional Black Caucus and others who might oppose US military interference in the affairs of a sovereign nation are now openly calling for intervention. Erstwhile peace groups (Pax Christi is one example among many) have stupidly joined in the clamor for military intervention in Haiti, under the illusion that the United Nations, which has helped bring the whole situation to the terrible point it is now at, is somehow an independent and benevolent world force and not simply a cover for US and Trilateral international interests.

But any US/UN military intervention in Haiti will be used to crush the popular movement, not the putschists or the bourgeois interests that put them in power. Activists in the US must oppose all US/UN plans for intervention of any sort in Haiti. Support the popular movement, not intervention, shut down the IMF, the World Bank, and USAID, and target those corporations in the US that are making millions off of slave labor in Haitian "export zones." There are plenty of things we can do right here in the US that will help bring down the fascists in Haiti. Military intervention is not one of them.★

Much of the information about the situation in Guantánamo is taken from research done by Dan Coughlin, of the Haiti Anti-Intervention Committee: 755 Fort Washington Station, NYC 10040; (212) 592-3612.

Mitchel Cohen is a founder of the Red Balloon Collective and, since 1969, has edited the magazine of the same name. For more info, write to the author at 2652 Cropsey Ave., #7H, Brooklyn, NY 11214.

[Update: A series of USAID briefing papers obtained by The Village Voice reveal some of the US plans for Haiti. State-run assets are to be sold to investors, including Haiti's main port, the telephone company and the Port-au-Prince airport. Plans also exist for delaying the elections scheduled for December in order to build a pro-US constituency in Haiti through voter-registration drives by organizations with ties to the Democratic and Republican parties.]

The Dictator's Men

(Continued from page 3)

what you do."

In Haiti, Duvalier was that lawful authority upon whom Giuliani had stamped his seal of approval. For Haitians to flee and to fight for their freedom, then as well as now, was an act that flew in the face of the authority Giuliani believed in and was paid to uphold. Thus, in September 1982 and on many occasions thereafter, Giuliani was back in court fighting against a ruling by Federal District Judge Eugene Spellman that ordered the release of 1,800 Haitian refugees who were held in six states and Puerto Rico. Giuliani continued his fight to send the refugees back, many to their deaths, despite federal court decisions, just as the US government had done to 930 Jews fleeing Nazi Germany aboard the SS *St. Louis* 43 years before.

2. RON BROWN

At the same time Giuliani was attempting to exonerate the Duvalier regime in the courts, another lawyer was hired to do the same in the media. Ron Brown, then Chairman of the Democratic National Committee and now Clinton's Secretary of Commerce, served as Duvalier's US-based lawyer and mouthpiece. Together, Giuliani and Brown constituted the Haitian fascists' one-two punch in the US. Duvalier paid Brown, a partner at the powerful Washington law firm of Patton, Boggs & Blow, an annual retainer of \$150,000 to secure his services, and Brown went to work for him on Capitol Hill. Some of Brown's work involved representing one Fritz Bennett, arrested in Puerto Rico for narcotics trafficking. Bennett is the brother of Michele Bennett Duvalier, the dictator's wife.

One of the most intimate of Brown's Haitian companions is Lillian Madsen, who lives in a \$360,000 Washington townhouse at 4303 Westover Place, purchased for her in 1992 by the commerce secretary himself and by his son, DC lobbyist Michael Brown.

The Madsen family, which Lillian married into, is an important member of the Haitian oligarchy, with vast holdings in coffee and beer. (She later divorced.) The Madsens were among the main domestic financial backers of the September 1991 coup against elected President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

The Washington-based newsletter *Counterpunch* picks up the trail: Lillian Madsen's brother-in-law, Marc "Butch" Ashton, is another longtime friend of the commerce secretary's. Ashton was a

financial advisor to Baby Doc, which, in ethical terms, is roughly equal to having counseled Salvadoran death squad leader Roberto d'Aubuisson on respect for human rights. A large landholder and owner of Haiti Citrus, a lime exporter, Ashton allegedly used a squad of 40 Tonton Macoutes to guard his properties. Poor farmers who leased their land to Haiti Citrus say they were intimidated and tortured by Ashton's thugs when they tried to get better terms. (For more dirt on Brown and especially his relationship with leaders of the Tonton Macoutes death squads, write to *Counterpunch* c/o the Institute for Policy Studies, 1601 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20009.)

Brown himself detailed his services to Duvalier in a nine-page memo. Brown's letter, written in French on Patton, Boggs & Blow letterhead, blamed "Monsieur le President's" problems on an "unfair" image created by the US media. As to his efforts on Haiti's behalf, Brown wrote that "We continue to dedicate a considerable amount of time to the improvement of relations between the Republic of Haiti and members of congress and the American government, with the goal of substantially increasing American aid to Haiti." Early success in this regard, crowed Brown, "is essentially the result of our Washington team."

Brown also informed Duvalier that he was looking after Haiti's "long-term interests" by maintaining "good relations" with leading American political figures: "While we have always enjoyed excellent relations with the government of President Reagan, we have also established personal contacts with almost all the Democratic candidates in order to ensure that we continue to have access to the White House regardless of who wins the presidential election in 1984." Brown boasted that his leading role in the Democratic National Committee "has served us in these efforts, while a certain number of my colleagues in the Republican Party assure the permanence of our access and the excellence of our relations with the government of President Reagan."

Like Giuliani, Ron Brown *believes* in what he is doing. Today, Brown heads the Commerce Department, one of the agencies that promotes corporate investment in Haiti, particularly in "free trade zones" where there are no environmental rules, no taxes, no labor laws and where US corporations such as Sears, JC Penney, WalMart, Wilson Sporting Goods and others have broken the unions and pay workers as little as 9 cents an hour. Commerce also oversees the shipments of toxic wastes abroad, of which Haiti has become far more than an equal opportunity recipient.★



Several hundred US troops raided this Afro-Caribbean dance group in Port-au-Prince.



¡Zapatistas!

LETTERS

NO MORE BAKLAVA

Hello,

This is a brief letter to let you know what's going on in Chicago, primarily with the Baklava Autonomist Collective. Basically, a little over a month ago (and after 3+ years of activity), Baklava decided to dissolve, for a variety of reasons pertaining mostly to group process. Suffice it to say that Baklava's time had come, and rather than keep going on trying to revive a dying project, we opted to break up the group. However, most of us were by no means ready to give up, and besides most of us being involved in developing the Autonomous Zone Infoshop many of us had new visions and projects we wished to pursue. So at the same time we dissolved Baklava, two new, smaller, and more cohesive collectives have formed (possibly a third one as well). Many of the old Baklavites are involved, as well as quite a few new people. It is a refreshing (re)start, and we are looking forward to what these collectives will accomplish.

What this means in terms of Baklava, however, is that many of the projects undertaken by Baklava have ended or changed. Here's a quick reference to those separate projects and their fates:

Wind Chill Factor: Will no longer be put out. That is difficult for some of us, but we are also looking forward to new things. One of the new collectives will be putting out a paper, but as it is a new group it will be a new zine with a different name. Look for it later this year. As WCF had lots of subscribers that won't ever see it again, this new paper will likely take over the old WCF mailing list as a starting point. If you have a sub and this is a problem for you, let us know, although it is unlikely we will have the funds to reimburse people.

Unfortunately, we have an incredible amount of unanswered mail that no one is particularly inspired to deal with now. So if we owe you mail, please be patient, we're trying to get it dealt with. For your info, we no longer have any back issues of WCF. Also, the WCF PO Box will be switching to something else soon. If you want to reach the new (unnamed) collectives, send mail c/o the A-Zone, 2045 W. Division, CHILL 60622. If you had a trade agreement with WCF, we'd appreciate you still sending stuff to the A-Zone as it goes to our zine archive there, and the new paper will be glad to continue trades as well.

Collective Chaos Records/Distribution: This project fell into chaos and died long

before Baklava did. If you're looking for some of the literature we were distributing, you can probably get it from the A-Zone if you really need it.

Anarchist Black Cross (Chicago): The people are still around, active, and interested, but at the moment are too caught up in other projects to put enough effort into keeping ABC lively. As soon as they do, you'll know.

Food Not Bombs (Chicago): Died, restarted, and died again. A third generation is unlikely, but people are still into free food, feeding people, and dumpstering so the spirit lives on.

That's it. We do not feel like this is a negative thing, because we are moving onwards onto new, and we feel, more productive projects. Baklava and its "front groups" played a vital role in the growth of an anti-authoritarian community in Chicago, and now the time has come for new things. While this cycle of growth and dissolution and rebirth can be frustrating, we hope to develop more lasting counter-institutions with our present projects, of which the Autonomous Zone is just a beginning.

Ex-Baklava Collective

CLASS WAR IN IRELAND

Dear Comrades,

Please find enclosed a copy of our latest issue of our National Irish Federation's paper *Class War*. We formed late in 1993 in Dublin, since growing to towns and cities in most parts of Ireland in groups and individual members.

During this year's May Day march, which was the first time the Irish Government made it into a national holiday, Class War mobilized its members on the capital's parade. Members of the parade's organizing committee refused us to take part and called in the police who blocked off not only the Class War contingent, but also most of the anarchist and 'left wing' groups who gathered at the rear of the parade. Some small minor confrontations broke out with the police and the organizers who were members of several unions.

After several minutes, word was given for police barricades to be removed for all groups to join the parade, as long as no slogans were shouted, as the parade was to pass the stand where many 'important' people were sitting. All through the march/parade slogans were said 'aloud',

such as "kill the rich," "one more war—class war," and while passing the stand of 'important' people, angry Class War members called for the 'stand' to be burned down. The May Day parade passed off without any incidents.

A series of public meetings were held in most cities in the south of Ireland on the topic of "The Politics of Class War," which had been attended by mostly large audiences, which attracted "plain clothes" police with video cameras, filming members and the interested public attending the meetings.

Since then, people who attended along with Class War members in the South of Ireland have been followed and also harassed on a regular basis by the police.

Apart from the above "minor teething troubles" and some minor setbacks, Class War in Ireland has grown from strength to strength even though the government within the south of Ireland have big plans, not just to prosecute Class War under the Offenses Against the State Act, but also ban our national federation, all of which will be strongly resisted by all our members.

Lastly, Class War also produces regular local monthly newsletters and for those interested in our ideas and actions, please send an I.R.C. to:

Class War
c/o Canavan House
Nuns Island
Galway, Ireland

In international solidarity,
John

IMPRISONED FROM SEA

Greetings Brothers and Sisters,

Approximately six (6) years ago, a young individual began a movement in the South East. It was one of truth and real freedom, but is no more (I assume).

S.E.A. (South East Anarchists) was a militant group seeking to adjust the environment around us to effect self-rule. It unfortunately was cut short September of 1988.

I was arrested, tried, convicted and put in prison for a cache of weapons needed to fuel our movement. I am still in prison, and am seeking to be relieved of my prison cell. This will not happen for at least two more years.

I'm in need of news, information, and new comrades for the present and future. Unfortunately, I lost all contact with

S.E.A. and assume it disbanded after I was caught.

Just recently, the suppressers here at the prison I'm in even tried to restrict and prevent my issue of *Love and Rage*. I immediately voiced my complaint to all who would listen, and quietly it was given to me! Ha! (I bet that hurt 'em!)

So now, brothers and sisters, I need your help! You who walk through the restricted streets, and must stomach the oppression (while supposedly being free) sit down and drop me a note, letter, send pictures, etc. and help me establish this foothold here! If these people see some type of assistance from outside comrades, they get confused and are more easily maneuvered into a workable position. This help will effect us a voice, and some change. But, it's up to you my brothers and sisters. You must be willing to communicate with me as I do you. You must be willing to put into check these restrictions we all face.

I hope to hear from those brothers and sisters who wish to be a part of this action.

Outspoken and persistently yours,
William A. Sojka

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