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¡Viva Zapata!

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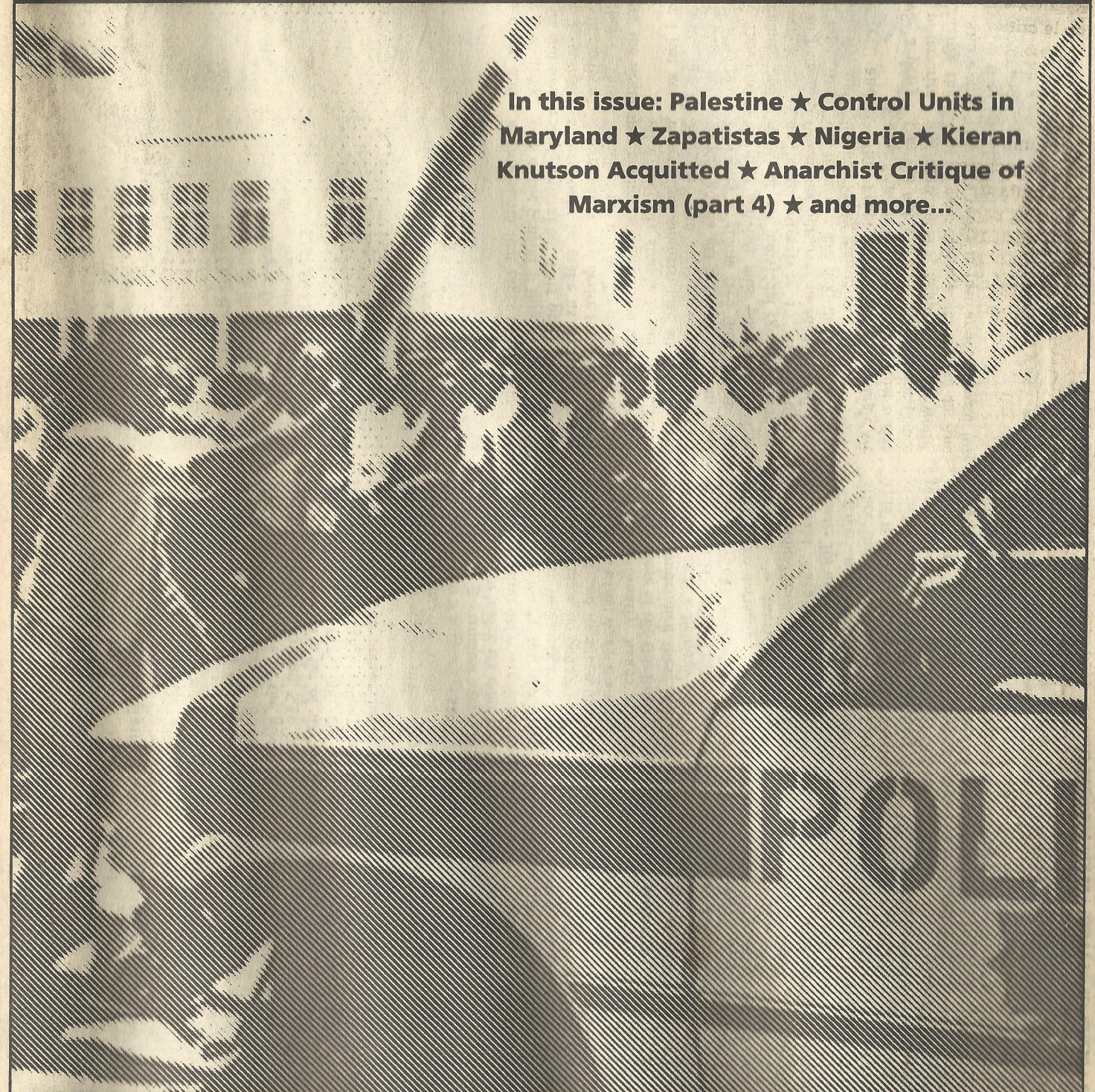
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LOVE & RAGE

REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHIST NEWSPAPER

In this issue: Palestine ★ Control Units in Maryland ★ Zapatistas ★ Nigeria ★ Kieran Knutson Acquitted ★ Anarchist Critique of Marxism (part 4) ★ and more...



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Jacksonville Anarchists Attacked by State

FROM REPORTS BY NEW JERSEY ABC

On Friday, Jan. 12, 1996, SWAT unit and police intelligence officers raided the residence of Jacksonville Anarchist Black Cross SG and Youth Action Movement.

Police arrested Rob Cluesman, confiscated 2 legally owned shotguns, a police scanner, spray paint, stencils, political literature and computer disks. Officials claimed all of these items were being held as evidence in an "ongoing investigation."

Police quarantined the 3 remaining collective members while other officers searched the house, and took photographs. Police attempted to interrogate collective members, who refused to sign consent forms to allow a legal search.

After the raid the television news media ran several supportive interviews of Jacksonville ABC and YAM and their work in the community, such as free food and literature distribution.

Then on January 24 at about 8:15 PM, about 8 Jacksonville Police officers raided the home of Jacksonville Anarchist Black Cross and Youth Action Movement again. No less than three officers were also at the January 12th raid of the same home. Unlike the first raid, officers this time came with warrants for the arrests of three Jacksonville ABC members, Rob Cluesman, Justin Tichy and Chris Herndon.

Police arrested Rob Cluesman at their home and arrested Justin and Chris at their workplaces. All three have been charged

with Criminal Mischief, which is a felony in Florida. They face over \$3,500 in fines and 2 years in prison each. This is a serious situation not to be taken lightly. This repression comes as a direct result of their political activity and efforts in the community.

The following statement was written by Rob Cluesman of Jacksonville ABC after his Jan. 12 arrest and captivity:

I was in dreamland when I heard the loud knock on the door. I thought (for some reason) that it was the Mail Man. I dragged myself up off the couch and slowly made it to the door. I opened it up only to find 2 glocks to my face! "Are you Robert M. Cluesman?" I could smell the pork all

around me. I knew it was the police. "Yes, I am," I said as I closed the door behind me. "You're under arrest for driving on a suspended license," one pig granted.

I began to look around, my eyes began to focus. I saw about 6 officers. I assume they were officers anyway, because they were wearing black fatigues and the glocks were strapped to their thighs. I saw one pig in the yard with an orange vest on marked "Police."

It had not yet hit me that it was rather excessive for the police to bring a SWAT Team down on a suspended license rap. Some female pig handcuffed me with riot control plastic cuffs and took me down to

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Kieran Knutson and his lawyer Keith Ellison leaving court victorious

Kieran Knutson Wins Trial!

BY JOEL / ANTI-FASCIST DEFENSE COMMITTEE

A jury found Kieran Frazier Knutson not guilty of 2nd and 3rd degree assault on Sunday, January 28, 1996. After a two-year struggle and a two-week trial, this is a clear victory for anti-racist forces in the Twin Cities.

As the not guilty verdicts were read, the packed courtroom filled with cheers and tears. Several media sources covered the event, and Kieran (finally able to comment on his own case after two years) told them, "The state put me on trial for fighting racism and nazism, and a jury decided that it's not a crime." Later, at the victory party that night, Kieran told a crowd of comrades, "October 22, 1993 was a good night. Tonight is a good night, too. We won both times."

Kieran was charged with assault at an October 22, 1993 anti-racist rally at the University of Minnesota. Prosecutors maintained that Kieran attacked Daniel Simmer (a neo-nazi skinhead) unprovoked, hitting him 2-3 times in the head with a maglite flashlight. Kieran never denied hitting Simmer, but he argued it was in self-defense, as Simmer pulled out something shiny from his pockets and made a move at Kieran. Kieran thought it was a knife, so he hit Simmer; the shiny object turned out to be a pair of brass knuckles. Kieran also argued that he only hit Simmer once.

In her closing arguments, prosecutor Gemma Graham argued that there were really two trials being argued in court, one against Kieran Knutson and the other against nazis. Her whole case was based on two things: 1) the (weak) testimony of a student newspaper reporter, and 2) relentlessly bashing defense witnesses and Kieran. Graham argued throughout the trial that all the witnesses, Kieran, the Anti-Fascist Defense Committee, and the legal investigator for Kieran were all involved in an elaborate conspiracy to protect Kieran and to "advance an agenda." She claimed that witnesses invented their testimony (she called several witnesses "flat-out liars" in her closing statements) and that they were coached by defense investigators and the AFDC. She repeatedly tried to discredit the defense witnesses for their political affiliations and political beliefs. At one point she sneered, "These people believe in FIGHTING racism and FIGHTING nazis!" as if that's something to be ashamed of.

Keith Ellison, Kieran's lawyer, argued that there were indeed two trials going on, but they were 1) the trial against Kieran and 2) a conspiracy trial against activists

from the Progressive Student Organization, Anti-Racist Action, and others. He demonstrated that the prosecution's whole case was based on discrediting witnesses and Kieran for their political beliefs, and that such an accusation is ridiculous. He also hammered home again and again the fact that three witnesses saw the nazi pull out brass knuckles on Kieran before Kieran whopped him, and that the witnesses' anti-racist politics can't change that fact.

Ultimately, the jury believed us, and Kieran was acquitted. However, as with everything about this case, getting an acquittal wasn't easy. The jury reported to the judge that they were hopelessly hung on Saturday afternoon (by a vote of 9-3 in favor of acquittal, we later found out), but the judge sent them back to deliberate more. After another day of deliberation, two people switched their votes, and then finally the last person did. In all, the jury was sequestered for 50+ hours and deliberated for more than 20.

Kieran and the Anti-Fascist Defense Committee (the organization that supported Kieran politically for the past two years) would like to send our deep and sincere thanks to everyone who has supported us and helped us throughout all eleven false trial dates and the actual trial itself. All your phone calls, faxes, and letters to the prosecution really helped keep the pressure on. Also, your letters of support to Kieran kept our morale up, especially in the last year or so when it looked like the trial would never happen. Also, the financial support was outstanding; we were able to afford everything we needed. Minneapolis supporters did all these things and more: they attended the numerous demonstrations and flierings and forums we held, and they packed the courtroom for every day of the two-week trial (plus a week of jury selection!). Being with these people in court every day is one of my proudest political moments.

We will be writing a political analysis of the trial soon; let us know if you'd like a copy. Again, thanks to all and solidarity to those who are going through similar struggles. Kieran's case proves it: we can win.

Even the state has to acknowledge it now: Fighting racism is not a crime!★

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Shell Oil + Nigeria = Death

BY MATTHEW QUEST

Ogoniland is the small, oil-rich and extremely oppressed homeland of one of Nigeria's ethnic minorities. On Nov. 10 the "Ogoni 9," nine indigenous and environmental political activists from Ogoniland, were executed by the military dictatorship of Gen. Abacha that has run Nigeria since Nov. 1993. The Ogoni activists, of which the most prominent was Ken Saro-Wiwa, went to the gallows at Port Harcourt prison a week after they had been sentenced to death on fabricated murder charges by a specially appointed kangaroo court, the Ogoni Civil Disturbances Tribunal. Although there was no evidence linking Saro-Wiwa to the murders, the judge declared him guilty because his political activities created the atmosphere in which the murders could occur. Nineteen more Ogoni are awaiting trial for the same killings.

Ken Saro-Wiwa, an internationally known author, playwright, and nominee for the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize, was the president of the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP). Saro-Wiwa and his comrades were exposing the rape of Ogoniland by international oil corporations. Saro-Wiwa's main targets were the Anglo/Dutch Shell Group, the world's largest oil company, and the Nigerian government.

MOSOP was formed in 1990 by a group of conservative traditional leaders who were rich by Nigeria's living standards, and had big houses in Port Harcourt. Garrick B. Leton, a former federal minister, became the first president. Saro-Wiwa had grown affluent during his years as a local administrator and trader. A successful writer and TV producer as well; he was appointed spokesman. MOSOP was founded to win political autonomy, more money, and better environmental protection from Shell and the Nigerian government. At its inception, it was really little more than a vehicle for its leaders to be bought off by the regime and the oil companies—a process so rampant in Nigeria that people everywhere contemptuously refer to it as "making settlement." "The Movement" convinced the government to create a commission to channel money to these regions, with an initial promise it would get 3% of Nigeria's \$10 billion annual oil income, later raised to 13%. None of the money got beyond these misleaders.

Saro-Wiwa identified with the poor

Ogoni in the villages and had disputes with Leton and others over these tactics. He favored a more confrontational approach to the struggle. Saro-Wiwa set up new branches of the movement, including a youth wing called the National Youth Council of the Ogoni People (NYCOP). This group provided Saro-Wiwa a following among Ogoni impatient with traditional leaders.

In 1992 Saro-Wiwa, a public advocate of non-violence, began to take MOSOP's legal appeals to the US and Europe and international bodies like the UN, IMF, World Bank, The Commonwealth, and the Organization for African Unity. Human rights observers were asked to condemn the Nigerian government, and international lending institutions were asked to stop giving aid to the Abacha regime. Saro-Wiwa appealed to the US and Europe to stop buying Nigerian oil produced by Shell, Chevron and others because it was "stolen property." Saro-Wiwa designed an Ogoni flag, wrote a national anthem, and began signing his letters as "president and spokesman of the Ogoni people."

The struggle for control of MOSOP between its traditional leaders and Saro-Wiwa came to a head soon after. The traditional leaders were throwing their weight behind the upcoming June 1993 elections to resolve the situation in Ogoniland. Saro-Wiwa launched a successful boycott of the elections. Leton and the founders of the movement opposed the boycott, were outvoted and resigned, allowing Saro-Wiwa to take over the group's presidency officially. Shell operations were regularly attacked from then on.

In late 1992 Shell asked the government to send troops to protect its operations from recurring attacks of "vandalism." Oil pumping stations were set afire and regularly destroyed. In Jan. 1993 (two days after the Zapatista rebellion in Mexico) the Year of Indigenous Peoples was celebrated with the largest demonstration ever held against the oil industry: 300,000 demonstrated in the Niger Delta region. Toward the end of 1993 Shell, [Italy's] Agip, and [France's] Elf, the three major oil companies in the Delta area, lost \$200 million due to protests and "disturbances" by the people in the region. Shell alone reported 108 "disturbances" in 1993 and announced that due to "increased violence and lack of security" it was shutting down its opera-

tions in Ogoniland.

The Abacha regime responded with bloodshed. The mobile police force, many of whose salaries are paid directly by Shell, were dispatched to protect oil company property with high tech weapons and armored cars. Security forces were permanently moved to Ogoniland after the 1993 election boycott, and Ogoniland was declared a military occupation zone where the army can shoot freely.

Military units regularly carried out what they called "wasting operations" against the Ogoni people—unprovoked attacks on Ogoni villages during which soldiers raped women and looted and burned down villages. Estimates from that time include 30 Ogoni villages largely destroyed and 2000 people killed.

Internal Nigerian military documents

from May 1994 confirm "Shell operations still impossible unless ruthless military operations are undertaken. [Including] wasting ... leadership cadres, especially vocal individuals." Around this same time Nigerian security forces detained Saro-Wiwa while he was campaigning for election to a constitutional conference. The Nigerian government claims Saro-Wiwa told his youth supporters in NYCOP: "The vultures who connived with the security forces to stop me from addressing you are meeting at the Gbenemene's Palace Hall in Giokoo sharing money sent them by the federal government in an effort to thwart my bid for the constitutional conference. Go to the meeting place and deal with the vultures."

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What is Love & Rage?

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 addition to supporting and initiating 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*, available to Federation members.

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, is vouched for by two members 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.

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Boring Disclaimer

The stuff we print does not necessarily represent the opinions of the Federation or of any member of the Federation, unless specifically marked. 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, provocative, or raise important issues for the revolutionary movement.

Submit to Love & Rage

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 email 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 from the Federation Office. The following introduction to our old Political Statement gives an idea of where we are coming from:

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

¡Viva Zapata!

Introduction

Welcome to the seventh year of *Love & Rage* newspaper! We're proud that we've been able to survive and continue to grow and learn for this long. This is the first issue since the November 1995 *Love & Rage* conference, which was an inspiring event [see the conference report below for the nitty gritty details]. At the conference many Federation members made it clear that they want the newspaper to change its ways. Generally people want shorter, more accessible articles, and a "friendlier" feel overall. People suggested more political dialogue and debate in the paper. Those of us on the Production Group would also like to see more debate in the paper, and to that end we encourage y'all to respond to articles or write something. We can't promise to print everything, but we're hoping to enervate the letters section this year in order to bring out and advance some of the important debates going on in the movement.

One Small Step for Anarchy: Report from Love & Rage's Sixth Conference

By ROY SAN FILIPPO

The Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation held its sixth annual conference on November 24-26 at Hunter College in New York City. The conference represented a continuation of the growth and development of the federation since it became a membership organization. Progress was made towards defining our politics and strengthening the Federation's internal structure, process and cohesion. This was the first conference since *Love and Rage* created the Coordinating Committee (CC) and Federation Council (FC), elected bodies that facilitate communication and make decisions between conferences. The fact that these structures were reaffirmed is indicative of their success over the past year. *Love and Rage* continues to define its politics and strategy founded on anti-authoritarian and directly democratic process and structure and principles.

POLITICAL STATEMENT

The political statement remains unfinished. However, a process was established to ensure there will be a draft ready for a vote by the next conference. We developed and debated the political statement in both small and large group discussions with the goal of maximizing participation in the process.

The most contentious part of the political statement is the "Race and Colonialism" section. Justine, one of the co-authors of the original section, identifies two main points in this debate on race: The construction of race, and the particular role of nationalism in revolutionary struggle. Debate was also shaped by different conceptions of the strategic role that this section plays in our relationship with revolutionary nationalists and how it affects our ability to build a multi-racial organization.

The original draft presented at the conference includes a deconstruction of "whiteness." Matthew Quest argued that it is theoretically weak to just focus on whiteness, and we need to add a deconstruction of all racial identities. "A common oppressor does not lead to any particular or singular culture," he said, calling into question the construction of non-white races as well.

WOMEN'S CAUCUS

On Saturday the women's caucus met to discuss a revolutionary feminist strategy for *Love and Rage*. Discussions revolved around building a revolutionary feminist movement which focuses on the needs of working-class women, women of color, and queer women. In Sunday's organizational plenary, *Love and Rage* women formalized their caucus in the structure of the Federation.

Under the new federation council structure adopted at the conference, caucuses or autonomous blocs can elect a representative to the federation council. The new structure is intended to give marginalized voices in the organization more weight. Any group that feels inadequately represented in the organization may request to be recognized as an autonomous bloc or caucus. This request is approved by the federation at a conference. The women's caucus is the first group that has requested such status.

However, the discussion was hardly free

For those who want shorter articles, this issue is sure to be a disappointment. There are several longer pieces. The article by Ron Tabor on Marxism is part of an ongoing series which began running three years ago. It has been over a year since we printed the previous installment. Because these articles form a continuing argument (and in the interest of finishing the series before the end of the century!), we're going to print them more frequently this year.

Tabor's article and Christopher Day's book reviews are additions to a developing anti-authoritarian analysis of the world. The ongoing crisis in Marxism provides one starting point in working toward a comprehensive revolutionary anarchist analysis of the world.

If anarchists can't come up with coherent analyses, our movements face the same dustbin of history that Marxism is plummeting into (or will plummet, if we give it a good kick). For that reason, we will continue to search out and print theoretical pieces. We do plan to make changes to the paper over this year though, including more concise articles and maybe some layout changes.

This issue also contains an interview with Professor Norman Finkelstein about the Palestinian liberation struggle. This interview discusses the results of a liberation movement without coherent political direction.

From Mexico, our coverage continues on the Zapatistas and the mass movements there, which provide a real-world attempt to develop new revolutionary theory and practice. We also continue our efforts to make sense of the situation in Bosnia, in light of the U.S. troops entering the fray.

For those who have been following and/or organizing around Kieran Knutson's trial in Minneapolis, there is an article which concludes this struggle for the moment (and a happy ending it is!). On a more somber note, we present information on the state's attempt to harrass and silence the comrades of Jacksonville Anarchist Black Cross. There's more, but we'll let you page through and read it yourself.

The Struggle Continues...

The Production Group

of political conflict. As Laura Schere noted in L&R's internal discussion bulletin, these votes turned out to be some of the most contested of the conference. Schere writes, "Many women, myself included, aren't sure whether extra representation in the federation is what we need, or whether we agree with it in principle as a feminist 'reform' within the organization. The debate inevitably and quickly gets at tensions within feminism generally between not wanting to reinforce or naturalize gender divisions and recognizing the reality of patriarchy."

During the debates in the organizational plenary, some women expressed support for recognition of the caucus in the FC as a means of increasing communication and discussion among women in the Federation. As Suzy Martin argued, "We need communication, despite structural questions [of representation]" and the caucus would be an important step in that direction.

This conference brought forward L&R's most tangible advances in developing a strategy for women's liberation, with discussions in the women's caucus, specific proposals by Bronwyn, and our decision to join the Fight Back Network. These developments happened in the context of L&R's general lack of a strategic vision for women's liberation, or even a structured federation-wide dialogue on this question. The failure to consistently incorporate feminist theory and practice remains a problem within the organization, which hopefully will become a priority over the coming year.

INTERNAL COHESION

With L&R's political structures put in place at last year's conference, much work remains in developing the Federation's internal cohesion. Several proposals were adopted at this conference that addressed these concerns. The biggest problem is the inadequate ties between *Amor y Rabia* (the Federation's Mexico wing) and the rest of the Federation. Only a handful of *Love and Ragers* are currently bilingual, which reduces the number of lines of communication. In addition, the *Federation Bulletin*, L&R's internal communication document, is currently published only in English, which puts the burden of translation on *Amor y Rabia*.

In order to address these concerns and increase the level of communication and integration between Mexico and the rest of the Federation, a number of proposals were adopted. First, all federation members committed ourselves to taking steps to become bilingual as an expectation of membership. Second, all proposals to the Federation will be published in both English and Spanish in the *Federation Bulletin* before they can be considered for approval by the Federation Council. Lastly, two proposals were adopted that would allow more *Love and Ragers* from Mexico and the US to visit one another.

The Federation committed to bringing a member from the *Amor y Rabia* Production Group to New York City to work with the *Love and Rage* Production Group for at least one production cycle of the English language paper. This

would enable individuals from both production groups to share skills and increase personal and political ties between Mexican and US comrades.

Ana's proposal that the Federation commit to increasing the number of L&R women visiting Mexico was also approved. As Ana argued at the conference, it has been primarily men who have come down to Mexico in the past, and L&R committed to finding ways to increase the number of women going to Mexico. This is also an excellent way to increase communication amongst L&R women and to give US *Love and Ragers* a first hand understanding of the particular problems faced by women in Mexican society.

(RE)PROLETARIAN STRATEGY?

There was little change in the Federation's strategy over the next year, and some *Love and Ragers* would argue that there was little strategic discussion at the conference. The New York local, which was responsible for organizing the conference and proposing an agenda, placed priority on finishing the political statement. They argued that any strategic discussions must first be based upon a common politics and understanding of the world in which we live, and that this is best accomplished by prioritizing the political statement. The Minneapolis Local and the CC disagreed, and prior to the conference and during the discussion of the conference agenda they argued that too little time was allotted for strategic discussions. In the end we compromised and added some time for strategic discussion, but not as much as Minneapolis had wanted.

While the three working groups (Anti-fascism, Mexican solidarity, and Prison Abolition) were reaffirmed for the upcoming year, it was decided that these areas of work did not need to artificially shape the work of local groups. Indeed, the first strategic plenary centered on a discussion of Ron Tabor's paper, "Thoughts on Strategy" which suggested a re-orientation of L&R's political work, rooted in communities of the oppressed that are fighting against the devastating effects of neo-liberal economic policies. Laura Schere noted correctly that the discussion indicated a "major shift in the work of *Love and Rage*. We're usually organizing around demonstrations," Schere said. The discussion

(continued to page 18)



Things are looking up.

Bosnia: Peace of the Graveyard

BY CHRISTOPHER DAY

In December the US began to deploy the 20,000 troops that, as part of a larger International force of 60,000, will enforce the "peace agreement" between Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia signed last fall in Dayton, Ohio. The majority of people in the US oppose sending troops to Bosnia. So do we. The US and other Western imperialist powers played a much more significant role than is generally known in preparing the way for the barbarous war that for four years ravaged Bosnia. For US troops to now enter Bosnia as "peacemakers" is grotesque.

ORIGINS OF THE COLLAPSE OF YUGOSLAVIA

The war in Bosnia has been sold to the public as just the latest expression of the ancient hatreds that have plagued the Balkans for centuries. The divisions that make the Balkans a patchwork of ethnic and religious identities certainly have their roots in history, but the real causes of the war in Bosnia are very recent.

From the end of the Second World War until the late 1980s Yugoslavia was one of the most stable multi-ethnic societies on earth. This stability depended on a careful balance of power between the Yugoslav federal government and the governments of the constituent republics of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia (with two semi-autonomous regions: Kosovo and Vojvodina), Montenegro, and Macedonia. With some important exceptions the governments of the Republics owned the enterprises within them which in turn were managed in part by councils including elected delegates of the workers. This relatively decentralized form of state capitalism was very agreeable to the US and other Western powers during the Cold War when they pointed to it as an alternative to the more repressive regimes within the orbit of the Soviet Union. Accordingly, over the course of the 1970s the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and Western Banks advanced substantial amounts of credit to Yugoslavia.

In 1979 the IMF reversed its liberal credit policies and plunged much of the world into the debt crisis of the early 80s. Yugoslavia was forced to renegotiate their debts with the IMF. In exchange for renegotiation of debt the IMF demanded that Yugoslavia do two things. The first was to impose austerity measures on the people of Yugoslavia in the form of cuts in wages and social services in a manner similar to IMF-imposed austerity measures around the world. The second demand was more peculiar to Yugoslavia. The IMF wanted Yugoslavia to rewrite its constitution in order to centralize power, particularly economic power, in the hands of the federal government.

The austerity measures plunged Yugoslavia into a deepening economic and political crisis in the late 80s at the same time that the demand for constitutional changes upset the delicate balance of powers and pitted the different Republics against the federal government and against each other. The political elite of Yugoslavia, represented by the Yugoslavian Communist League, was caught between the rising political insurgency of the people and the demands of international capital and felt that their survival was at stake. It was in this context that the Communist parties of the various republics turned one by one towards nationalism to channel popular discontent away from themselves and toward the IMF-backed federal government which was threatening their hold on economic power.

A partial exception to this trend was Serbia. Serbs were the most numerous ethnic group in Yugoslavia. They were also the most dispersed, constituting the most significant minority in the other Republics. Furthermore Serbs were disproportionately represented in the Yugoslav Peoples Army and in civil service position of the federal government. For these reasons Serbian nationalists opposed secession by the

Republics from Yugoslavia. And because Serbia contained two semi-autonomous regions which had effective veto power over the Serbian government, Serbian nationalists supported the IMF demands for a strengthened federal government. It was precisely on this issue that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic rose to power blurring the defense of the integrity of Yugoslavia with nationalist plans for a "Greater Serbia."

In contrast, the rulers of the wealthiest republics, Slovenia and Croatia, were best positioned to profit from breaking free of Yugoslavia. Their nationalism was anti-Yugoslav and the Croatian government effectively abandoned Serbs living in Croatia to the mercies of Croatian nationalist mobs. They were encouraged in these efforts by German capital which expected to benefit the most from the privatization of Croatian and Slovenian industry. Croatia in particular received substantial shipments of old East German military hardware with which to build an independent army.

GREATER SERBIA AND THE PARTITION OF BOSNIA

By 1991 it was clear to Milosevic that Slovenia and Croatia were going to declare independence. Milosevic was resigned to



the disintegration of Yugoslavia but not to the containment of Serbia within its current borders. In 1991 Milosevic and the newly elected nationalist President of Croatia, Franjo Tjudman, met and agreed on the partition of their weaker neighbor, Bosnia-Herzegovina. At the same time, however, Milosevic was sponsoring secessionist Serbs in the majority-Serb region of Croatia called the Krajina. When Croatia's declaration of independence led to war the Yugoslav Peoples Army occupied another predominantly Serb region, Eastern Slavonia.

It was in this context that Bosnia sought independence from a disintegrating Yugoslavia. Croatia's declaration of independence meant that for Bosnia to stay in Yugoslavia would mean to submit to Serbian domination. The 1991 elections in Bosnia were a triumph for nationalism, with roughly three quarters of the electorate voting either for Serb, Croatian, or Muslim nationalist parties. In a plebiscite on independence the vote came down along lines of ethnicity with the Muslim and Croatian

majority voting for independence and the Serbian nationalists launching a civil war with the intention of appending predominantly Serbian regions of Bosnia to a Greater Serbia.

COMPARING ATROCITIES

The military campaign of the Bosnian Serb militias, with the active support of the Serbian military, quickly took on the features of genocide. Croats and Muslims were systematically forced from their homes. Thousands were summarily executed for nothing more than their ethnicity. Muslim mosques and Croatian churches were demolished.

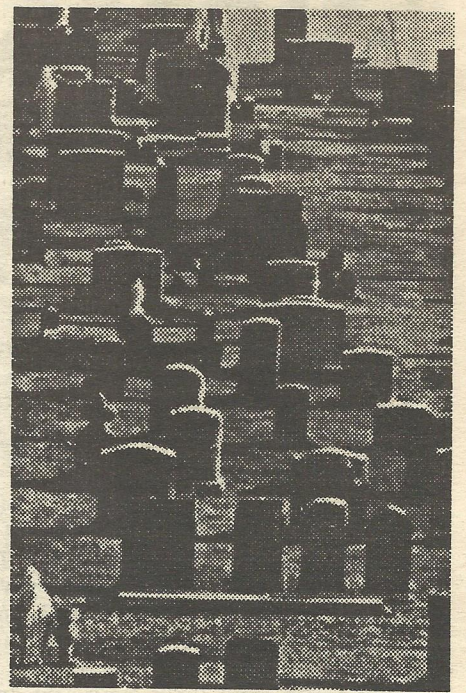
Bosnian Croat militias sponsored by Croatia responded in kind. The Muslims were the last to develop the military capacity to terrorize non-Muslim civilian populations and the arms embargo and other political necessities constrained them in ways that the Croatian and Serbian forces were not. Lacking the sponsorship of a neighboring power looking to annex a chunk of territory, Bosnian Muslim leaders were compelled to represent the vision of a multi-ethnic Bosnia before the world.

In the US considerable attention has been paid to the Serbian crimes committed against Bosnian Muslims. But last summer US-led NATO air strikes against Bosnian Serb position prepared the way for a Croatian military offensive first in the Krajina and then in Bosnia. The German-armed Croatian military had been trained by "privately contracted" retired US military officers. In this manner the US sponsored the forced relocation of hundreds of thousands of Serbs, the destruction of Serbian homes and churches, the mass slaughter of Serbian livestock and who knows how many atrocities that will never be cataloged.

The result of all this bloodletting has been the complete transformation of Bosnia from a society in which Serbs, Croats, and Muslims frequently shared bedrooms to one in which they are not willing to share the same country. Two million Bosnians, almost half the population, have either been forced to relocate because of their ethnicity or have become refugees.

SACRED BORDERS?

As anarchists we reject the division of the world between nation states. Few regions of the world could better illustrate than Bosnia the horrendous consequences for real people who find themselves living in the wrong place for their ethnicity. This means we reject the position of those who viewed the integrity of Yugoslavia as inviolable, and those who now view the borders of the Republics as sacred, just as strongly as we reject the schemes for redrawing those borders advanced by Serbian or Croatian nationalists or by Western diplomats. The language of national self-determination suggests that there exists the possibility of borders that are just. Certainly some borders are less just than others. But the experience of Yugoslavia demonstrates



clearly that borders are nothing but another instrument of control by a ruling elite over its subject population.

PEACE OF THE GRAVEYARD

After the horror show that has been Bosnia for the past four years it is tempting to embrace any prospect for peace. The Dayton peace agreement appears for the moment to promise at least the possibility of an end to the constant carnage. But the momentary silencing of the guns should not be confused with a real peace. The division of Bosnia between a Serb Republic and a Muslim-Croat Federation is little more than the partition of Bosnia first agreed on by Milosevic and Tjudman five years ago. The Serb Republic will be independent of Serbia in name only and the Muslim-Croat Federation will be dominated by Croatia. If this is peace it is the peace of the graveyard.

Many opponents of US military intervention in the Balkans predict that it is only a matter of time before the old ethnic antagonisms erupt again and that therefore the military effort is futile. This is not necessarily the case. The IMF and the Western powers prepared the way for war and they can probably impose their peace if they wish. We oppose the US military presence in Bosnia not only because we are suspicious of its potential to bring an end to the fighting, but because we oppose US military intervention everywhere.

WHAT'S GOOD FOR IMPERIALISM...

The butchery of Serbian militiamen is child's play compared to the crimes of the IMF and the global capitalist order it upholds. Every day this system murders millions of innocent people either quickly or slowly, starving or working of poisoning them to death to generate profits for a tiny global ruling elite. The US armed forces are the most powerful physical force upholding this system. The ability of the US to masquerade as the just and neutral arbiter of international conflicts is crucial to its ability to impose imperialist rule on the entire globe. For this reason we have to oppose the use of US forces in Bosnia even if they are successful in bringing an end to that particular conflict.★

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

Albuquerque Love & Rage
PO Box 25412
Albuquerque, NM 87125

Amor y Rabia - Mexico
Paseo de la Reforma #324
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Colonia Juarez CP 06605
Mexico, DF MEXICO
(Don't address envelope to Amor y Rabia)

Brew City Anti-Authoritarian Collective
PO Box 93312
Milwaukee, WI 53203

Detroit Love and Rage
PO Box 10491
Livernois Station
Detroit, MI 48210

Hamilton Love and Rage
PO Box 57069
Jackson Station
Hamilton, ONT
L8M 4W9

Lansing Love and Rage
PO Box 6746
East Lansing, MI 48826

Minneapolis Love and Rage
1929 S. 5th Street
Minneapolis, MN 55455

New York Love and Rage
PO Box 853
New York, NY 10009
(212) 834-9077

San Francisco / Bay Area Love and Rage
PO Box 3606
Oakland, CA 94609-0606
larfeds@burn.ucsd.edu

Washington DC Love and Rage
PO Box 2824
Merrifield, VA 22116

If you find yourself in general agreement with the politics of Love and Rage, get involved!

Contact one of the local groups listed here, or write the Federation Office in Minneapolis for information.

NOTES OF REVOLT



German Squatters Win!

BY ANDERS CORR

In mid-December 1995, Mayor Henning Voscherau announced that the city of Hamburg would sell the entire Hafenstrasse block to 120 squatters for only one-third of market value. The Hamburg squatters had engaged in an intense and prolonged struggle. Activists initiated the first squats of Hamburg in 1973, according to Margit Mayer's *The Career of Urban Social Movements in West Germany*, as a protest against the demolition of neighborhoods and culturally significant turn of the century housing.

Out of the early 1970s movement grew community and tenant organizations that not only succeeded in preventing many demolitions, but also built an organizational basis for the massive mobilization of the early 1980s.

The second phase of Hamburg squatting began in October 1981 when about 100 activists occupied a block of empty houses owned by the city. In the hopes of selling at a big profit to developers, Hamburg had left the Hafenstrasse houses vacant while waiting for land prices to inflate.

Early attempts to remove the squatters failed in the face of fierce resistance. "Rather than risk an all-out battle, the city agreed to give them a temporary rental contract," writes NY Times correspondent Stephen Kinzer. "When the rental agreement expired in 1986, more than 10,000 supporters of the squatters marched through downtown Hamburg demanding that it be extended." After the city announced plans to evict, several department stores were fire-bombed, causing millions of dollars of damage. One year later in 1987, hundreds of hooded squatters defended themselves from eviction from behind barricades and burning cars. The several thousand police officers sent to do the dirty deed were pelted by rocks and bricks.

As a result of the riot, the mayor resigned, but even the law-and-order successor had to start negotiating, and in mid-December 1995 he made the aforementioned concessions.

The squatters will pay \$1.5 million, less than one-third of market value. They will immediately pay 10% of the price in cash, with the Eco-Bank, a private agency specializing in environmental projects, lending the rest. The squatters will also pay half of the \$260,000 in overdue rent and utility bills, with the city paying the balance. In exchange the squatters will receive ownership of the Hafenstrasse houses.

Sometimes the use of militant tactics in a squatter struggle, such as riot and arson as used in Hamburg, can aid a movement. For without these, the mayor of Hamburg no doubt would have refused the initial rental agreement and evicted the squatters in 1981, or again in 1987 when thousands of police failed in the face of burning barricades and hailing bricks. Without this spirited defense which kept the buildings occupied, and thus maintained the leverage to negotiate, who can doubt that no government would make, in the words of one local newspaper, "a Christmas present for anarchists."

All over the world, the same cycle of peaceful squatting, police repression, and squatter violence has yielded government concessions. In Berkeley, riots in 1969 and 1991 prevented the bulldozing of "People's Park." In Mexico between 1975 and 1976, armed occupations and hostage-taking yielded a 120,000-acre land reform. And in South Africa guerrillas in the mid-1980s forced de facto legalization of squatter settlements.

Along with Hamburg, these squatter histories have a different lesson for each actor. Squatters who want public support should begin with peaceful tactics. Headline writers who strive for accuracy should look beyond today's events to the past history of struggle. Government officials should speed reforms and eschew eviction as a poisoned remedy. For squatters will have no choice, when faced with repeated instances of repression and the apparent efficacy of militant action, but to abandon the philosophy of non-violence.★

Conference Vows to Free Puerto Rican POWs

BY MEG STARR

Last October, for the first time ever, organizations from Puerto Rico and the US held a conference focused solely on Puerto Rican prisoners of war and political prisoners. The conference was sponsored by four organizations—the Unitary Committee Against Repression, the International League for the Rights and Liberation of Peoples, Ofensiva '92, and the National Committee for the Liberation of the Political Prisoners and the POWs. Several other key groups also sent national representatives. With participation from Pro Libertad, the Interfaith Prisoners of Conscience Project, and individuals from local affinity groups, college and high school campuses, and grassroots labor and community groups, the conference was a major step towards the development of a unified campaign for the freedom of the prisoners.

The fifteen Puerto Rican men and women currently incarcerated in US prisons are serving a variety of sentences related to trying to free Puerto Rico from US colonialism. Many of these activists come from the underground wing of the Puerto Rican Independence Movement, which has engaged in political/military actions against US corporate and army targets since the early 1970s. Some are serving extraordinarily long sentences, charged only with "seditious conspiracy" against the US government. Several have been subject to extreme torture and one—Oscar Lopez Rivera—is being held in the super-maximum-security control unit at Florence, Colorado.

At this time of year, it seems particularly fitting to remember the Three Kings Day Action of 1985. In 1984, a Puerto Rican Wells Fargo truck driver drove away with \$7.5 million. Jan. 6, 1985, the traditional Puerto Rican Christmas celebration time, three masked "kings" distributed money and toys in the Puerto Rican community of Hartford, Conn. A communiqué sent to the press spoke of the poverty caused by colonialism, and the need for

heightened resistance.

Since the US invaded Puerto Rico in 1898, there has always been political resistance to colonialism on many diverse levels. The earliest armed resisters were called "bandits" by the US press. Now their ideological descendants are smeared as terrorists.

The October conference was divided into presentations and working groups. The four principle presentations during the conference were on: the psychological impact of prolonged incarceration; the political context for repression, colonization, and incarceration; the humanitarian and religious basis for support of the prisoners; and the legal context of the campaign. Each presentation was accompanied by a paper, prepared in both Spanish and English.

The psychological study described the scientific expertise with which the prisoners' most basic sense of reality is targeted by the authorities. A prisoner, for instance, can be brought lunch at breakfast time and told that he has already had breakfast. Prisoners are kept in almost total isolation, with continuous artificial light that can't be shut off, even at night. They face a consistent and deliberate disruption of sleep, coercive strip-searching, and a series of inhuman treatments that add up to a cumulative "white torture"—leaving no marks except on the prisoners' minds. The study was a striking testimony to the importance of finding any way possible to connect the prisoners with the outside world, the movement in general, and with their families.

In many ways, the legal paper contained the most practical importance for activists. It laid out the steps necessary to get President Clinton to grant an unconditional pardon to all the prisoners. An important precedent for this campaign exists in the pardon that former president Jimmy Carter granted to the five Puerto Rican Nationalists who were jailed for opening fire on a session of Congress in the 1950s. Carter granted amnesty in his "lame duck" period, after he lost the 1980 elections and

Ethiopian Jews Riot in Israel As Four Decades of Israeli Unity Disintegrates...

BY BRAD

In late January roughly 10,000 Ethiopian Jews rioted outside the Israeli Prime Minister's office. There are about 60,000 Ethiopian Jews in Israel. They are an ancient branch of the Jewish people who were brought to Israel in two airlifts in 1984-85 and 1991.

They rose up spontaneously when news broke that all blood that had been donated by Ethiopians was secretly dumped because of fear that it was contaminated with the virus that causes AIDS. But the donors had been tested for AIDS and tested negative. It was secretly dumped because there is a higher rate of HIV infection among Ethiopians than in the rest of the population. The Israeli authorities didn't refuse to take the blood from the Ethiopians, because that would have looked bad, since it was obvious singling out and discriminating against an entire (dark-skinned) group. Instead they hoped to keep their discrimination covert, taking the blood to keep the appearance of an integrated, non-racial Israel (for Jews only of course), but then disposing of it secretly later.

The rioters injured several police officers seriously, smashed the windows of almost all the cars in the vicinity of the Prime Minister's office, and hurled rocks everywhere. To the Ethiopians, the act of dumping their blood symbolized how they are not treated as equals in Israel despite the rhetoric of Israel being the homeland for all the Jews. In addition to the outright exclu-

sion of Palestinians and non-Jewish Arabs from the Israeli political process, many African Jews in Israel are describing an apartheid-like separation and discrimination within Israel.

This development poses a serious problem for the Zionist leadership of Israel. It is significant for such a large grouping of Israelis to rise up in opposition to the government, particularly so soon after the legendary Israeli unity was shattered on Nov. 4 when right-wing Israeli Yigal Amir assassinated Israeli Prime Minister Yitzak Rabin.

These outbreaks within Israel point to the increasing fragmentation of Israeli political life from within—a direct result of the post-"peace accord" confusion that has led to the incomplete and neo-colonial Palestinian "autonomy" in the West Bank and Gaza, and has deepened the internal conflicts among both the Palestinian people and Israeli peoples.

These conflicts will continue until the territory that is now Israel is taken from the exclusive control of any single religious or national grouping, and until US imperialism stops pumping millions of dollars a year in to support one side in the conflict.

A lasting solution must be based on mutual respect for the religious, political, and economic aspirations of all peoples for self-determination on the land. In place of a single-religion or single-nation (or two-state) solution, the Israeli/Palestinian territory could be governed by a federation that includes and mediates between the longings and demands of each group on the land.★

Write to & Support Puerto Rican PPs / POWs

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3901 Klein Blvd
Lompoc, CA 93436

Ida Luz Rodriguez #88973-024
Carmen Valentine #88974-024
Dylcia Pagan #88971-024
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Camp Parks
Dublin, CA 94568

Ricardo Jimenez #88967-024 A-2
Alberto Rodriguez #92150-024 B-3
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Lewisburg, PA 17837

Alicia Rodriguez
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Dwight, IL 60420

Antonio Camacho
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FCI Allenwood
White Deer, PA 17887

Edwin Cortes
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Unit 3J
PO Box 33
Terre Haute, IN 47808

Juan Segarra
#15357-077
FCI Marianna
PMB 7007, Navajo Unit
Marianna, FL 32447

Carlos Alberto Torres
#88976-024
PO Box 1000
Oxford, WI 53952

Elizam Escobar
#88969-024
FCI Colorado Unit
PO Box 1500
El Reno, OK 73036

Oscar Lopez-Rivera
#87651-024
USP Florence, PO Box 8500
Florence, CO 81226-8500

Alejandrina Torres
#92152-024
FCI Danbury
Pembroke Station
Danbury, CT 06811

Luis Rosa
N02743
PO Box 112
Joliet, IL 60434

before he left the White House. There is an official pardon lawyer at the White House, who examines the legal and political issues related to specific cases, who is currently evaluating the case of the Puerto Rican prisoners, as well as the case of American Indian Movement activist Leonard Peltier. This means that 1996 will be an important year for all the prisoners.

Each day of the conference featured at least one working group meeting, designed to discuss future campaigns. These groups prepared resolutions for the final plenary. Because they met so often, the conference felt democratic and action-based. The resolutions agreed upon at the plenary session included: mobilization to the Democratic National Convention in Chicago this August; developing a coordinated inter-group listing of all audio-visual and written materials available about the prisoners; support for a new fund for the children of political prisoners and prisoners of war; support for various projects to pressure Clinton, including letter-writing from indi-

viduals and organizations; support for an International Call of Nobel Prize Recipients; annual activities to be held on International Human Rights Day (December 10); and holding another conference next year.

The final and most exciting report came from the student working group. The students present represented four colleges in Puerto Rico and the Albizu Campos alternative high school in Chicago. They felt that work around the prisoners should be done within the context of a larger campaign to free Puerto Rico itself from colonialism—in a sense, to free all Puerto Ricans. They plan to publish and distribute a magazine of Puerto Rican student actions, actively taking up the campaign to free the prisoners on their campuses.★

For more information, contact:

Resistance in Brooklyn
309 Park Place
Brooklyn, NY 11238
mmmsmb@igc.apc.org

Riot in Zimbabwe

BY MATTHEW QUEST

For years Harare had some of Africa's most orderly and peaceful streets. But in November 1995 all that changed. Zimbabwe's capital city was covered by a haze of tear gas and the streets were studded with overturned and flaming police cars, as hundreds of angry citizens broke windows and looted shops. President Robert Mugabe's ZANU-PF party enjoys a virtual monopoly of state power in a country where the jobless rate is above 50% and police brutality is rampant and unrepentant.

The riot stems from an incident in downtown Harare where police chasing two sus-

pected thieves opened fire with high powered assault rifles, killing two passers-by and injuring a third. An infuriated crowd overturned a police van and set it ablaze. In the following days police on the state-owned media called the incident "unfortunate." Zimrights, a leading human rights organization, denounced the shootings, and the use of powerful assault rifles in crowded streets. They said that 30 Zimbabweans were killed by police in similar incidents in the past three years. After a demonstration organized by Zimrights, 30 youth unknown to them roamed the streets and threw bricks through shop windows.★



Anti-Racist Action Network mobilizes against the Klan in Columbus, Ohio on Jan. 6

The Struggle in Mexico for Union Independence: SUTAU is Under Attack

BY DAVID VANCE

One of the largest labor struggles in North America is taking place right now in Mexico City. On Apr. 8, 1995 the city government closed down its own bus system, Route-100, claiming it was bankrupt. They left two million people without bus service or service more expensive. The closing of the 27 terminals of Route-100 was done with riot police who ran the workers out and prevented drivers from coming in. On select routes during the weeks that followed, police drove many of the buses.

The 12,000 mechanics and drivers who make up the union SUTAU-100 are under attack. They are the largest independent trade union in Mexico, and have helped to form the MPI (Movimiento Proletario Independiente / Independent Proletarian Movement). They have a 13-year history of militancy. The closing of the city bus system and the attack on the union was politically motivated. We call it union busting, and they deserve our support.

The attack was well planned by the government. Three weeks before the annual May Day march, 12 members of the executive board of SUTAU-100 were arrested, and the union's bank account was confiscated. The government filed charges of misconduct and manipulating money. Bail was set at over \$500,000 each.

But what is the real crime of the SUTAU-100? Their "crime" is trying to lead other unions out of the chains of the government-controlled unions. Their "crime" is political independence. For several years, they have played a large role in the MPI. Their "crime" is criticizing the government and supporting the Zapatistas in Chiapas. Their "crime" was to organize and march in a May Day coalition nearly a million strong, even after the arrests, despite the fact that the government-con-

trolled unions had cancelled the event.

The fight against union busting and the struggle for union rights is an international cause. If Mexico and Central America had a strong union movement, the US and Canada would benefit. Our union strength is weakened because companies can threaten to move across the border, and many do, to get the cheap labor.

Politicians play on the fear that Mexican workers will take jobs away here. Nowhere in the world is there such a large difference of living standards over one border. And the crisis just got worse. Ten million Mexican workers just became unemployed when the value of the peso fell.

Finding a way to support the union movement in Mexico has always been hard, because the government has actively sought to control, buy-off, or eliminate independent unions. But by supporting the 12,000 members of the SUTAU-100, there is a good chance other unions will establish their independence as well.

Now the 12,000 drivers and mechanics in SUTAU-100 have new leaders and the union is energized for their own defense. They will struggle forward. Everyone has become an activist and a leader. At the union rallies they say "Ni un paso atras." (Not one step back.)

It is obvious to the PRI government of Ernesto Zedillo that the future of independent unionism can only be smashed if the SUTAU is broken. This corrupt and undemocratic government is afraid of the SUTAU and what it represents.

We need to stand with them because their cause is just and it's in our interest. The fight against union busting and the struggle for union rights is an international cause. We will all benefit with their victory. Unions are our only defense against large international corporations.★

Autonome Antifa (M) Speaking Tour

Minneapolis ARA and Love and Rage are helping out with the tour of German antifascist activists from Autonome Antifa (M) during March and April. Contact us to find out about scheduled events or if you can arrange something in any of the following cities.

Washington DC, Baltimore, Montreal, Toronto, Lansing, Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Northampton, New York

For more info: Mpls Love & Rage, 1929 S. 5th St, Minneapolis, MN 55455 (612) 288-0405

ARA Network Confronts Klan in Columbus

BY GIGI

Our first national action as the Anti-Racist Action Network was to gather in Columbus on Jan. 6, 1996 to fight the Klan's annual anti-Martin Luther King Day event. Upon arrival at the Ohio State Capitol, we saw streets lined with riot police, vans filled with police horses, and hundreds of feet of metal fencing (the "pens") erected to corral antiracist protestors. By 2 pm, the scheduled time of the racist event, 400 ARA Network members and community activists had gathered. A small group of people saw the Klan cars arriving with their police escorts and made an attempt to mobilize the crowd. The crowd did move toward the street where the cars had been spotted, but the majority didn't arrive until the nazis were safely into the Statehouse. The few who had a chance to hurl insults at the nazis were pleased as they saw one carful smack into the car in front of them.

Minneapolis ARA had, in our strategy, proposed the idea of turning the streets outside of the pens into our own antiracist rally. Most of our time on that side of the Statehouse was spent chanting and flying against going into the pens. Directly outside of the entrance to the pen, ARA Network activists handed out flyers asking people not to go in, but NWROC [National Women's Rights Organizing Committee—a front group for the Revolutionary Workers League] supporters and others just wishing to get a better look went in through the

metal detectors and were pat-searched by cops in riot gear. Inside the pen, the view of the Klan was still poor. An allegedly racist skinhead was attacked inside the pen and had to be taken out by ambulance. His politics are still a question of debate, while news footage is being used to identify and charge the antiracists involved. Notably, no other racists showed up to hear the Klan speak.

Once the racists went back into their safe haven of the Statehouse, people moved to the other side of the square in anticipation of the Klan's departure. NWROC called for people to "take the street," and when people did move into the street, blocking traffic, riot police surrounded the crowd and pushed people to either side, while NWROC supporters were nowhere to be seen. On one side, protestors were charged by police on horseback, and one activist, beaten by police for throwing a snowball at a horse, was charged with "resisting arrest." A small group of Minneapolis activists saw the nazi cars leaving through an entrance, and tried to get the crowd to mobilize. Unfortunately, the rest of the crowd was occupied by the riot police and their horses.

After the disappointing attempt to get at the Klan on the streets of Columbus, many of the protestors went to a local community center to discuss the day's work and to have a business meeting of the ARA Network. Tensions between ARA Network activists and disruptive elements served to make the meeting relatively unproductive.★

AANCO '95 One Woman's Opinion

BY KAI LUMUMBA BARROW

On November 17-19, 1995 the founding conference of the Anti-Authoritarian Network of Community Organizers (AANCO) was held in Atlanta, GA. The purpose of the conference, as laid out by the co-conveners, the Black Fist Collective and the Federation of Black Community Partisans, was twofold: 1) to create a network of community organizers and activists from across the country, and 2) to provide support and skills via workshops for people who want to develop their organizing abilities.

Approximately 50 people attended, from Northern urban centers such as Chicago, Minneapolis, Detroit and New York as well as smaller rural areas in states such as Texas, Florida, North Carolina and Louisiana. The bulk of the participants were young and white, with people of color only representing about 10%. All encompassed a wide breadth of ideological positions. As our backgrounds and experiences generally inform our tactics and priorities, we were unable to clearly identify our needs at this first meeting, and such could not articulate what we wanted from AANCO.

The concept for AANCO derives from the

idea of moving from the protest stage to actual resistance. AANCO is seen as a non-reformist mechanism for the anti-authoritarian movement to evolve from its "complacent discussion groups and ideological ghettos" to a "continental network intended to funnel discontent with the social, economic and political system into real resistance."

AANCO seeks to create a network of community organizers from across North America united around the idea of grassroots community organizing as a means of radical social change and direct action. The organizers of AANCO place emphasis on local strategizing. They propose, "Organizing in Our communities and struggling around the issues critical in those communities; through creating dual institutions which benefit Our communities; by forging principled unity and mutual aid and support among all oppressed communities; and by any other means."

AANCO is to be a "people's movement" made up of workers / students / youth and community alliances from different racial, class and cultural backgrounds who share a

(continued to page 18)

Upcoming Revolts

April 20
1,000 Voices Against the Death Penalty
Protest at NJ State Prison at Trenton
Info: bwitane@igc.apc.org

April 27
Hearings on Control Unit
Prisons in the Northeast
1501 Cherry St, Philadelphia, PA
10 am - 4:30 pm
Info: 201-643-3192

Late April - Early May
National Coordinated Activities
Against Control Unit Prisons
Info: NCSCUP 201-643-3192

May 19-20
Demonstration in DC
for Mumia Abu-Jamal
March to Department of Justice
Info: 212-330-8029

July 18 - August 4
Food Not Bombs
International Gathering
Atlanta, Georgia
"Building an Alternative to Transnational Greed"
Activities during the 1996 Olympic Games
Info: 1-800-884-1136 or 404-524-2147

August 10-15
Protest Against the
Republican National Convention
San Diego, California
Info: San Diego IWW
PO Box 907, San Diego, CA 92112

August 21-31
Active Resistance
Chicago, Illinois
a counter-convention to
the democratic national convention
Info: A-Zone 312-278-0775
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Fourth Declaration of the

[The following is excerpted from the EZLN's January 1st communique.]

**TODAY WE SAY: WE ARE HERE
WE ARE REBEL DIGNITY, THE FORGOTTEN OF THE HOMELAND**

January 1, 1996

I

Brothers and Sisters:

On January 1 of 1995, after breaking the military blockade with which the bad government pretended to submerge us in surrender and isolation, we called upon the different citizen forces to construct a broad opposition front which would unite those democratic voices which exist against the State-Party System: the National Liberation Movement. Although the beginning of this effort at unity encountered many problems, it lives still in the thoughts of those men and women who reject conformity when they see their Homeland under the rule of the Powerful and foreign monies. This broad opposition front, after following a route filled with difficulty, regressions and misunderstandings, is about to concretize its

high officials finish selling off the wealth of the great Mexican Nation and destroy the little which was left.

Once it took up that dialogue for peace again, forced by the pressure of international and national civil society, the government delegation once again took the opportunity to demonstrate clearly its true motivation for the peace negotiations. The neo-conquerors of the indigenous people headed by the negotiating team of the government have distinguished themselves by their prepotent attitude, their arrogance, their racism and their constant humiliation which pursues failure after failure in the different sessions of the Dialogue of San Andrés. It bet upon the exhaustion and frustration of the Zapatistas, and the government delegation placed all its energies to breaking the dialogue, confident that it would then have all the arguments in its favor for the use of armed force, securing what reason could not secure.

Once the EZLN understood that the government refused to concentrate seriously on the national conflict which the war represented, it took a peace initiative in an attempt to unravel the dialogue and negotiations. It called civil society to a national and international dialogue in its search for

opposition front which had become stagnated, and the will to see the Zapatistas participating in the civic political life of the country was clearly expressed. The massive participation of international civil society called attention to the necessity to construct those spaces where the different aspirations for democratic change could find expression even among the different countries. The EZLN considers the results of this national and international dialogue very serious and will now begin the political and organizational work necessary in order to comply with those messages.

Three new initiatives were launched by the Zapatistas as responses to the success of the PLEBISCITE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY.

An initiative for the international arena expresses itself in a call to carry out an intercontinental dialogue in opposition to neoliberalism. The two other initiatives are of a national character: the formation of civic committees of dialogue whose base is the discussion of the major national problems and which are the seeds of a non-partisan political force; and the construction of the new Aguascalientes as places for encounters between civil society and Zapatismo.

Three months after these three initiatives

whelmed the limitations of the Discussion Table in San Andrés and it had to be relocated to its rightful place: the nation. The indigenous Mexicans, the ones always forced to listen, to obey, to accept, to resign themselves, took the word and spoke the wisdom which is in their walk. The image of the ignorant Indian, pusillanimous and ridiculous, the image which the Powerful had decreed for national consumption, was shattered, and the indigenous pride and dignity returned to history in order to take the place it deserves: that of complete and capable citizens.

Independently of what arises as a result of the first negotiation of the agreements of San Andrés, the dialogue begun by the different ethnic groups and their representatives will continue now within the INDIGENOUS NATIONAL FORUM, and it will have its rhythm and achievements which the indigenous people themselves will agree upon and decide.

On the national political scene, the criminality of Salinismo was re-discovered and it de-stabilized the State-Party System. The apologists for Salinas, who reformed and altered the Constitution, now have amnesia and are among the most enthusiastic persecutors of the man under whom they acquired their wealth. The National Action Party, the most faithful ally of Salinas de Gortari, began to demonstrate its real possibilities of replacing the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) in the summit of political power and to demonstrate its repressive, intolerant and reactionary nature. Those who see hope in the rise of neo-PANism forget that a substitution in a dictatorship is not democracy. They applaud the new inquisition, which through a democratic facade, pretends to sanction with moralistic blows the last remains of a country which was once a world wonder and today provides the material for chronicles of police action and scandals. A constant presence within the exercise of government was repression and impunity; the massacres of indigenous people in Guerrero, Oaxaca, and the Huasteca ratify government policy towards indigenous peoples; the authoritarianism in the UNAM [National University - ed.] toward the movement of those students wishing to democratize the College of Sciences and Humanities is a manifestation of the corruption which seeps into academia from politics; the detention of the leaders of El Barzón is another manifestation of treachery as a method of dialogue; the bestial repression of the regent Espinoza rehearses street fascism in Mexico City; the reforms to the Social Security law repeat the democratization of misery; and the support for the privatization of the banks secures the unity between the State-Party System and money. These political crimes have no solution because they are commit-

"In spite of everything, the struggle continues."

first proposals and agreements for coordinated action. The long process of maturity of this organizing effort will bear fruit this new year. We Zapatistas salute the birth of this Movement for National Liberation, and we hope that among those who form it there will always be a zeal for unity and respect for differences.

Once the dialogue with the supreme government began, the commitment of the EZLN to its search for a political solution to the war begun in 1994 was betrayed. Pretending to want to dialogue, the bad government opted for a cowardly military solution, and with stupid and clumsy arguments, unleashed a great military and police persecution which had as its supreme objective the assassination of the leadership of the EZLN. The armed rebel forces of the EZLN met this attack with serene resistance, tolerating the blows of thousands of soldiers assisted by the sophisticated death machinery and technical assistance of foreigners who wanted to end the cry for dignity which came out of the mountains of the Mexican Southeast. An order to retreat allowed the Zapatista forces to conserve their military power, their moral authority, and their political force and historic reason, which is the principal weapon against crime made government. The great mobilizations of national and international civil society stopped the treacherous offensive and forced the government to insist upon the path of dialogue and negotiation. Thousands of innocent civilians were taken prisoners by the bad government and still remain in jail, utilized as hostages of war by the terrorists who govern us. The federal forces had no other military victory other than the destruction of a library, an auditorium for cultural events, a dance floor and the pillage of the few belongings of the indigenous people of the Lacandon jungle. This murderous attempt was covered up by the governmental lie of "recuperating national sovereignty."

Ignoring Article 39 of the Constitution which it swore to uphold on December 1, 1994, the supreme government reduced the Mexican Federal Army to the role of an army of occupation. It gave it the task of salvaging the organized crime which has become government, and deployed it to attack its own Mexican brothers.

Meanwhile, the true loss of national sovereignty was concretized in the secret pacts and public economic cabinet with the owners of money and foreign governments. Today, as thousands of federal soldiers harass and provoke a people armed with wooden guns and the word of dignity, the

a new peace, it called for the PLEBISCITE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY in order to hear national and international opinion about its demands and future.

With the enthusiastic participation of the members of the NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, the disinterested volunteerism of thousands of unorganized citizens with democratic hopes, the mobilization of international solidarity groups and groups of young people, and the invaluable help of the brothers and sisters of the NATIONAL CIVIC ALLIANCE, during the months of August and September of 1995 a civic and unprecedented experiment was carried out. Never before in the history of the world or the nation had a peaceful civil society dialogued with a clandestine and armed group. More than a million three hundred thousand dialogues were realized in order to verify this encounter with democratic wills. As a result of this plebiscite, the legitimacy of the Zapatista demands was ratified, a new push was given to the broad

were launched, the call for the intercontinental dialogue for humanity and against neoliberalism is almost complete, more than two hundred civic committees of dialogue have been organized in all of the Mexican republic, and today, 5 new "Aguascalientes" will be inaugurated: one in the community of La Garrucha, another in Oventic, Morelia, La Realidad, and the first and last one in the hearts of all the honest men and women who live in the world. In the midst of threats and penuries, the indigenous Zapatista communities and civil society have managed to raise these centers of civic and peaceful resistance which will be a gathering place for Mexican culture and cultures of the world.

The new National Dialogue had its first test under the rationale for Discussion Table Number One in San Andrés. While the government discovered its ignorance in regards to the original inhabitants of these lands, the advisors and guests of the EZLN began such a new and rich dialogue that it over-



Lacandon Jungle



Zapatista hunting wabbits.

ted by those who are supposed to prosecute; the economic crisis makes corruption even more prevalent in government spheres. Government and crime are today synonymous and equivalent.

While the legal opposition dedicated itself to finding the center in a dying nation, large sectors of the population increased their skepticism towards political parties and searched, without finding it still, for an option for new political work, a political organization of a new kind.

Like a star, the dignified and heroic resistance of the indigenous Zapatista communities illuminated 1995 and wrote a beautiful lesson in Mexican history. In Tepoztlán, in the workers of SUTAU-100, in El Barzón, just to mention a few places and movements, popular resistance found representatives with great dignity.

In summary, 1995 was characterized by the definition of two national projects completely different and contradictory.

On the one hand, the national project of the Powerful, a project which entails the total destruction of the Mexican nation; the negation of its history; the sale of its sovereignty; treachery and crime as supreme values; hypocrisy and deceit as a method of government; destabilization and insecurity as a national program; repression and intolerance as a plan for economic development. This project finds in the PRI its criminal face and in the PAN its pretense of democracy.

On the other hand, the project of a transition to democracy, not a transition within a corrupt system which simulates change in order for everything to remain the same, but the transition to democracy as a reconstruction project for the nation; the defense of national sovereignty; justice and hope as aspirations; truth and government through obedience as a guide for leadership; the stability and security given by democracy and liberty; dialogue, tolerance and inclusion as a new way of making politics. This project must still be created and it will correspond, not to a homogeneous political force or to the geniality of an individual, but to a broad opposition movement capable of gathering the sentiments of the nation.

We are in the midst of a great war which has shaken Mexico at the end of the 20th century. The war between those who intend to perpetuate a social, cultural and political regime which is the equivalent to the crime of treachery to the nation; and those who struggle for a democratic, just, and free change. The Zapatista war is only a part of that great war which is the struggle between a history which aspires for a future and an amnesia which has foreign vocation.

A plural, tolerant, inclusive, democratic, just, free and new society is only possible today, in a new nation. The Powerful will not be the ones to construct it. The Powerful are only the salesmen of the remains of a destroyed country, one devastated by the true subversives and destabilizers: those who govern.

Those projects which belong to the new opposition lack something which today has become decisive. We are opposed to a

national project which implies its destruction, but we lack a proposal for a new Nation, a proposal for reconstruction.

Part, but certainly not all its vanguard, has been and is the EZLN in its effort for a transition to democracy. In spite of the persecution and the threats, beyond the lies and deceptions, the EZLN has remained legitimate and accountable and forges ahead in its struggle for democracy, liberty and justice for all Mexicans.

Today, the struggle for democracy, liberty and justice in Mexico is a struggle for national liberation.

II

Today, with the heart of Emiliano Zapata and having heard the voice of all our brothers and sisters, we call upon the people of Mexico to participate in a new stage of the struggle for national liberation and the construction of a new nation, through this . . . **FOURTH DECLARATION OF THE LACANDON JUNGLE** in which we call upon all honest men and women to participate in the new national political force which is born today: the **ZAPATISTA FRONT OF NATIONAL LIBERATION**, a civil and nonviolent organization, independent and democratic, Mexican and national, which struggles for democracy, liberty, and justice in Mexico. The Zapatista Front of National Liberation is born today, and we extend an invitation to participate in it to the factory workers of the Republic, to the laborers of the countryside and of the cities, to the indigenous peoples, to the colonos, to teachers and students, to the Mexican women, to young people across the country, to the honest artists and intellectuals, to responsible priests and nuns, and to all the Mexican people who do not seek power, but rather democracy, liberty, and justice for ourselves and for our children.

We invite national civil society, those without a party, the citizen and social movement, all Mexicans to construct this new political force.

A new political force which will be national. A new political force based in the EZLN.

A new political force which forms part of a broad opposition movement, the National Liberation Movement, as a space for citizen political action where there may be a confluence with other political forces of the independent opposition, a space where popular wills may encounter and coordinate united actions with one another.

A political force whose members do not exert nor aspire to hold elective positions or government offices in any of its levels. A political force which does not aspire to take power. A force which is not a political party.

A political force which can organize the demands and proposals of those citizens and is willing to give direction through obedience. A political force which can organize a solution to the collective problems without the intervention of political parties and of the government. We do not need permission in order to be free. The role of the government is the prerogative of society and it is its right to exert that function.

A political force which struggles against the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few and against the centralization of power. A political force whose members do not have any other privilege than the satisfaction of having fulfilled its commitment.

A political force with local, state and regional organization which grows from the base, which is its social force. A political force given birth by the civic committees of dialogue.

A political force which is called a **FRONT** because it incorporates organizational efforts which are non-partisan, and has many levels of participation and many forms of struggle.

A political force called **ZAPATISTA** because it is born with the hope and the indigenous heart which, together with the EZLN, descended again from the Mexican mountains.

A political force with a program of struggle with 13 points.

Those contained in the First Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle and added throughout the past two years of insurgency. A political force which struggles against the State-Party System. A political force which struggles for a new constituency and a new constitution. A political force which does not struggle to take political power but for a democracy where those who govern, govern by obeying.

We call upon all those men and women of Mexico, the indigenous and those who are not indigenous, we call upon all the peoples who form this Nation; upon those who agree to struggle for housing, land, work, bread, health, education, information, culture, independence, democracy, justice, liberty and peace; to those who understand that the State-Party System is the main obstacle to a transition to democracy in Mexico; to those who know that democracy does not mean substituting those in absolute power but government of the people, for the people and by the people; for those who agree with the need to create a new Magna Carta which incorporates the principal demands of the Mexican people and the guarantees that Article 39 be complied with through plebiscites and referendums; to those who do not aspire or pretend to exercise public privileges or elected posts; to those who have the heart, the will and the wisdom on the left side of their chest; to those who want to stop being spectators and are willing to go without pay or privilege other than participation in national reconstruction; to those who want to construct something new and good, to become a part of the **ZAPATISTA FRONT OF NATIONAL LIBERATION**.

Those citizens without a party, those social and political organizations, those civic committees of dialogue, movements and groups, all those who do not aspire to take Power and who subscribe to this **FOURTH DECLARATION OF THE LACANDON JUNGLE** commit themselves to participate in a dialogue to formulate its organic structure, its plan of action, and its declaration of principles for this **ZAPATISTA FRONT OF NATIONAL LIBERATION**.

Today, this January 1 of 1996, the Zapatista Army of National Liberation signs this **FOURTH DECLARATION OF THE LACANDON JUNGLE**. We invite all the people of Mexico to subscribe to it. . . .

We are here. We do not surrender. Zapata is alive, and in spite of everything, the struggle continues.

From the mountains of the Mexican Southeast.

Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos

Indigenous Clandestine Revolutionary Committee General Command of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation Mexico, January of 1996.

In the next issue news summary and analysis of the past six month of the Zapatista struggle.



EZLN

ABOLISH PRISONS

Mumia Supporters Mobilize for May 19 - 20

BY W. SCHWEIZER

Supporters of Mumia Abu-Jamal mobilized a flurry of phone calls, faxes and letters to the office of Pennsylvania Governor Tom Ridge in early February after a usually reliable source in the statehouse told International Concerned Friends and Family in Philadelphia that Ridge was planning to sign another death warrant. The governor had promised last August not to sign a warrant as long as Mumia had active appeals going. Indeed, the rumor started as Mumia's attorneys were preparing to file an appeal of Judge Albert Sabo's denial of a new trial last September.

FALSE ALARM IN FEBRUARY

Staffers in Ridge's office at first side-stepped the question, telling callers that Ridge wasn't planning to sign any death warrants at this time because he was busy preparing for his State of the State address. However, later (and after many, many more phone calls) they told Cong. Ron Dellums and state Rep. Roxanne Jones that Ridge wasn't planning to sign a warrant at all.

This may be true, but that is what Ridge's office told people last June even after he had signed Mumia's first death warrant. So just in case, in New York the Coalition to Free Mumia has decided to put out the call for a mass action on the day after any signing.

Meanwhile, a national conference of all the major organizations working to free Mumia voted last December to try to get the federal Justice Dept. to investigate the case for systematic violations of Mumia's civil rights from the time he was arrested. This could be used to block any execution just as a Justice Dept. intervention in the case of Gary Graham in Texas three years ago saved him from the death gurney.

The Congressional Black Caucus started the ball rolling last June when, with Mumia facing an execution date, it wrote to Attorney General Janet Reno asking for such an investigation. After two and a half months (and much militant protest) Reno responded through Assistant Attorney General Andrew Fois. Fois wrote that the Justice Dept. could investigate conspiracies and "specific incidents of knowing and willful violations of a defendant's civil rights" in state court proceedings. He went on to note that the applicable laws had a statute of limitations of five years "unless there is significant evidence of an ongoing conspiracy."

MILLION LETTERS FOR MUMIA

In order to get the Department to take some action, the December conference voted to gather a million letters to deliver to Janet Reno. Mumia supporters around the world are doing mass outreach by collecting as many letters as possible in support of Mumia. All letters should be forwarded to the New York Coalition to Free Mumia.

MAY 19-20 MOBILIZATION

The letters will then be delivered all at once to Reno's office in Washington on Monday morning, May 20, accompanied by a mass march. The day before, May 19, is Malcolm X's birthday. We will celebrate that occasion with a rally in DC in support of Mumia. Everyone is encouraged to mobilize and attend these events.

For more information on the Million Letters Campaign or the May 19-20 mobilization:
NY Coalition to Free Mumia
PO Box 650
New York, NY 10009
212-330-8029

Direct Action in Ohio

BY AN OHIO PRISONER

In January of 1992, the Federal Bureau of Prisons (BOP) announced plans to build a federal prison in Columbiana County, Ohio. They planned to take over land owned and farmed by local families for generations.

Local farmers and working folks pulled together to oppose the prison. The BOP, devious as they are, countered by gathering petitions from surrounding counties in support of the prison. The citizens' opposition group hired counsel and a public relations firm to combat the BOP. After a protracted battle, BOP partially conceded and scaled the project back to 330 acres, from the 1,800 they had originally planned. The citizens' group continued to fight the project by utilizing environmental laws because the

proposed site is a wetland.

However the BOP started to clear the land for construction. In early August construction was halted after hundreds of rounds of ammunition (.22) shells wrapped in foil with spikes inserted in the wrapping were discovered peppering the construction site. Heavy machinery or trucks rolling over these homemade mines would have damaged the construction machinery (and maybe a few BOPers).

[PLN adds: An FBI spokesperson said a preliminary investigation suggested "nothing more than vandalism." Construction was resumed, but not until after the construction contract was altered to provide a heavier budget for increased security.]

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Anarchist Black Cross

NEW EMERGENCY RESPONSE NETWORK NEWSLETTER

Bronx ABC has begun printing a bimonthly newsletter to build the Emergency Response Network. The newsletter will contain "yellow alerts"—situations where prisoners are being mistreated in some way where we have time to pressure the prison hacks by mail or phone. Resistance will give details on the prisoner's situation, and what bureaucrats you can bug to change the situation. The newsletter will also report on the success (or lack thereof) of previous ERN calls put out in the bulletin, so we can determine over time how to be most effective in supporting those on the inside. Resistance won't carry "red alerts"—situations where a prisoner's life appears to be in danger or where a response is needed immediately. If you would like to be contacted to make phone calls in case of red alerts, or if you'd like to receive the Resistance bulletin about yellow alerts, contact Bronx ABC.

NEW ABC FEDERATION

In the last issue of Love & Rage we reported on the split in the ABC Federation, with New Jersey and Jacksonville ABC staying with the original idea of limiting work only to supporting Political Prisoners and POWs, in order to have a greater impact on that necessary area of work. That federation is continuing, but there have now been two meetings toward the formation of a new federation.

These meetings have so far included participation from Bronx, Baltimore, Washington DC and Minneapolis ABC groups. The new federation seeks to work with both Political Prisoners and "social prisoners"—those who have become politicized or active while in prison. It intends to support and include prisoners and collectives on the inside in the workings of the federation. This federation is also explicitly for the total abolition of prisons, and will seek to be a forum for broad political dia-

logue and mutual aid among participating groups. To find out more about this new federation, which is still in the process of defining its purpose and doesn't yet have a name, contact Baltimore, DC, or Bronx ABC.

POSTCARD BY LARRY GIDDINGS SUPPORTS MUMIA

Larry Giddings, an anti-authoritarian political prisoner, has designed a beautiful full-color postcard. Bronx ABC has printed the postcards, with Giddings art, as a fundraiser for Art and Writings Against the Death Penalty. The postcards are available for 50 cents each from Bronx ABC (Make checks to "Art & Writings Against the Death Penalty").

BALTIMORE ABC ON THE WEB

Baltimore ABC has set up a page on the world wide web with information on the work they are doing, and links to many other good prison activist resources. To find it, point your web browser to:

<http://www.charm.net/~gbarren/abc/abc.html>

ABC WARCHEST FINANCIALLY SUPPORTS PPS/POWS

New Jersey ABC, with the help of other supporting ABCs, has initiated a program designed to send monthly checks to those Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War who have been receiving insufficient, little, or no support during their imprisonment. They have been able to maintain this since November 1994, and currently are able to support four prisoners by sending them checks of \$60 each month. With guidance from the prisoners, a list of other Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War who are in great need of this type of support is being made. Though still small, the "Warchest" program is having an impact. As Sekou Odinga (a POW currently receiving a monthly check) writes, "Thanks much for the support you've

been organizing, I really appreciate it. After not having any or very little support for so long, it now seems like (people) have all of a sudden realized that I am alive."

There are more prisoners who need support than resources. You can endorse this program by giving \$5 per week (\$20 per month) or any other amount to this effort to increase the number of prisoners being supported monthly. A newsletter is published every two months that documents all money received and the prisoners it was sent to. The prisoners' addresses are also printed so that endorsers may write to the prisoners directly to hold the Warchest program accountable to its claims. To get the Warchest newsletter, or to give money (checks to "Cash" only), contact New Jersey ABC.★

Anarchist Black Cross Groups & Prison Activist Publications

Baltimore ABC
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Bronx ABC
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PRISON ACTIVIST PUBLICATIONS

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Out of Time
c/o Out of Control Lesbian Committee
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San Francisco, CA 94110
outoftime@igc.apc.org

Fighting Control Units in Maryland

BY BALTIMORE ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

Control units are neither new nor unique to the United States. There are parallels in almost every country today that is experiencing major political strife, anti-colonial/anti-imperialist uprisings, or major popular protest against state repression. Political prisoners in Ireland and Germany, for example, often have been held in "dead wings." A more naked form of deprivation, bodily torture and murder of political prisoners, is common under dictatorships all around the world, especially right-wing, neo-colonial ones.

Control units are being promoted for their potential role in breaking the will (and capability of resistance) of prisoners. This applies both to inmates convicted of "street

According to official statistics, 90.4% of the population is "black," 8.6% "white" and 1% "other." Nearly half are between 26 and 35 years of age, about 30% younger than 25, the rest older than 35.

Almost immediately upon its opening, the MCAC was surrounded by scandal. Warden Sweall Smith was pressured into leaving because of a pattern of sexual harassment of female employees. More disturbing, reports of dehumanization and torture began to filter out of the nondescript, mostly underground brick building.

There were stories of the "pink room," where prisoners were taken for "disciplinary segregation." Many reported being stripped naked there and chained in a three-piece shackle, where they were often beaten by

enormous amount of weight lost. When I was transferred out of Supermax after three years I found myself walking back and forward and brothers would ask me what was wrong. I would say that old habits die hard. I walked back and forth like that to think, to exercise, and to keep warm while the cold blowers were being used to force prisoners to stay in their beds."

As a footnote, we might add that we are tracking the US Department of Justice's investigation of the MCAC. After civil rights and prisoners' rights groups referred prisoners' letters of protest and official complaints to the DoJ, it tried to send investigators into the MCAC. The investigators were refused entry unless they revealed the names of those who had complained, which the DoJ wouldn't do. Finally, fearing a class-action lawsuit and an explosion of publicity, in Apr. 1995 Maryland corrections officials let in the federal investigators.

The DoJ investigators found conditions to be appalling, despite the fact that the staff had advance warning of the inspection. The DoJ's "letter of findings" will be presented to Gov. Paris Glendonning soon, at which point he will have to decide how to proceed with MCAC.

UNITS OF POLITICAL CONTROL AND CLASS REPRESSION

The continuing lock-down at the federal prison at Marion, Ill. set the precedent for the proliferation of control unit techniques. The collective punishment that characterized the "closed unit operation" at Marion is attractive to the powerful and is the very core of the control unit project. It is used both inside and outside of prisons. "Anti-gang" laws target poor, urban African and Latino youth en bloc. An officer of the Los Angeles Police Department recently told a Neighborhood Watch group: "Gangbangers wear expensive athletic shoes and clean, starched T-shirts," the characteristic distin-

Control units are being promoted for their potential role in breaking the will (and capability of resistance) of prisoners.

crimes," such as gang members, and to political radicals. The ideal prisoner is mute and obedient, owing allegiance only to the prison guards and the warden. Revolutionaries in the US belonging to the Black Panther Party, Black Liberation Army, American Indian Movement, John Brown Anti-Klan League, Revolutionary Armed Task Force, the Weather Underground, and the Puerto Rican Independence Movement have been locked up in such exemplary control units as the Lexington Security Unit for Women and the new Federal Administrative Maximum Facility at Florence, Col.

The scientific innovators of modern US control units openly admit their intellectual debt to the methods of "re-education" which were developed during periods of ideological warfare in China and Korea. After adapting the methods to reflect the conditions and technology of the US prison system, as well as different ideological and cultural norms, they christened these techniques "correctional adjustment" (or more informally, "behavior modification") rather than "re-education." The principle is the same, and it dates back long before the schism between "capitalism" and "communism." What were the Inquisition and witch-hunts of the Catholic Empire, if not a system of "correctional adjustment" applied to the dissidents and cultural outlaws (colonized people who refused to be assimilated) of its day?

It is our belief that in all of the societies mentioned—in all authoritarian societies based on hierarchy, repression, and exploitation—Dostoevsky's formula holds true: the prison system demonstrates the most basic operating principles of the society. Looking at it in this light, the US appears to be one of the most rigidly controlled societies in history.

Maryland has been a leader in the development of prisons for social control since the time of the colonial wars. The first Baltimore jail, built about the time of the "War of 1812" (a.k.a. Napoleonic Wars) held an unprecedented 100 persons and segregated them by age group and race.

Jailed Africans were either presumed runaways or simply slaves lodged "for safekeeping" by their owners. Half the Europeans in jail were there for small debts; bankruptcy laws applied only to the rich. In 1831, of the 2,300 sentenced to jail, 1,000 were jailed for debt (half for less than \$10) and another 400 for various labor-related offenses, such as suspicion of being a runaway slave, "safekeeping," desertion, mutiny, and participation in railway labor demonstrations. Maryland was also one of the first states to try to make the state penitentiary, built in the 1830s, a self-sufficient industry. It was also one of the first to apply the "panopticon" model of segregation coupled with centralized observation. Officials came from as far away as France to admire this "best model ... for the conduct of labor."

When the MCAC was built in 1989 it was designed to be a state-of-the-art control unit, modeled on the notorious "closed-unit operation" of the US Penitentiary at Marion, Ill. The MCAC and the MHC Annex, described below, are Maryland's "end of the line." The MCAC can house 288 inmates, but as of July 1995 it held 203 (1% of the Maryland prison population), who are kept in isolation for twenty-two and a half hours a day in sixty-five-square-foot cells.

guards and left to shiver in 45-degree air, blown in by the powerful fans of an air-conditioner. One inmate told us that he was left in this state for as many as three days without being allowed to eat or use the toilet. Bruce Wise is a prisoner who filed a suit in federal court after been beaten and repeatedly slammed to the wall while in the dreaded "three-piece." A relative of his described the effect of the MCAC's conditions on inmates: "After three to four months you start to see a real heightening of [the inmate's] paranoia. It is clear that the severe isolation is an attempt to cripple their minds."

Less is known publicly about the conditions within the MHC Annex. However, based on official descriptions and those of prisoners who have spent time there, it is clearly a control unit, used for both "disciplinary" and "administrative" segregation. It is half the size of the MCAC. As in the MCAC, various forms of isolation are used to control prisoners. There (as also in the MCAC) prisoners are only allowed five hours of visits a month, during which there can be no physical contact with visitors.

The design is to cut inmates off from their friends, family, or other support group, thus making them dependent on prison authorities. Prisoners are further "segregated" and denied visitation privileges for having strong religious convictions (especially Islamic and Native American beliefs), radical left-wing politics, or adherence to prisoner codes of honor. For example, several members (or former members) of the Black Panther Party have been singled out for this treatment, including Marshall Eddie Conway, who is still in prison, and Yusef Ali, who is now out of prison and active in the M.E. Conway Support Committee.

In addition to the use of segregation and isolation for behavior modification, prisoners are faced daily with other forms of abuse. Prisoners who have threatened lawsuits or actively cooperated with outside investigations have found themselves transferred suddenly to cells between emotionally disturbed inmates who stay up all night screaming and throw shit around their cells. Furthermore, prisoners are denied recreation periods or regular showers, sometimes because guards deliberately "slow down" the daily schedule.

The effect can be total—mental and physical. One prisoner wrote, after being transferred out of the MCAC: "Everybody knows the Supermax prisoners when they are transferred out to a lower security level because of the extreme paranoia and the



guishing them from other well-groomed young people apparently not requiring mention: the color of their skin.

Likewise, within prisons, "administrative segregation" is the term used in prison to rationalize a key tool of control units: the further persecution of whole categories of prisoners who are considered potential "administrative problems." "Disciplinary segregation" has been used to punish or control individual prisoners considered culpable for a certain infraction within prison (presumably carefully limited by Constitutional law). But "administrative segregation" is applied preemptively to suspected gang members, to prisoners who have been convicted of crimes stemming from their political activities or who have been sentenced on the basis of their political affiliations and beliefs, and to those

who organize other prisoners around legal and political issues.

Not only does a brief look at a control units betray the lie of American "liberty and justice for all," but an examination of the American economic system will show why control units have become necessary for capitalist imperialism to sustain itself. We are willing to concede that even the most egalitarian and non-hierarchical of societies might still have problems with anti-social behavior; certainly, with no large-scale exceptions in the world today, its hard to demonstrate otherwise. But it seems obvious that the vast majority of "crime" in America today is a direct result of its appalling economic inequality, unmatched among "first world" countries.

The majority of crimes that are punished with prison terms are non-violent or property offenses—theft, vandalism, prostitution, burglary, and use or sale of drugs—crimes that are obviously motivated by the economic status of their perpetrators. Even most violent crimes are motivated by frustration with class conflict, poverty and racism. It has become more and more difficult for the ruling class to convince poor and working people, despite all evidence to the contrary, they have a stake in supporting the current system and recognizing its authority. So more and more fine-tuned and brutal instruments of structural repression are being introduced. Between 1980 and 1990 the US prison population more than doubled, while the violent crime rate stayed relatively constant. (One figure that did multiply at a comparable rate was the income difference between the managerial class and the average entry-level worker.)

Even beyond its economic basis, though, the entire US prison system needs to be understood in terms of the Indian, Latino, and especially Black populations which are vastly over-represented in its institutions. For many people, prison is essentially a continuation of slavery, and of the ideology of white supremacy that had been developed to justify and perpetuate it.

New African prisoner of war Sundiata Acoli, in his influential pamphlet "A Brief History of the New Afrikan Prison Struggle," observes that, within five years after the end of the Civil War, the Black prison population skyrocketed from nearly zero to over a third of the prison population of the South. This had nothing to do with Black people committing more "crimes." For the most part "any transgression perceived by Whites to be of a serious nature was dealt with on the spot, providing the Black was unarmed...." Prison was used as a means of repressing Black people who had not committed any demonstrable "crime."

We can see that, deprived of the "peculiar institution" that had created it, the ideology of white supremacy refused to die. Rather, it began to make a few changes in its internal workings, and immediately attached itself to the institution that most resembled the one it had lost.

The Maryland prison population is currently over 75% people of African descent; the control units are more than ninety percent. Figures from Baltimore show over half of the young Black men are under direct state control: in prison, jail, or on parole or probation. In fact the state of Maryland has the second highest incarceration rate of any state in the country. The debilitating effect this has on neighborhoods is hard to ignore—it seems nearly impossible for any community under these circumstances to sustain its social bonds, let alone make any kind of move towards self-sufficiency.

It is evident that control units are not merely a means of dealing with crime more efficiently—no more so than the Nazi concentration camps were a new method (or "final solution") for dealing with usury and dishonest banking. They serve to repress us in ways that abet capitalist and racist ideology.

Bluntly stated, capitalist ideology and the cruder forms of racism are starting to make people a little uncomfortable today when they cannot close their eyes to the obvious and inevitable genocidal corollaries. So problems like "crime" or "drugs" get contrived, invented, exaggerated and turned into propaganda for policies that destroy lives, undermine community stability, and suppress dissent, especially among the poor and non-white populations, who, having been betrayed by the promises of capitalism

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The Palestinian Authority

Norman Finkelstein on the Israel-Palestine conflict



Out with the old: An Israeli border guard waves goodbye as the guards pull out of Bethlehem

BY CAROLYN

On Nov. 4 1995, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was assassinated by Yigal Amir, a member of Eyal (Irgun Artzenu Leumi, or the National Jewish Organization), an extra-parliamentary right-wing political party opposed to the Israeli government's negotiations with the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). The media has portrayed Rabin as Israel's Kennedy, a man of peace cut down by intolerance.

Recently I had an opportunity to speak with Professor Norman G. Finkelstein, of Hunter College in New York and author of *Image and Reality of the Israel-Palestine Conflict* and *The Rise and Fall of Palestine*. We spoke about Yitzhak Rabin's life, his role as a peacemaker, the politics of conquest, and the meaning of his death for the liberation of Palestine.

(Note: The interview and the accompanying article on Oslo and the Palestinian elections were completed before the recent bombings in Israel by Palestinian groups.)

Love and Rage: In many ways Yitzhak Rabin's life parallels the history of Israel. Could you speak about Rabin's military and political career?

Professor Finkelstein: Well, I am not expert on Yitzhak Rabin, but the point you make is valid—that the history of Israel is very much intertwined with his career. I could just say a few things about the salient points of his career. He was one of the generals during the 1948 war. In July of 1948, [Rabin was in charge of Operation Dani to conquer] the towns of Ramle and Lydda, and there was a question of what to do with the population. There were about 30,000 people in Lydda and about 20,000 in Ramle. Rabin describes it in his memoirs: He went to David Ben-Gurion, the Prime Minister of Israel, and asked "What should we do with these people?" Ben-Gurion made a gesture with his hand, an abrupt horizontal movement with his hand, which meant "get rid of them."

Rabin conducted the expulsion at Lydda. The estimates are that at Lydda there was a massacre of about 250 people. The expulsion was called "The Lydda Death March," and 300 more people were killed. In that single moment Rabin was responsible for more deaths than every single terrorist death ever attributed to Yasser Arafat and the PLO. I'm just talking about that one single event. He was responsible for more deaths than all the deaths that Rabin attributed to PLO terrorism in its entire history.

The next event involves the '67 War. The main impetus for the war is in the second week of May 1967. The Israelis were threatening to attack Syria, and one of the main threats was supposed to have been ordered by Rabin. It was that threat that led Nasser,

the head of Egypt, to introduce troops into the Sinai and to call on the UN to remove its troops. That was the beginning of the escalation that ended in the '67 war. There was absolutely no miracle about the so-called Sixth Day War, or, as I prefer to say, the June '67 War. Everyone on the eve of the war agreed on two facts: One, Egypt did not intend to attack; two, if Egypt did attack, the Israelis would rout them and all the other armies. So all of this mythology about a miracle having occurring in '67 is simply an ex-post-facto concoction fantasy.

In 1974, Rabin became the Prime Minister of the State of Israel. This is where the Golda Meir [government] effectively collapsed after the Oct. '73 war. It was under Rabin's watch in particular that the torture of Palestinians began to escalate in the Occupied Territories. The first major international investigation of torture in the Occupied Territories was conducted in 1977 by the London *Sunday Times*. They sent in an investigative team of reporters and documented, extensively and really definitively, the massive practice of torture by the Israelis in the Occupied Territories. And 1974 through '77 were the years that Rabin was in power.

He then resumed power between 1984 and 1990, under what was called the National Unity Government, and these were the years of the Palestinian Intifada. He's closely associated with the "force, might and beating" policy. Namely the systematic methodical breaking of Palestinian bones. [One Israeli newspaper reported in Jan. 1988, 197 people had been treated with fractures in one Gaza hospital in just 3 days.]

L&R: What are your thoughts on the Oslo peace accords?

NF: There was only one thing that changed in Sept. 1993 with the Oslo Agreement, and that was Yasser Arafat's complete capitulation to Israeli terms. There was no change on the part of the Labor party and Yitzhak Rabin. The facts of the matter are roughly as follows: Israel has always coveted the West Bank. There was always conflict over what to do with the West Bank, because, in the course of the 1948 expulsion, large numbers of Palestinians who had grown up in what became Israel fled to the West Bank, and so it became a densely-populated area. The question was, once you controlled the West Bank—this has always been the albatross for Israel—what do you do with the people? Obviously Israel wants the land, it doesn't want the people, and it's the same way in the conquest of our own American West, or North America in general.

There was a slight difference though, and the difference is density of population. In the case of the West Bank, there was very

significant population, and it was very difficult to figure out what to do with them. During the Israeli / French / British invasion of Egypt, [Prime Minister] Ben-Gurion was already talking about controlling the West Bank's economy and foreign policy and giving the Palestinians some sort of, what they called, autonomy. Basically, it's a bantustanization of the West Bank.

During June 1967 the West Bank and Gaza were conquered. And immediately the Israeli Labor party, which was in power then, began laying out plans how to keep the land and not the people. The basic structure of control has remained remarkably constant. Israel was going to keep about 60% of the land, and all of its resources, but it was going to, in the areas of what it called "Dense Arab Settlement," let them form what are basically bantustans—let them collect their garbage, their taxes and so forth. But we'll take everything that we can. That's been the consistent Labor party policy since 1967-68.

You have to understand the basic problem confronting Israel as a conquering regime, or conquering state. Historically there have only been three basic alternatives of what you can do in the course of conquest, because the main obstacle of the cost is always the people. One is, you can exterminate them. And that's what the Europeans did for a large part of the last 500 years. Extermination is no longer an option at the end of the 20th Century. You know, you read Teddy Roosevelt, say from the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries. He talks very frankly and proudly about the advantages to civilization when the superior race has exterminated inferior ones. The second option is expulsion. Israel did exercise the second option in 1948, when they expelled the indigenous popula-

larly controversial. People well within the mainstream of Israeli political life, for example the former deputy Mayor of Jerusalem Meron Benvenisti, in his book *Intimate Enemies*, says that the purpose of the Oslo Accord is to maintain the occupation by remote control. And, after a large number of factors, primary among them the collapse of the Soviet Union, the destruction of Iraq during the Gulf War, the loss of huge amounts of money, the radical decline of PLO's prestige due mostly to its corruption but also its incompetence, all these factors meant that for Arafat, unless he struck a deal, his days were numbered. And so, given that Nelson Mandela's mantle was beyond his grasp, he reached for Chief Buthelezi's. And his main concern is to be called president, and have his picture on postage stamps, and attend concerts at the Philharmonic. And the Palestinians get nothing.

L&R: What would you consider a just peace? What's your vision?

NF: My vision isn't important; the more important question is what do I think is going to happen. But before I get into that, I should just make a few comments about what I think are the main distortions in the covert coverage of the events surrounding Rabin's death. There's a fundamental distortion, and then there's a kind of ancillary, concomitant distortion. The fundamental distortion in the coverage in the Rabin assassination is the assumption that there is a fundamental conflict of ends between the settlers and their supporters and the Rabin government. And then the accompanying distortion is, since the assassination of Rabin was against a just peace, it must mean that Rabin was for a just peace. And

They say they "turned a barren desert if you're in the frontier you know to rationalize killing, expelling, way you can do it, is by intern

tion from what became Israel. About 750,000 Palestinians were expelled. Expulsion is currently not an option. And the third option is the South African option, namely, dump them into the bantustans, steal everything that you can from the land that you want, and leave them there to rot.

There are just too many regional and international constraints on Israel. So now it's doing the third best thing, which is what the Labor party policy was: to confine them within bantustans, keep most of the land for themselves—at this point Israel owns about 70% of the land in the West Bank. Israel controls about 80% of the water, which is the most vital resource in the West Bank—keep everything it can for itself and free itself from the albatross of these Palestinians, which it doesn't want to control. And, incidentally, I would want to add that nothing I am saying is even particu-

both of those assumptions are totally false.

First of all you have to have an historical perspective, and I'll just use the American example: If you look at the case of con-

quest of our own American West, there was always a conflict between the Frontiersmen—the Davey Crocketts—and the national government.

The Frontiersmen are on the edge of conquest, which means that they are always bearing the brunt of resistance and it's a very bloody affair, because those who are being walked over are not acquiescing, they are fighting back. Secondly, when you're on the frontier, you are kicking people off the land. You're killing them. You know when you're in Washington or in Tel Aviv or like our own President said at Rabin's funeral that Israel should be proud because they "turned a barren desert into a blooming country," well if you're in the frontier you know it's not a barren desert. You have to rationalize killing, expelling, exterminating people



Palestinians celebrate in the streets after Israeli military leaves the West Bank



In with the new: The new Palestinian police force enters Bethlehem

and the only way you can do it, is by internalizing a very racist ideology.

The Frontiersmen, or in the case of Israel, the settlers, tend to be a very ideologically driven bunch. The national government tends to be much more rational and pragmatic. It doesn't mean they have different goals. The national government has the same goal. They want to conquer the West Bank, just like Rabin's national government wanted to conquer the West Bank. So the main conflict is not one over ends, it's a question of what is possible under the circumstances. If Rabin could, he would expel them. That's what they did in 48. Which is what the settlers want to do—they want to expel them.

If you read the papers they always talk about how Rabin had a soft spot in his heart for the Right-wing extremists; he did. And you know why? Because that's what he was in the 1930s. What they're doing now—that's how Israel was created. How was it

thing it can for them. Which it is. It's doing everything which is feasible. The problem isn't that the settlers don't think—not at all—but this ideological element doesn't calculate in terms of feasibility. They calculate in terms of what they desire, but that's not politics. So, yeah, I agree with you, it will be a delicate operation. But I'm not sure what percentage of society is represented by the kind of element that, say, assassinated Rabin. My guess is that it couldn't be more than 10%. It's very unlikely. OK, I'll even grant 20. And soon even that 20 are going to split, over the assassination, so you're down to 10 percent. I very much doubt it could be much more than that.

L&R: *To shift back to something you were talking about earlier, about the decline of the PLO, and Yasser Arafat grabbing on to whatever he could get after Sept. '93, I was wondering if you could talk about the relationship between the PLO and the Intifada.*

ert into a blooming country," well it's not a barren desert. You have exterminating people and the only alizing a very racist ideology.

created? You had to go out in the wilderness and conquer land. And have no doubt that the original Zionists were as fanatical, racist, murderous as this bunch. Not because they're "Zionists"—no. It's because they're engaged in an empire of conquest.

L&R: *Do you anticipate any changes as a result of Peres's ascension to Prime Ministry?*

NF: No. I think there'll be changes within Israel. The spectrum is now going to narrow somewhat, as the extreme Right-wing elements are totally marginalized and perhaps even, like what they did with Kahane, they will be outlawed. So within Israel there will be changes, but there will be no significant changes in terms of the Palestinians.

L&R: *There is a parallel between the illegal racist right, and the function of white supremacy in the US, and the way that Israel needs the settlers for the purpose of conquest. Isn't it true that clampdown can only go so far before interfering with the function that settlers serve?*

NF: I think that's a good question, and I'm not sure. I mean, I think it's going to be a very delicate operation for the Israeli government, because it wants to maintain the settlements. It wants to have land. And if it alienates the settlers too harshly, a conflict will arise. But generally, as far as one can tell, and I'm certainly no expert on this, even within the settlements—among some, and I cannot say how much, how significant it is, there was a kind of recoiling from the assassination.

And it is perhaps possible that the settlers too, there will be a fringe element, which will be isolated, but in general they will recognize that Israel is doing every-

NF: I've never been very interested in the PLO. It has always been such a wretched organization. My own sense is that the Palestinians were able to exert a certain amount of independence from the PLO in the first year of the Intifada. Already by 1989 there's just an enormous amount of illusions on this score, but I think I'm quite accurate. Already by 1989 the PLO external organization, the Tunis organization of Arafat, was muscling out internal leadership, was replacing them with their own thugs. What the PLO didn't do to crush the Intifada, Israel did. Between the two, the massive arrests, the torture, the killing, the economic suffocation, between Israel's suffocation and the PLO's anti-democratic tactic, the Intifada was pretty much a dead letter by Aug. 1990.

L&R: *It's interesting that you said what existed between '67 and the Intifada, the sort of most prominent actions were the spectacular airplane hijackings. Hamas and other organizations seem to be using that strategy again.*

NF: That's exactly true. Professor Chomsky said to me we're now right back to the 1970s. But these are all actions of total despair. They will never budge Israel. They have no significant impact on Israelis. And they only play into Israel's hands. They are actions of despair.

L&R: *What do you envision happening next. With Oslo will the Palestinian people finally have gained nationhood?*

NF: I think the Palestinians are finished. They are finished in terms of an independent state. Too much of the West Bank has now been conquered by Israel. They control about 65 to 70% of the land. They're not going to return anything. And the whole of

Palestine, Piece by Piece: The Oslo Accords

By CAROLYN

The Oslo One and Two Accords begin with two fundamental assumptions. One, that the partition of Palestine into two states in 1948 by Western imperialism was just. Two, that subsequent Israeli expansionism, the occupation of the Gaza Strip, the West Bank and East Jerusalem in 1967, and Israeli settlements in those territories is just. Oslo breaks UN security resolution 242, which called for Israel to withdraw from the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, including the occupied city of East Jerusalem, to the pre-'67 borders.

Oslo Two, signed on Sept. 28, divides the West Bank into four separate zones of control. Zone A consists of two percent of Palestinian urban concentrations under Palestinian authority. Zone C, consisting of over 70% of the West Bank is under Israel's authority. Zone B consists of scattered towns and villages inside of Zone C and is considered "autonomous," meaning the Palestinians are administering what is actually Israeli control.

For instance, in Hebron, part of Zone C, cite of the massacre of 29 Palestinians by settler Baurch Goldstein, Israeli troops guard fewer than 450 settlers from the over 100,000 Palestinians. Palestinians are still subject to arbitrary curfews and house arrest, invading every aspect of their lives and delegitimizing their national sovereignty. Zone D, East Jerusalem, an area technically to be decided at a later date, is a dead issue. Acting Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres, considered politically left of slain Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, has made it clear that East Jerusalem will never be returned to the Palestinians.

Oslo also ensures that the Palestinian authorities cannot "deal with a security issue" or "threaten other Israel interests." Israeli courts will have broad powers to interpret Palestinian law and have "veto power over all legislation." In the Gaza Strip a parallel program exists whereby Israel will maintain authority of the 30% of the land considered most valuable and de-facto control over the rest.

The PLO has recognized Israeli plans to expand their state further. In signing Oslo, the PLO has accepted the legality of "existing and future settlements in the West Bank." [emphasis mine] The Israeli Labor Party's proposed budget for 1996, supported by Likud, provides \$40 million for new settlements in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Settlers are even given subsidies for segregated fish ponds in the Gaza Strip. Water, a scarce resource for Palestinians, is used by settlers generously for lawns, swimming pools, and artificial lakes [for resort hotels. Labor's budget also includes funding for specially constructed security roads, so settlers and tourists alike can bypass Palestinian homelands.

The mass uprising of the Palestinian people, the Intifada, forced the PLO and the Labor Party of Israel to make peace or risk the fire of the Palestinian liberation movement. The Intifada was moving beyond the pre-'67 borders, into the shantytowns and refugee camps of dispossessed Palestinians, and across the land now called Israel. Had this continued, the Israelis and Arafat would have been left as minor players. Together in Oslo they built a peace based on their own self interest and survival. The PLO has committed to disciplining the people's aspirations. As Rabin said, the Palestinian authorities will handle their people without the interference of the "bleeding hearts" that for

so long undermined Israel during 46 years of "benign occupation."

THE PALESTINIAN ELECTIONS

During the months of Dec. and Jan., under a hail of stones and molotovs, Israeli troops withdrew from six West Bank cities: Nablus, Bethlehem, Ramallah, Jenin, Qalkilya and Tulkarm. In Ramallah, Palestinians smashed symbols of the occupation and raised their flag over the police station where many of them had been tortured. Yet Palestine is not free. Israeli troops have only partially or temporarily redeployed; since their "withdrawal" they have repeatedly declared curfews, crippling the nascent Palestinian economy. On Jan. 5 Shin Bet [Israeli secret service] agents assassinated Yahaya Ayyash of Hamas in the Gaza Strip.

On Jan. 20, the Palestinians again declared their liberation, voting in their first-ever national elections. The elections are a direct response to the Israeli troop redeployments, and a desire to express Palestinian national identity. Even with Yassar Arafat's manipulation of the Fatah electoral slate, the elections give political independents in the Palestinian Authority (PA) some room to breathe.

Before the elections took place, two decisions shaped their outcome. One, the electoral system was to be based on majority vote and multi-constituencies, rather than a proportional representation and single constituency. The former favored Fatah, which has dominated the occupied territories since the Intifada, and its social bases: the petit-bourgeois mercantile class and tribal social structures. Arafat's authoritarian hand in shaping the PA led directly to oppositional forces boycotting the elections.

The oppositional forces are the PLO's Marxist-Leninist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), the Islamist Hamas, and Islamic Jihad. The opposition wrongly assumed the elections would be a referendum on Oslo only. In response, the people ignored their calls for a boycott.

The results of the elections seem to give Arafat and Fatah a clear majority on the PA. However, what is not clear is how much control Arafat has over the 88 newly elected members of the Palestinian Council, including the members of his own party. The new PA is filled with the street fighters, community activists, students, and former prison leaders of the intifada generation, a generation that rose directly contesting the PLO.

The elections have deeply fractured all of the political parties representing a revolt from below. The PLO and Arafat have been given an order: represent the people or else. The PA was elected on a platform expressing the kind of Palestine the people desire: one where East Jerusalem is the capital, all settlements are removed, and all refugees returned. These demands go beyond Oslo and Israel's agenda. But the elections have also legitimated Oslo. The PA will have to struggle for their autonomy and for a just peace under immense pressure from US imperialism and Israel to accept Oslo.

Whether or not the PA struggles for Palestinian liberation, the opening of the political landscape due to the fractures of the PLO parties offer the people a new opportunity to spark the intifada once again. The liberation of Palestine is not finished, and the signing of Oslo will bring no just peace.★

Palestine is now chopped up. My basic opinion is the current settlement, the bantustan settlement, will be reasonably stable for quite a long period of time. I think it will be stable for at least 20 years. People forget that the first major resistance to the Israelis after the '67 war was not until the Intifada in December of '87, which is 20 years. The defeat the Palestinians have now suffered with the Oslo Accord is easily the magnitude of the '67 war, so there's no reason to doubt that for at least two decades, this settlement will prove stable, and after that, it just seems obvious to me that at some point Palestinians will turn to the South African solution, which is to establish a single state in all of Palestine, for Jews and Arabs. The democratic solution of South Africa, the "one person one vote" solution, that seems to me—because here I

completely agree with Meron Benvenisti—the main thesis of his book, *Intimate Enemies*, his thesis is that the fates of the Israelis and Palestinians are so closely intertwined now, in Palestine and Israel, they're so intertwined in terms of demography, resources like water and so forth, that it's impossible now to imagine two separate fates for them. It's now one fate, and so Benvenisti ultimately says there has to be a kind of bi-national or democratic state, because you can't separate them out anymore. You can't find a place on that map of any significant dimensions which is homogeneously Arab or homogeneously Jewish. That's a very far-off prospect. For now, the Palestinians have suffered a defeat. And one should not close one's eyes to the fact that, effectively, Israel won, as is usually the case with the application of force.★

The Persistent Need to Understand the Whole World

BY CHRISTOPHER DAY

"Of all our studies, history is best qualified to reward our research."

—Malcolm X

The collapse of the Soviet empire, the electoral defeat of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, and the Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989 signalled the total defeat of Marxism as a universal ideology of human liberation. There has not yet emerged an alternative vision of the fight for a new society with the same claim to universal applicability as Marxism. Instead we have seen the appearance of a dizzying array of avenging religious fundamentalisms, bloodthirsty nationalisms, and the reappearance of fascism.

Marxism sought to view the various conflicts within and between societies in terms of a struggle between antagonistic socio-economic classes. Marx put forward a theory of history that emphasized a progression of social formations (from primitive communism to slavery to feudalism to capitalism and finally to communism) each in turn characterized by a particular economic "mode of production." This progression was based on the historical development of Western Europe, but was presumed to have some sort of universal applicability. In this respect Marxism reproduced the Eurocentrism of virtually all 19th-century European thought, which viewed non-European peoples as "backwards," and always running to catch up with the more "advanced" European civilizations. European global domination transformed this philosophical conceit into a material reality as non-European civilizations were laid waste, European economic and political structures were imposed around the world, and the development of these societies was organized to serve European imperial demands.

While it was never the ideology of a successful revolution in Western Europe, Marxism, with various modifications, became the dominant ideology of revolu-

tion in Russia and in much of Asia, Africa, and Latin America for most of the 20th century. With the historic failure of the various Marxist regimes has come the discrediting not just of Marxism but of the very idea of a theory that claims to speak for the interests of all humanity. In contrast to Marxism, the ideologies that have emerged in the 1980s and '90s speak only for particular religious or ethnic communities. On the left, at least in the West, proletarian internationalism has been replaced with the particularisms of identity politics.

We are not only members of particular ethnicities, nationalities, religions, genders, or sexualities, with our own particular histories and consequent experiences of reality. We are also members of humanity who share at least the consequences, however differently we might experience them, of what can only be called world history. To avoid the Eurocentric errors of Marxism, any effort to tell the history of the world must start from the criticisms of how that story has been told in the past. By bringing together the various revisions of the old story we can begin to construct a new one, in which the Western European bourgeois male isn't the stand-in for an otherwise silent humanity. The following books deal with these questions in ways that are critical of the prevailing Eurocentric historical orthodoxies.

THE COLONIZER'S MODEL OF THE WORLD

What accounts for the fact that Europeans were able to dominate virtually the whole world and to carry out the dramatic transformation of society we know as the emergence of modern capitalism? In *The Colonizer's Model of the World, Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History*, J.M. Blaut argues that "Most European historians believe in some form of the theory of 'the European miracle'...(T)he argument that Europe forged ahead of all other civilizations far back in history—in prehistoric or medieval times—and that this internally generated historical superiority or priority explains world history and geography after 1492: the modernization of Europe, the rise of capitalism, the conquest of the world."

Blaut notes that European historians are not united on the nature or timing of this miracle. They "debate these matters, the questions 'why' and 'when' but not the question 'whether'...they do not even consider the possibility that the rise of Europe above other civilizations did not begin until 1492, that it resulted not from any superiority of mind, culture or environment, but rather from the riches and spoils obtained in the conquest of America and, later, Africa and Asia."

The pre-1492 superiority of Europe is generally not argued for by relying on any evidence, it is simply assumed to be true and then explained by resorting to various sweeping, unsubstantiated and often contradictory claims about the genetic, cultural, or environmental inheritances of Europeans and non-Europeans. In rapid succession Blaut demolishes these claims, whether they are about the supposed superior rationality of European cultures, or the ability of tropical versus temperate climates to support significant populations.

The Colonizer's Model is an attack on what Blaut calls Eurocentric Diffusionism, the belief that significant cultural innovations primarily have their origins in what he calls "greater Europe," and that they spread outward from there. Another significant part of European Diffusionism is what Blaut refers to as the "Oriental Express" view of history, that the center of cultural innovation has moved consistently Northwest for the past several millennia, starting in the Middle East, passing through Greece, then Rome, from there to medieval France and then England, and presumably culminating in the US of A. The Oriental Express simultaneously explains away the pesky non-European developments of agriculture, cities, writing, ironworking, and monotheism, and deposits the mantle of "most advanced civilization" on you-know-who. Blaut argues that both the theory of



cultural diffusion from Europe and the Oriental Express are self-serving constructs of colonialism, with little foundation in fact.

Blaut argues persuasively that in 1492 Western Europe was not particularly more or less further down the road towards modern capitalism than many other parts of Africa and Asia in terms of technology, productive capacity, mechanisms of finance and exchange, culture, or political structures. He notes the existence of parallel developments in a number of societies, and then makes the case that "Africa, Asia, and Europe were about equally close to—or distant from—capitalism and modernity in 1492. After 1492, the pace of development quickened for Europe and slowed for Africa and Asia, because of the wealth brought to Europe from America."

This view of the process of European expansion also has implications for attempts

driving forward pre-industrial capitalism and then the Industrial Revolution.

PATRIARCHY AND ACCUMULATION

If traditional Marxist analyses of the making of modern capitalism have ignored or under-emphasized the role of non-European peoples in the processes of development, they have also ignored the role of women's labor. The error is a similar one. By defining capitalism simply in terms of wage labor and commodity production both the unwaged work of slaves and the reproductive labor of women (cooking, cleaning, and other work that keeps waged male workers able to work) is erased from the history of capitalism.

Maria Mies's book, *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale, Women in the International Division of Labour*, is a sweeping analysis that spans from the origins of class society in the subordination of women, to the political and economic causes and consequences of the persecution of witches, to what she calls housewifization, to the central place of the exploitation of Third World women in the new world order.

Mies begins by critically analyzing contemporary feminism and the failure of its explanations of the persistence of violence against women. She argues that it is the exploitation of women, not their oppression or subordination, that is at the heart of what she calls capitalist-patriarchy. In doing so she simultaneously attacks the simplistically economic view of exploitation of most Marxists as well as the refusal of many feminists to deal with the actual economic exploitation of women. Exploitation, as Mies uses the term, "means that someone gains something by robbing someone else, or living at the expense of someone else." Mies sees that there are many non-economic ways that men exploit women. Coupled with the exploitation of women's unwaged labor (housewifization), this exploitation is the foundation on which capitalist patriarchy is built.

Mies investigates the "social origins of the sexual division of labor" and concludes that it lies in the establishment of men as a class of hunters with a monopoly on weapons (and hence a monopoly on effective violence). She posits, in opposition or addition to Marx's "modes of production," a "patriarchal predatory mode of appropriation" that she argues "was not abolished totally when new, and apparently more 'non-violent' modes of production replaced older ones. It was rather transformed and dialectically preserved, in the sense that it appeared under new forms of labour control." She traces the development of this mode of appropriation and the position of women from prehistory to the present. Mies takes a tip from Rosa Luxemburg and argues that capitalism was not built simply on a foundation of looted wealth (so-called primitive accumulation), but depends on the constant expropriation of those outside capitalist relations of production (women, children, colonized peoples) to extract itself from its periodic crises.

Particularly interesting is Mies's treatment of women in Europe in the middle ages and the economic and political purposes of the persecution of witches. The witch hunts transferred women's wealth to the newly emergent male bourgeoisie. This most domestic primitive accumulation of capital immediately preceded the wholesale expropriation of the Americas from their indigenous inhabitants and the enslavement of millions of Africans.

Mies powerfully links the brutal "civilizing" processes directed at women as witches in Europe and then at non-European "barbarians" in the colonies.

Bringing her analysis into the present, Mies brilliantly exposes the centrality of women's labor in the processes of capitalist development currently taking place in Africa, Latin America, and Asia, in particular Southeast Asia. Analyzing the position of women working in agriculture, in handicrafts production, in the electronics industry, and in the sex industry, Mies puts together the pieces to reveal a picture quite different from the traditional male-centered view of

There has not yet emerged an alternative vision of the fight for a new society with the same claim to universal applicability as Marxism.

to explain the causes of the Industrial Revolution. In *Capitalism and Slavery*, Eric Williams argues that the slave system of English colonialism was central to the accumulation of sufficient capital for industrial "take-off" in England at the end of the 18th century. Blaut takes this a step further and argues that slavery and colonialism produced more than capital: They introduced non-European technologies (such as Indian textile production techniques), they brought large markets under European control, and they established, in the form of the plantation, the first industrial-scale organization of commodity production. This view stands in contrast with the more Eurocentric view that emphasizes forces internal to Europe as

the mechanisms of class exploitation under capitalism. The role of violence against women and of women's social subordination in the generation of super-profits in the Third World, is made starkly apparent.

It is in her analysis of the relationship between women's liberation and national liberation that the radical implications of Mies's thinking come out. Mies acknowledges the advances women have made in societies that have undergone national liberation struggles or "socialist" revolutions (Russia, China, Cuba, Viet Nam, Tanzania), and then notes that these "advances" are the same ones that are associated with capi-

The advances women have made in societies that have undergone national liberation struggles or "socialist" revolutions ... are the same ones that are associated with capitalist development.

talist development. The mobilization of women in the course of a national liberation struggle, according to Mies, is striking in its similarity to the mobilization of women for war in the imperialist countries. In both cases there is a compelling need to break

women out of the isolation of the family in order to mobilize them for production. And in both cases there is a refusal to allow women to establish truly autonomous structures in the process.

Mies sees these so-called "socialist" countries as just another form of patriarchal-capitalism. And she analyzes how Eurocentric Marxist explanations of capitalist development bolster the oppression of women in these societies. The Marxist explanation focuses on the "reproduction of capital through the ongoing exploitation of the surplus labour of propertyless proletarians" but ignores the "exploitation of colonies, as well as that of women and other non-wage workers" in the process of the capital accumulation that is necessary for all development. In other words, in order for the so-called "socialist" countries to develop to a level comparable to the

industrialized imperialist countries they must find a way to super-exploit a section of their own population.

While the "socialist" countries have certainly sought to exploit or expropriate potential colonies within their borders (from the Chechens to the Miskitos), it is women who "constitute the 'last colony'" for socialist as well as capitalist accumulation. In this way Mies's critique of socialist political economy makes an important new contribution to the critique of "real socialism" as a form of state capitalism. Beyond its contributions to our understanding of the functioning of the modern world system, it

makes a compelling case for the radical reconception of the revolutionary project.

Mies demolishes the traditional Marxist conception of the state as simply a superstructure built on a the foundation of an economic mode of production. The state is not simply an instrument of oppression, a weapon that can be seized by the oppressed and used against their oppressors. It is irretrievably an instrument of exploitation over women and conquered and colonized peoples. There can be no such thing as a revolutionary state. For this reason Mies says that "the feminist movement is basically an anarchist movement which does not want to replace one (male) power elite by another (female) power elite, but which wants to build up a non-hierarchical, non-centralized society where no elite lives on exploitation and dominance over others."

BEFORE EUROPEAN HEGEMONY

According to the Eurocentric Marxist version of history, the development of capitalist relations of production in Europe was propelled forward by the unique development in the 13th century of a market economy based in a handful of cities first in Northern Italy and then in Flanders. This supposedly uniquely dynamic market system generated sufficient demand for certain commodities (in particular, textiles) to force the reorganization of their production along increasingly capitalist lines.

In *Before European Hegemony, The World System A.D. 1250-1350* Janet Abu-Lughod paints a very different picture. According to Abu-Lughod there existed in the 13th and 14th centuries at least eight of these market systems stretching from China to Western Europe. These systems of commodity production and exchange each had their own particular features, but they were becoming increasingly integrated, constituting an emergent polycentric world system in which no single trading center had hegemony. This system fell apart in the middle of the 14th century for a number of reasons. The primary one seems to have been the bubonic plague, which significantly disrupted every single one of the market sub-systems that comprised the world system. It would only be reconstructed in the 15th century with the Portuguese and then the Dutch domination of the Indian Ocean. The Europeans were able to establish hegemony in the 15th century not because of any unique genius on their part, but because their newly obtained access to the wealth of the Americas enabled them to dominate an already existing trading system.

Abu-Lughod's book is a fascinating read that dramatically upsets all sorts of preconceptions about what the world must have looked like 700 years ago. Her descriptions of the eight sub-systems (Western Europe, the Eastern Mediterranean, the Mongol Empire, the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea and East Africa, the Arabian Sea, the Bay of Bengal, and the South China Sea) reveal a world about to be transformed.

The increasing integration of markets was encouraging the development of long-distance sailing technologies simultaneously in China, India, and Portugal. Before the Portuguese entered the Indian Ocean the Chinese had reached East Africa and an Indian explorer had rounded the Cape of Good Hope going west into the Atlantic (never to be heard from again). Even by the 16th century "although European vessels were considerably better than they had been, they were still not superior to the Chinese ships Admiral Cheng Ho had parad-



ed through the Indian Ocean in the fifteenth century." The European vessels that came to dominate this world system depended on East African, Arab, Indian, and Southeast Asian navigators and sailors. The crews of these medieval ships in many ways prefigure the polyglot labor forces of modern world cities like New York, Los Angeles, Hong Kong, and Singapore.

Abu-Lughod makes it clear that this nascent world system involved only a tiny minority of humanity in the 13th century: "this system was extremely uneven, integrating into the network only an archipelago of 'world cities' elevated above a sea of relatively isolated rural areas and open stretches." But "...unevenness in itself does not invalidate the existence of an overarching system. Indeed, it is debatable whether the discrepancy between world city and hinterland in the thirteenth century was nearly as great as the gap that separates Tokyo or New York from rural Togo in today's world system."

PEOPLE WITHOUT HISTORY

Before European Hegemony is primarily an economic history of a network of merchant cities. That history has been erased, but it is still the history of an elite. To reclaim it doesn't really help us understand how the expansion of that world system, now under European domination, was experienced by the majority of humanity.

In *Europe and the People Without History*, Eric R. Wolf attempts to tell the story of European expansion as it was experienced by "the people without history." Wolf is an anthropologist and brings to his effort to retell world history the methodologies of his field. He rejects the notion that Europeans dynamically expanded into a world of isolated and stagnant cultures. He begins by describing the state of a number of cultures in Asia, Africa, and the Americas in 1400, before European expansion got under way. He emphasizes that, despite vast differences between these cultures, whether they were hunters, pastoralists, farmers or merchants, none of them were isolated. All of them existed in relation to neighboring cultures with whom they traded, warred, and borrowed.

The traditional accounts of European expansion describe in varying detail the impact of that expansion on particular cul-

tures, but rarely on the relationships that existed between those cultures. In the second section of his book Wolf chooses several examples to illustrate this larger point. In one he describes the social consequences of the fur trade on the indigenous cultures of Northern Canada.

He examines how the European demand for furs set in motion an elaborate chain of events that disrupted and transformed indigenous cultures long before they directly encountered any actual Europeans. This process starts with the Abenaki on the coast of Maine and reaches across the entire continent to the Kwakiutl on the coast of British Columbia, with the result that when the Europeans did come the cultures they encountered were dramatically different than what had existed prior to the period of European expansion. He tells similar stories about the hidden transformations set in motion by the slave trade in Africa, the Spanish and Portuguese expansion into the Americas, and the European penetration of the existing trade circuits of East Asia.

The third section of Wolf's book deals with what happened when the Europeans were no longer only interested in the products of Asia, Africa, and the Americas as items for consumption on the European market, but as raw materials to feed industrial production in Europe. The plantation systems put in place to produce cotton, sugar, and other commodities set in motion mass migrations of both "free" and forced labor around the globe that are still accelerating.

Europe and the People Without History is a retelling of the past 500 years of history not simply from the point of view of its victims, but from the point of view of a whole world in which the majority of humanity were the victims. By demonstrating the profound interconnectedness of cultures we have been taught to view as isolated from each other, Wolf compels us to rethink the categories of Western European history as well, to reject the simplistic genealogy of Western Civilization (Blaut's "Orient Express") in favor of a web of different cultures that have been strung together by Western European thinkers for their own political purposes.

TOWARDS A NEW VIEW OF THE WORLD

These four books are an introduction to a wide-ranging body of writing that seeks to fundamentally challenge the prevailing views of how the modern world system came to be. Other important writers who have contributed to this project include Fernand Braudel, CLR James, Eric Williams, Immanuel Wallerstein, Walter Rodney, and Samir Amin. All of these writers have been profoundly influenced by Marxism, but all of them have also been able to step outside of its orthodoxies. Collectively they challenge many of the fundamental assumptions of Eurocentric Marxism, most importantly the whole progressive theory of history, an idea that is fundamentally wedded to the justification of European expansion. But they also point to the necessity of continuing to try to grasp the world not just as a collection of parts, but as a whole. ★

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An Anarchist Critique

By Ron Tabor

This is the fourth installment of a series of articles devoted to a critique of Marxism that has been appearing in *Love and Rage*. The theme of the series is that behind its liberatory claims, Marxism is a totalitarian credo; specifically, that the brutal state-dominated societies Marxists have created (the now-overthrown regimes in the former Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and Ethiopia, those extant in China,

not "a state in the proper sense of the word" (Engels, letter to August Bebel, March 18-28, 1875, in *Critique of the Gotha Program*, p. 31). Unlike other states in history, whose role was to enable minorities to suppress majorities in the interests of maintaining exploitation, the dictatorship of the proletariat is the instrument of the majority to suppress the exploiting minority and thus to do away with exploitation altogether. The establishment of the dictatorship of

THE STATE: A PASSIVE PHENOMENON?

Marxism's statist thrust reflects the belief that the state is a secondary and ultimately a passive phenomenon, that the state is an instrument of a ruling class whose position is defined primarily by its economic function, that is, its role as the exploiting class.

In Marxist theory, the state, like all political and ideological phenomena, is part of the superstructure, which, while not entirely passive, is ultimately determined

ing class must establish a state and then deny that this state is really a state: "It's not a state in the proper sense of the term," etc. This enables the dictatorship of the proletariat to act precisely as Marx and Engels want it to, at least in theory. Specifically, the proletariat builds a state that suppresses the bourgeoisie and takes over the means of production, but it never threatens the workers and goes away when it's no longer needed.

THE MARXIST MODEL OF PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

Marx and Engels' conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat is integrally connected to their analysis of capitalism, its "laws of motion" and the state toward which these laws are propelling the system. This state has four major characteristics:

1. The proletariat, a class that owns nothing but its labor-power, constitutes the vast majority of the population. Almost all small farmers, small businesspersons and middle class professionals have been "proletarianized," that is, thrust into the working class.

2. The capitalist class has been reduced to a handful of people who do not manage industry, but merely "clip coupons."

3. The vast majority of the social capital has been united through the "concentration and centralization of capital" into a few massive blocks. The result is the domination of the economy by a handful of monopolies and trusts, many of which have been taken over by the state.

4. The proletariat is politically united and class-conscious, meaning it desires a revolution and agrees on its tasks, including constructing a proletarian dictatorship.

OF THE

lution and agrees on its tasks, including constructing a proletarian dictatorship.

If we assume that a proletarian revolution occurs under these conditions, there will be hardly anyone to repress, the repressive function of the revolutionary state can be kept limited and the Marxist strategy seems plausible.

But let's assume, for the sake of discussion, that these conditions do not all apply, that a Marxian proletarian revolution takes place where one of these conditions is lacking, and speculate as to what is likely to happen.

First, let's assume a revolution has taken place and a dictatorship of the proletariat has been established in a society in which the workers are not the overwhelming majority of the population. In this case, the majority of people will be peasants, shopkeepers, artisans, small businesspersons and professionals.

If the Marxist strategy is attempted under these circumstances, the logic of the situation is for the proletariat to use the state against the other popular classes. With a state and the concomitant means of coercion at its disposal, the proletariat will try to proletarianize the small property owners by force. A civil war will break out, and to win, the proletariat will build up and centralize the state, strengthen the apparatus of repression, curtail civil liberties and take other measures to defeat the "counterrevolutionaries." The state will no longer be "a state that is not really a state," a state that is "withering away." It will be an increasingly centralized and hierarchical apparatus run by bureaucrats. Over time, the apparatus will come to dominate society, establish its rule over the proletariat and subvert the originally proletarian nature of the state.

This is roughly what happened in the Russian Revolution. There, however, it was not the proletariat that seized power, but an organization run by middle class intellectuals that attempted to carry out the Marxist strategy in the name of the workers.

Let's now assume a revolution has occurred in a country where the economic conditions predicted by Marx and Engels exist, but where the workers do not all agree on revolutionary strategy. Let's assume, to be more specific, that a signifi-

THE DICTATORSHIP

Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba) are not historical aberrations, but the highly probable outcome of Marxism.

The totalitarian thrust of Marxism results from 1) a belief in Absolute Truth, specifically, the idea that material reality and human history are governed by inexorable "laws"; 2) that the communist society that Marxism advocates is the logical and inevitable outcome of these laws; and 3) that the chief vehicle for the implementation of this program is the state, in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The thesis of this article is that the dictatorship of the proletariat exists only in theory, that it is incapable of realization in practice, and that all attempts to create it have led and will continue to lead not to dictatorships OF the proletariat but to dictatorships OVER the proletariat.

Marx and Engels wrote comparatively little about the dictatorship of the proletariat. They believed that it was only possible to discern the outlines of the proletarian states and communist societies of the future and that their precise characteristics would emerge in practice. This did not prevent them from insisting that certain aspects of the dictatorship of the proletariat, such as that it was to be based on nationalized property, were essential, nor from asserting that the road to freedom lay only through such a dictatorship.

I would describe the Marxist conception of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat as follows:

1. The first step in the revolution is the "conquest of political power by the proletariat," "to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class" (*Communist Manifesto*, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, International Publishers, New York, 1948, pp. 22, 30).

2. Once in power, the working class smashes the capitalist state machine (*The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, by Karl Marx, International Publishers, NY, 1963, p. 122), then builds its own state, the "revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat" (*Critique of the Gotha Program*, Karl Marx, with Appendices by Marx, Engels and Lenin, International Publishers, NY 1938, p. 18).

3. The dictatorship of the proletariat is

the proletariat means "to establish democracy" (*Manifesto*, p. 30).

4. The main tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat are to "wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state, i.e., of the proletariat organized as the ruling class; and to increase the total productive forces as rapidly as possible" (*Manifesto*, p. 30) according to a "common plan." (*The Civil War in France*, Karl Marx, International Publishers, NY, 1940, p. 61). This is necessary to overcome relative scarcity and shorten the workday, thus allowing all workers to participate in the affairs of society.

5. As these tasks are fulfilled, the state "withers away" (*Anti-Duhring [Herr Eugen Duhring's Revolution in Science]*, Frederick Engels, International Publishers, NY, 1939).

THE STATIST THRUST OF MARXISM

In my booklet, *A Look at Leninism*, I indicated that although Marxism claims that its goal is the elimination of the state, its practical thrust is statist. In Marxist theory, the elimination of the state is to take place not in the present or near future, but at some indefinite point down the road. Moreover, it is not something that is consciously accomplished. The state is not dismantled. It "withers" away automatically.

In the meantime, the chief strategic tasks of Marxists are centered on the state. Along with focusing the workers' attention on the political arena under capitalism, Marxists urge them to seize state power, smash the capitalist state and build a new one in its place. While the proclaimed goal of Marxism is the elimination of the state, Marxists concentrate their efforts on establishing one.

The establishment of brutal dictatorships by Marxists is not an accident, but a logical consequence of their theory. Marx and Engels claimed the dictatorship would suppress only the bourgeoisie, but as we will see, this is not so. To Marxists the essence of the state is its repressive function—the sooner the bourgeoisie is repressed, the sooner socialism can be built and humanity freed—therefore efficiency in repression is a virtue.



Rare photo of Marx sharing podium with bourgeois politicians, military generals and police

CONVENIENT ASSUMPTIONS

The concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat reveals a tendency that is common throughout Marxist theory: a penchant for wanting to have it both ways; to posit something and then to deny what flows from it. Marx and Engels insist that the work-

of Marxism

PART FOUR IN A SERIES

cant sector of the class is anti-authoritarian, that is, they oppose the building of a new state, even a proletarian one.

The Marxist workers would thus come to identify the supporters and opponents of the state—not by their class positions, but by their politics—and to build up the power of the state against them. This state would also come to dominate society and overturn the proletarian nature of the state.

Needless to say, the repressive, ideological state sketched here is an abstract version of the Marxist states that have been actually established.

My point with this and the previous example is twofold: First, if even one of the conditions posited by Marx and Engels does not apply, the dictatorship of the proletariat does not behave as they contended it would. It does not wither away; it reenslaves the workers.

Second, the actual results of the attempts to carry out the Marxist strategy (the police states set up in the name of human liberation) are the logical and predictable outcome of Marxism and reveal its underlying meaning. These results reveal the absurdity of the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a concept that makes sense only in the rarefied realm of a theory that has assumed away the concrete circumstances of the real world.

However, even if we assume that capitalism develops as Marx and Engels thought, the dictatorship of the proletariat did not function as they believed. In fact, the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible in all circumstances. This is because it is based on nationalization.

NATIONALIZED PROPERTY

We have seen that to Marx and Engels one of the key tasks of the proletariat upon its seizure of power is to take the means of production out of the hands of the bourgeoisie and nationalize them, that is, turn them into state property. The meaning of nationalization is quite specific: the means of production are to be centralized in the hands of the state. Yet, it is precisely such centralization that prevents the workers from controlling the means of production and that guarantees that the state, supposedly their own dictatorship, will be an instrument of their oppression.

Nationalized property is not an accidental characteristic of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but part of its essence. Marx and Engels' commitment to state ownership flows from their analysis of capital and their overall theory of history. In their conception, communist society flows out of capitalism; it is the culmination of the social and economic trends that characterize that system. And the economic superiority of the communist mode of production over the capitalist is in part based on the fact that it completes the processes begun under the latter.

Chief among these are the concentration and centralization of capital, which augments the size of the discrete capitals and the individual factories and other enterprises. This is one of the chief ways the system increases productivity. Yet, based as it is on private property, capitalism cannot complete these processes, and it remains for the working class to create a single, unified national capital.

Marx and Engels contrasted what they called the anarchic character of capitalist production as a whole, that is, the relations between capitals, to the planned nature of production within each factory. The unification of all the capitals will, they believed, enable the entire economy to be planned in the manner of a single factory.

NATIONALIZED PROPERTY: THE NECESSARY OUTCOME OF HISTORY?

In Marxist theory, the unification of the social capital is the logical outcome of history up to this point. For Marx and Engels, the most significant characteristic of

human beings is labor, that we transform our environment and ourselves through work. This labor and the cooperation it entails is the source of human society and determines its evolution.

For Marxism, the motive force of history is the tendency for the productive power of labor to grow, primarily through the development of tools, machines, the organization of the work process, etc. These forces of production determine, at any given time, the relations of production—how society is organized economically—and together these forces and relations of production constitute the mode of production. The development of the forces of production leads to periodic changes in the mode of production and this process determines human history.

In the early stages of history, under "primitive communism," human beings lived in small groups. Tools were few and were directly held by individuals, families or villages. There was no exploitation, no social classes and no state. As the productive power of labor grew, a given group of people became able to produce an economic surplus, which enabled a minority to live off the labor of others. This gave rise to class societies, based on the exploitation of the majority by an elite class that maintained its domination through the state.

In this process, the nature of the producers' relation to the means of production changed. Whereas under primitive communism, the producers controlled the means of production, under class society, they are increasingly separated from and subordinated to them. In the philosophical language that Marx and Engels used in their youth, this process entails the alienation of human beings from our essence, our labor, which confronts us as an external entity that dominates us.

Along with the separation of the producers from the means of production, the development of class society also involves, for a time, the fragmentation of the producing classes and the means of production themselves. This reaches its extreme in the early stages of capitalism. Here the means of production are owned by individual or small groups of capitalists, while the workers are divided from each other in small workshops. It is the combined effects of the separation of the producers from the means of production and the fragmentation of the latter that frees the forces of production from the social fetters that characterize earlier systems. This enables and, through the effect of competition, impels the capitalists

to modernize the means of production and increase productivity.

Such modernization, however, involves uniting ever larger groups of workers and quantities of the means of production. Capital is fused into ever-larger blocks, while individual enterprises grow in size, bringing together increasing numbers of workers. Each of these processes, in the Marxist view, increases economic efficiency. Ultimately, capitalism unites the social capital into vast agglomerations, many of which are owned by the state.

Eventually, the proletarian revolution unites these three factors that have hitherto been separated. First, the proletariat is politically united. Second, the social capital is entirely unified through the expropriation of the capitalists and the nationalization of their property. Third, the workers get control over the means of production. This triple unification occurs through the dictatorship of the proletariat, the state.

The nationalization of the means of production is thus a vital part of the Marxist program. Yet, it is precisely this nationalization that completely vitiates the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

NATIONALIZED PROPERTY = THE EXPROPRIATION OF THE WORKERS

As long as we remain in the realm of



Kill the anarchists at Kronstadt, get an icepick in the head from Stalinists ... Tragic karma for Trotsky? (Mexican Police recreate the Trotsky icepick incident to show how the deed was done)

abstractions, the idea may seem workable that the proletariat as a whole can control a state that owns all of the means of production. However, as soon as we think about it concretely, its flaws become glaring.

Nationalized means of production entails an enormous mass of productive and financial enterprises. To manage them, hierarchically or cooperatively, requires a vast system of communication and decision-making. If nationalized means of production are to be cooperatively controlled by the working class, the workers must either: 1) be nearly totally and automatically in agreement about the course of the revolution and its economic policies, or 2) quickly establish an intricate and nearly perfect system of political representation that accurately transmits the different interests and priorities of its sectors, allows for the determination of national policies that reflect these differences, and prevents the people at the center of this structure from abusing the tremendous power at their disposal.

In the absence of these highly unlikely conditions, the relatively rapid nationalization of the means of production means the de facto expropriation of the workers by a large centralized bureaucratic apparatus.

If history is any indication, in the aftermath of a popular revolution, individual factories and other economic enterprises, along with schools, hospitals, neighborhoods, etc., will be run by democratically elected committees/councils of those who work/live in them. In one anti-authoritarian vision, these committees will reach out to and cooperate with similar entities, federating on the local, regional, national, and ultimately, international levels.

For this process and the resulting structure to remain democratic, the right to manage specific factories, etc., must remain with the people working in them. Their cooperation with other factories and their participation in the broader federative structures must be entirely voluntary, and they must have the right to withdraw from and/or renegotiate their relationship to the other entities to which they are affiliated.

In this way, workers and other members of society learn how to manage the economy and society as a whole cooperatively and democratically. Over a considerable period of time, something analogous to the nationalization of the means of production results, in the sense that the economy becomes the property of all members of society and thus ceases to be property. But this is the end of a

long process, not the beginning.

In the Marxist version of the revolution, the means of production are nationalized fairly quickly. This takes the ultimate right to manage the factories away from those who work in them and places it in the hands of a national authority that supposedly represents the national interests of the working class. But at this point, there are no discernible national interests of the working class (unless one believes they can be deduced from a theory or a supposed science of economic planning). These interests can only be determined by the workers themselves through the establishment of the federative structures and cooperative relationships described above.

In the absence of such structure and relationships, the rapid nationalization of the means of production entails wresting control of the factories away from the workers by functionaries working for the national authority. At the very least, these bureaucrats will tabulate the resources now belonging to the state, ensure that the capitalists have indeed been expropriated, and sit on the councils of the factories to ensure that the policies of the national planners, whoever they are, will be carried out.

Yet, these functionaries will have ultimate veto power over the decision of the councils. Should the councils resist the policies of the planners, the functionaries will have the authority and the power to dissolve the councils, and if necessary, arrest the offending workers as counterrevolutionaries. They can do this because, legally, the national authority represents the interests of the working class as a whole, while the councils represent "only" the partial, sectoral interests of relatively small groups of workers.

While this authority and the apparatus it controls will claim to represent and carry out the interests of the working class as a whole, it will in fact constitute a distinct social class with its own interests and will strive to secure its power over the workers. And with vast economic and political power at its disposal, it will most likely be able to do so.

This is the likely scenario of a Marxist revolution even where the conditions assumed by Marx and Engels obtain.

THE PARIS COMMUNE

In light of this, we can see just how false Marx and Engels' attempt to bestow Marxist legitimacy upon the Paris Commune is. I am referring specifically to their claim that the Paris Commune of 1871 represented the dictatorship of the proletariat. Since Marx's

A Look at Leninism

by Ron Taber

Taber's critique of Leninism is a valuable weapon in the hand of all revolutionary anti-authoritarians. Written as a series of articles, *A Look at Leninism* introduces the reader to the key concepts of Leninism and then demolishes the claims of Leninism as an ideology of liberation.

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writings on the Commune are often held up by Marxists to demonstrate the viability and democratic nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is worth investigating this contention.

The Paris Commune was a revolutionary government of the lower classes that was established in Paris, France, from March 26 to May 28, 1871. It was the outcome of the Franco-Prussian War, which began in 1870 when the French emperor, Louis Bonaparte, attacked Prussia. The Prussians quickly surrounded the French army and laid siege to Paris.

When Bonaparte surrendered, a revolution on September 4, 1870, established a republican government dominated by bourgeois politicians and centered in Versailles, outside Paris. Nearly starving, Paris capitulated; but the Prussians, afraid of the lower classes, who were armed and organized in a National Guard, did not occupy the city.

On March 18, the leaders of the bourgeois government attempted to seize the artillery belonging to the National Guard. The people mobilized, and on March 26, an elected council, known as the Commune, was formed. It carried out various radical measures and ruled Paris for two months, until an army organized by the Versailles government invaded the city, smashed the Commune and executed over 20,000 people.

Two days after its defeat, Marx gave a speech about the Commune to the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association, the so-called First International. Marx and his supporters were then involved in a struggle with the supporters of the anarchist, Mikhail Bakunin, for control of the International. Eventually, Marx and his allies won; but to secure their control, they moved the organization's headquarters to New York, knowing it would die, which it did in 1872.

In his speech, Marx praised the Commune and analyzed its structure and decisions. He referred to it as "essentially a working class government...the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economical emancipation of labor" (*The Civil War in France*, p. 60). In so doing, he was calling the Commune the dictatorship of the proletariat. Marx's implicit claims were made explicit by Engels in his Introduction to Marx's writings on the Commune, written on the twentieth anniversary of the event. At the conclusion of his remarks, Engels wrote: "Well and good, gentlemen, do you want to know what the dictatorship of the proletariat looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" (*The Civil War in France*, p. 22).

Among other things, Marx praised the Commune for abolishing the standing army and substituting for it a popular militia. He also stressed that the Commune—which was made up of municipal councilors elected by

universal suffrage in the wards of the city—abolished full-time functionaries, combined legislative and executive functions, and paid its members, who were revocable at short intervals, no more than workers' wages. Marx criticized the Commune for failing to act decisively, particularly in not marching on Versailles and recapturing the artillery that would later batter down the walls of Paris.

It is tempting to launch into a detailed discussion of the Commune and Marx's analysis of it, but space considerations compel me to limit myself to two interrelated points.

The first is the question of centralization. According to Marx himself, the Commune never had the opportunity to establish itself as a national government. Yet, it did sketch out its conception of a national constitution. It called for the replication of the commune form, resulting in a highly decentralized structure that granted significant autonomy to the cities, towns, and rural localities. This reflected the Commune itself, which was decentralized. Indeed, this was the root of the indecisiveness that Marx criticized.

As we have seen, Marx and Engels' conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat was highly centralized, based as it was on the nationalized means of production. Yet, Marx slides over the contrast between their conception and the Commune's by asserting that the Commune's plan did not break the "unity of the nation" in favor of small states, the supposedly logical outcome of

the respective capitalists had absconded or preferred to strike work" (p. 65). In his Introduction, Engels adds that the Commune "aimed at combining all the associations (of workers in each factory) in one great union; in short, an organization which, as Marx quite rightly says in *The Civil War*, must necessarily have led to communism, that is to say, the direct antithesis of the Proudhon (the libertarian) doctrine" (p. 19).

Marx's assumption is that these measures add up to the nationalization of the means of production, but the control of individual factories by associations of those who work in them, and even the association of those associations, does not add up to the centralization of the means of production in the hands of the state. In fact, it looks more like the cooperative federative structure proposed by anti-authoritarians.

This is not surprising, since the representatives of the International on the Commune (a minority; the majority were followers of the insurrectionist, Louis Blanqui), who were chiefly responsible for the Commune's economic decrees, were mostly supporters of the anti-authoritarian, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon. While these decrees were not mere replicas of Proudhon's ideas, they were certainly not applications of Marxist centralism.

Despite (rather, because of) the fact that they had no significant supporters in the Commune, Marx and Engels were concerned to claim the credit of the Commune for their own doctrine, soft-pedal their own statism and diminish the achievements of their opponents. Specifically, they were anxious to show that the force of circumstances (the "laws of history") impelled the Commune to move in a Marxist direction.

Several years after the Commune, Marx and Engels went even further to downplay the statist nature of their position. Faced with the merger of the Marxist organization in Germany with another group on an explicitly reformist and statist program, Engels wrote to August Bebel, one of their chief followers in Germany, that, "The whole talk about the state should be dropped, especially since the Commune, which was no longer a state in the proper sense of the word... We would therefore propose to replace [in the program—RT] the word 'state' everywhere by the word *gemeinwesen* (community)...." (Engels, letter to August Bebel, March 18-28, 1875, in *The Critique of the Gotha Program*, p. 31).

That this apparently radical alteration was not substantial is reflected in the fact that three years later, in a polemic designed to elaborate the Marxian worldview at length, Engels returned to the old formulation: "The proletariat seizes the state power, and transforms the means of production in the first instance into state property" (*Anti-Duhring*, p. 306).

THE SOURCES OF MARXIAN STATISM

It should be clear from the above that Marx and Engels had a strong and long-standing bias in favor of the state, despite their belief that the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship would mean the elimination of the state altogether. Where does this statist bias come from? What are its sources? I wish to discuss three, all interrelated.

The concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat reveals a tendency that is common throughout Marxist theory: a penchant for wanting to have it both ways; to posit something and then to deny what flows from it.

the federative structure advocated by Marx and Engels' libertarian opponents. Marx's comments simply evade the issue whether the Commune's proposed structure is compatible with the nationalization of the means of production. In this regard, their attempt to amalgamate the Commune with their idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat is dubious.

The second point here is Marx's claim that the Commune was headed, under the pressure of circumstances, toward establishing communism, in the Marxist sense of the term. The chief indication of this was "the surrender to associations of workmen, under reserve of compensation, of all closed workshops and factories, no matter whether

Since so many of the ills of capitalism seemed to result from capitalism's unplanned, unconscious nature, it was natural for people who yearned for a better society to look for an instrument that was supremely powerful, claimed to represent the interests of all society and appeared to be subject to conscious direction to make things better. If one could convince those in command of the state to institute reforms, society could be improved. This attitude was already apparent in the penchant of the Enlightenment philosophers of the 18th century to address their proposals for the reform of society to such "enlightened despots" as Frederick the Great of Prussia and Catherine the Great of Russia. And it still is the thinking of many, if not most, reform-minded people.

Although Marx and Engels believed that capitalism contained an underlying rationalism that was impelling it toward something better, they too sought the solution to the anarchic nature of capitalist production in a union of this implicit rationality (the laws of motion of capitalism and history) with the explicitly rational, conscious direction of the economy and society through the state. In this light, Marxism can be seen to be just one of many similar statist responses on the part of concerned intellectuals to the social evils of capitalism.

A second source of Marx and Engels' statism, connected to the first, was their commitment to the nationalization of the means of production, which they saw as the logical outcome of history and the starting point for human liberation. When the productive power of human beings, now alienated from us in the form of a vast anarchic productive apparatus that dominates us, is unified and brought under our control, human beings will be free. This is to occur through the state.

HEGELIAN POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

The third source of Marxist statism is the political philosophy of G.W.F. Hegel. In their youth, Marx and Engels were explicit adherents of Hegelian philosophy, and their mature worldview can be seen as the end product of the evolution of their earlier philosophical ideas. Indeed, Marx and Engels explicitly claimed Hegel's philosophy, along with French socialism and British political economy, as one of the sources of their outlook.

Marx and Engels believed that the worldview they arrived at went beyond Hegelianism, particularly by abandoning Hegel's speculative Idealism and replacing it with a materialist standpoint. But it is my contention that Marxism can only be understood if it is recognized to be a variant of Hegelian philosophy, not something qualitatively distinct from it.

Hegel saw human history as the expression of the development of the human mind, or what we would call reason. As an individual human mind (and by extension, all human minds, and hence, the human mind in general) contemplates the world, starting with what it thinks is the most immediate, concrete thing, it comes, through a process of discussion or debate with itself, to an ever-broader conception of that world.

At any given point, the mind recognizes that its view is limited, one-sided, and starts to consider the apparently opposite point of view. Soon, it recognizes that both points of view, though partially true, are one-sided and moves to a new standpoint. This new conception is a synthesis of its previous ideas that retains what was valid in each while moving beyond—transcending—both.

Through this dialogic or dialectical process, each human mind recognizes the existence of other minds, learns that mind (reason) underlies the material world, human society and history, and reaches the conclusion that it, all other human minds, and all of reality are part of one universal mind or spirit which contemplates its component parts and itself. This universal mind, which Hegel called the Absolute, is God.

For Hegel, this process, which is ideal (that is, a process of thought), underlies the development of material reality, the material universe and human history. What we see, as the events of history reflect, is a material embodiment of this underlying spiritual process. This development proceeds through a series of stages, exemplified in specific civilizations, each of which is based on an overriding idea or principle. First is Oriental civilization, based on the concept that "one (one person, the emperor) is free." Next comes the civilization of ancient Greece, based on the notion that "some are free." Eventually, humanity reaches a stage that

exemplifies the truly spiritual idea that "all are free." (See Hegel's *The Philosophy of History*, Dover Publications, Inc., NY, 1956, for a relatively accessible account of Hegel's view of history as well as a sense of his overall philosophy.)

To Hegel, this final stage of history was embodied in the Prussian state of his era, which was a kind of limited, constitutional monarchy. In this state, society was divided into three discrete estates: the land-owning aristocracy; the church; and the rest (the bourgeoisie, large and small; the intellectuals; the peasants; and the workers). Each estate had distinct rights and duties, and the whole was presided over and unified by the monarch. The state thus encompassed the three estates in a unity that did not do away with their distinct characteristics, rights and duties.

To Hegel, this state was the form that, in the material world, best exemplified the diversity-in-unity/unity-in-diversity that is the essential characteristic of spirit. (We recognize our individual souls as parts of God, without dissolving our souls in God, and without God being merely the sum total of our individual souls. Spirit entails minds contemplating and loving each other and being aware that they are doing so.)

Yet, Hegel believed that the ultimate goal of spiritual development, the Absolute, is only achievable in the realm of mind or spirit, specifically, in the realm of art, religion and philosophy. Even here, art and religion are merely metaphorical representations of the truth, which is only fully captured in philosophy, specifically, his philosophy. In other words, in Hegel's conception, full human liberation is not possible in the material world—the world of society and history—but only in the realm of thought.

Marxism is a variant of the basic Hegelian conception. Marx and Engels believed they had rejected Hegel's Idealism in favor of materialism. But their view—that history represents the unfolding of a logical pattern ("laws of motion" of history) and consequently has a meaning, and that as a result, the outcome of this history is necessary—is Idealist, whatever the materialist trappings in which it is clothed.

When one remembers that, in the Marxian view, history proceeds through discrete stages; that in each stage thought and material reality correspond to each other; that each stage is the logical outgrowth of the previous one; that this development is propelled by contradictions within each stage; and that the final stage (indeed, that there is a final stage!) represents a form of spiritual unification (human beings united with their own productive powers—their essence—and with each other), one can see how Hegelian the Marxist view is.

IMPROVING ON HEGEL

Yet, there are differences between Hegel's standpoint and Marxism. One of the essential ones is, as we saw, that Hegel limited the achievement of the Absolute to the realm of thought. In contrast, Marx and Engels insisted that the Absolute, human liberation, occur in material reality. Marx and Engels were thus insisting that the goal held up as the truth of Hegel's philosophy actually occur—in a sense, that Hegelianism put its money where its mouth is.

Marx and Engels' view of the state shares the same relationship to Hegel's conception of the state as their overall outlook does to Hegel's philosophy as a whole. Hegel believed that the state, in its various forms, was the embodiment of reason as it evolved in history, and that the Prussian monarchy was the highest form of the state. But Marx and Engels, like other young followers of Hegel at the time, looked at the Prussian state (and human society as a whole) and found it wanting, and by the very standard of reason held up by Hegel himself.

Like the Hegelian school as a whole after Hegel's death (1831), Marx and Engels confronted two possible ways of interpreting the master's philosophy. They could accept Hegel's final conservatism (he started out more liberal) and agree that the Prussian state was the embodiment of the highest form of reason (or at least as close as one could get in material reality), specifically, that it represented and united all groups within Prussian society, thus rendering "all free." Or, they could admit that the Prussian state was irrational and demand the creation of a state that lived up to its claims to represent all members of society and actually embody freedom.

Marx and Engels' study of political economy, French socialism and their reading of history led them to believe that the state has always been the instrument of an eco-

nomic dominant class to keep the class or classes it exploited in subjugation. Putting this view together with their overall Hegelian view of history, Marx and Engels concluded that a state which truly embodied freedom, that is, which encompassed

whole, its embodiment in a visible corporation; but it was this only in so far as it was the state of that class which itself, in its epoch, represented society as a whole; in ancient times, the state of the slave-owning citizens; in the Middle Ages, of the feudal

The idea that the working class can construct a state that is not really a state, that is somehow merely an expression of its general political supremacy, is absurd.

and represented all members of society, would be superfluous and—once established—would disappear. This state is the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In this light, we can see that Marx and Engels' theory of the state is merely an extension of Hegel's, in the sense that it represents their insistence that the state come to be what Hegel claimed the Prussian state to be, along with the idea that if it did so, it would disappear. In other words, Marx and Engels were in fact demanding the establishment of a state that truly represented freedom, simultaneously believing that once this state was established it would abolish itself.

Lest anyone think I am artificially imputing this Hegelian thought process to Marx and Engels, it is worth looking at an extensive passage from the book *Anti-Duhring*, written by Engels in 1878. This was a polemic against another socialist, Eugen Duhring, and was thus explicitly written to elaborate and defend the developed Marxian point of view. Three chapters of the book, including the one in which the following passage is found, were later published as *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, which has become one of the classic texts of Marxism.

"The proletariat seizes the state power, and transforms the means of production in the first instance into state property. But in doing this, it puts an end to itself as the proletariat, it puts an end to all class distinctions and class antagonisms, it puts an end also to the state as the state. Former society, moving in class antagonisms, had need of the state, that is, an organization of the exploiting class at each period for the maintenance of its external conditions of production; that is, therefore, for the forcible holding down of the exploited class in the conditions of oppression (slavery, villeinage or serfdom, wage labour) determined by the existing mode of production. The state was the official representative of society as a

nobility; in our epoch, of the bourgeoisie. When ultimately it becomes really representative of society as a whole, it makes itself superfluous (my emphasis—RT). As soon as there is no longer any class of society to be held in subjection; as soon as, along with class domination and the struggle for individual existence based on the former anarchy of production, the collisions and excesses arising from these have also been abolished, there is nothing more to be repressed which would make a special repressive force, a state, necessary. The first act in which the state really comes forward as the representative of society as a whole—the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society—is at the same time its last independent act as a state (my emphasis—RT). The interference of the state power in social relations becomes superfluous in one sphere after another, and then ceases of itself. The government of persons is replaced by the administration of things and the direction of the processes of production. The state is not 'abolished,' it withers away" (*Anti-Duhring*, pp. 306-307; emphasis in original unless otherwise indicated).

This passage shows, I suggest, that the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat represents the logical conclusion of a theory of the state that remains, at bottom, Hegelian. The dictatorship of the proletariat represents Marx and Engels' insistence that the state live up to the claims made for it in Hegel's philosophy, just as their overall theory is an effort to modify Hegel's theory so that it results in true human liberation, not just a phantom in the realm of ideas.

THE PERFECT STATE

Seen in this light, the dictatorship of the proletariat represents the perfect state, the state that truly is what it claims to be, the representative of all society, which when achieved, will render the state no longer necessary and therefore result in its disap-

pearance. Thus, while believing themselves to be advocates of the elimination of the state, Marxists in fact demand the establishment of the perfect state, and when they seize power, try to accomplish this.

Marxists, believing that their theory embodies the truth of history and that their program represents the necessary direction of society, attempt to impose their program on society, to remake society in the image predicted by their theory. The image itself is a highly statist one, in which the state owns the entire economy in the name of the workers, who in reality own nothing. And they use the state—a state that, having concentrated virtually the entire economic apparatus in its hands, is even more powerful than the old one—to do so.

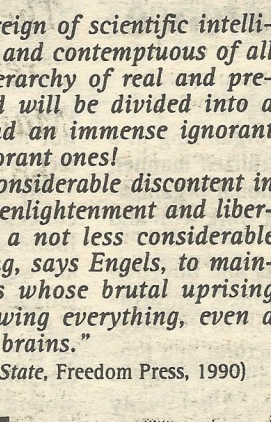
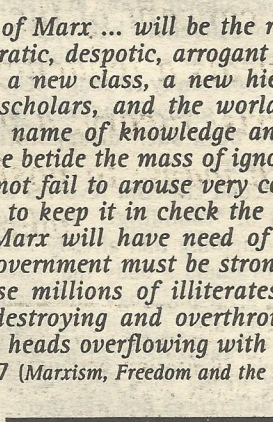
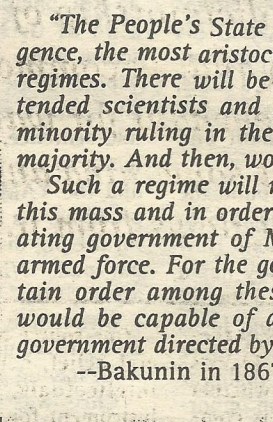
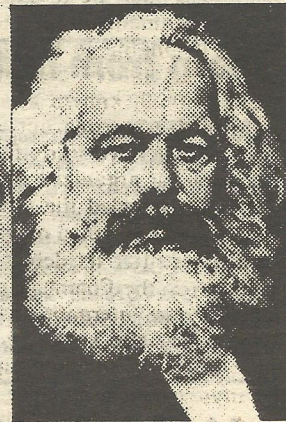
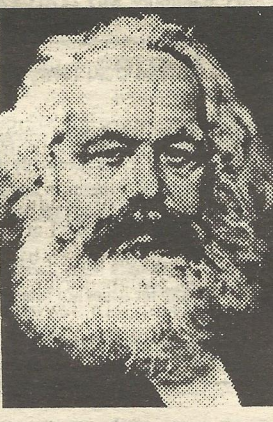
But theory is one thing and reality, more complicated than any theory, is another. The human beings who make up society do not behave as the theory predicts. Rather, they resist; and those in power, acting in the name of human liberation, use the full power of the state to try to force these people to conform to the demands of their theory. The result is a tragic dynamic in which the more people resist, the more the would-be proponents of freedom build up the state to force the people, as they see it, to be free.

The dictatorship of the proletariat thus reveals the Idealistic nature of Marxism: a state that is not really a state; a state that, having seized virtually the entire economy, automatically withers away because it is no longer needed; means of production fused into a single mass, collectively controlled by millions of workers; etc., etc. All the absurdities of the conception only make sense in the realm of theory.

In Marxism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, nationalized means of production, capital and the proletariat—all these are concepts. Although Marx and Engels thought they were materialists, they actually believed that the realm of theory (the world of their concepts) is the true reality, and that it is of the very nature of the material world to develop according to the logic of the theory, the laws of motion of the concepts. Scientific socialism is really the insistence that social reality, implicitly governed by the logic of the theory, is to come into explicit agreement with it.

The result is the tragedy we all know, including the millions of people who have died and the vast environmental destruction that has occurred.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is thus not an instrument for the self-emancipation of the proletariat. It is the tool of rationalist intellectuals who use it to try to impose their Idealist philosophy on a recalcitrant human reality. Such intellectuals, who believe that only they understand reality, are thus among the most deluded.★



"The People's State of Marx ... will be the reign of scientific intelligence, the most aristocratic, despotic, arrogant and contemptuous of all regimes. There will be a new class, a new hierarchy of real and pretended scientists and scholars, and the world will be divided into a minority ruling in the name of knowledge and an immense ignorant majority. And then, woe betide the mass of ignorant ones!

Such a regime will not fail to arouse very considerable discontent in this mass and in order to keep it in check the enlightenment and liberating government of Marx will have need of a not less considerable armed force. For the government must be strong, says Engels, to maintain order among these millions of illiterates whose brutal uprising would be capable of destroying and overthrowing everything, even a government directed by heads overflowing with brains."

--Bakunin in 1867 (*Marxism, Freedom and the State*, Freedom Press, 1990)

Maryland Control Units

(continued from page 9)

and having been victims of its exploitation, austerity and racist practices, threaten to defy the whole system.

BUILDING EFFECTIVE AND RADICAL LOCAL ALLIANCES AGAINST PRISONS

As with all struggles facing people who want to build a more humane world, the struggle facing prisoners and those concerned with their welfare and rehabilitation contains two essential elements: a fight for reforms in the system and a movement toward the overthrow of the entire exploitative system. Both movements have been growing in Maryland, and we believe that the two struggles are intrinsically connected. They must work together for a real change of the punitive/imprisonment model of (not) dealing with social problems, of which the control units are the logical conclusion.

The basic tactical agreement that should unite us is that the death penalty, control units, and the destructive policies of control through deterrence and segregation they exemplify, must be abolished in any society that even pretends to be humane. With this in mind we are watching with interest the progress of the Department of Justice investigation into conditions at the MCAC. We believe it's possible to use the contradictions between different elements of the ruling elite to win real improvements in the conditions of some oppressed people.

In this case that means building a coalition of activists locally that can organize public support for legal challenges to the so-called Free State's plantations. It is crucial that those concerned with the abuses at the MCAC and other control units keep close track of the investigatory process. Any recommendations from the DoJ should be carefully scrutinized for their value and effectiveness.

Furthermore, contingency plans should be made for the three possible outcomes of the letter of findings. If the DoJ investigation is blocked or stalled again, we need to be putting pressure on them, the prison administration, and the Division of Correction to proceed. As legal issues are raised, we as activists and as people with contacts inside the prisons need to be ready to do the research to back up the charges, if necessary, and to make sure that the issue does not pass by us quietly.

It will also be important to consider alternatives to the current judicial system. While the fear of "crime" is over-hyped and used for reactionary ends, it is a real problem in many circumstances. Community-based solutions always seem to work better than the "quick-fixes" the state tries to sell us as a cover for its ulterior motives. Crime destroys social bonds; prisons destroy social bonds. Concentrating more on rebuilding those social bonds in a way that

is independent from imperial state control will lead us away from both crime and imprisonment. An instance of crime should be considered an opportunity to question norms, values and life's conditions—rather than a chance for repression and deterrence through fear, or for normative rehabilitation. Crime is also an opportunity for reconciliation within communities.

TOWARD AN ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENT...

Beyond any specific reforms to the prison system that might be possible and desirable, we are committed to discussing the issue in terms of abolitionism, in terms of looking at the prison system the way it is today as being a direct product of the authoritarian, white supremacist, patriarchal, and capitalist economic and political power structures we live under. Rather than put all of our energies into fixing the symptoms of this system, we are hoping that the struggle against control units in Maryland will lead us into new dialogues about how to overthrow and overcome those structures as a whole. Prisons are never going to just disappear under capitalism, any more than crime is.

Regardless of how inhumane and devastating it is on a human level, a repression-based penal system is actually better suited to the historical "American way of life" than any of the other options. America was not built on being humane and nurturing. It's cheaper economically for the state to keep the potentially insurrectionary colonial populations in its cities under control through the deterrents of police and prison, than it would be to undertake a full-scale military occupation.

Because the two sides of the crime/imprisonment coin are intrinsically connected to the justification for its own existence, it is cheaper politically as well: there is no need to make unpopular political statements; all the politicians need to say is "safer streets," and supportive crowds, mainly white and middle class, will cheer and cast their votes. More police and more prisons will be instituted to act out their genocidal power trips on neighborhoods already on the verge of collapse under the economic, cultural, psychological, and emotional pressures the system already weighs on them.

Prisons are cheaper and easier—from the point of view of the people who run society—than any social change towards equality or freedom. The task is left to us, as abolitionists, to work toward building a movement that can overthrow all structures of oppression and begin to organize our communities along lines of love and cooperation: a world without prisons.★

For a copy of their pamphlet "Total Control in the 'Free State'" write to Baltimore ABC, PO Box 22203, Baltimore, MD 21203-4203.

L&R Conference Continued

(continued from page 2)

pointed to longer-term organizing and the building of counter-institutions. While no concrete proposals were adopted around this discussion, the federation seems to be in a transition period from the "reprole strategy," advanced by Chris Day at last year's conference, to a "proletarian" orientation, as hinted at in Tabor's strategy document. (The reprole strategy argued for an orientation towards the "twenty-something Generation Xers who, in the post-industrial society are facing a diminishing standard of living and a proletarian future.")

As stated above, L&R also voted to join the Fight Back network, a direct action reproductive freedom network of radical feminist groups. L&R's work in the Fight Back Network will be coordinated by the Anti-fascist working group. A proposal to have a separate working group formed to coordinate Fight Back network activities was rejected. It was argued in the women's caucus that L&R needed to incorporate feminism into all the work we do, and that forming a fourth working group that focused separately on feminist issues would isolate this work rather than informing all of our politics. In addition, Bronwyn presented a proposal for concrete work L&R could do around women's liberation. Her suggestions included building broad-based clinic defense (as part of our Anti-fascist Working Group; organizing for clemency

for battered women imprisoned for fighting back against their abusers (Prison Working Group); building a movement to counter the attacks on women and children in the guise of "welfare reform" while also building community institutions (one example being childcare collectives) that could empower women to take control of their own lives.

CONCLUSION

While the L&R conference provided no radical organizational breaks or breakthroughs and drama was kept to a minimum, most Love and Ragers seemed to think that this was our most successful conference so far, due to an unprecedentedly broad participation in drafting and discussing our political statement and setting the agenda for the organization. Two years ago we officially became a membership organization and developed a clear decision making process and structure that functions between conferences. These very basic but hard-won gains have paved the way for much potential growth as we define our politics and strategy more clearly, increase our active work in mass movements, and build L&R locals in cities where there are no anarchist groups that people can join. There is much work that needs to be done over the coming year, and L&R is in our best position yet to contribute to building an anti-authoritarian revolutionary movement in North America.★

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Pigs Attack Jacksonville ABC, continued

(continued from page 1)

the yard and sat me in the grass. I then saw pig by pig entering my home and in an instant I thought of Justin, who was in the shower, and Chris and Jenny, who were asleep in their bedroom. I spoke out-

"We need to get all of these police out of my house, right now," I said. "Well your name isn't on the lease so you can't tell us whether or not we can go in," some pig grunted. It hit me then that this was all politically motivated, that all of this was a raid on the home of us four Youth Action Movement / Anarchist Black Cross members. "The people whose name IS on the lease ARE in the house and I KNOW they don't want you in there," I blasted back at the pig. "Well then we'll just have to talk with them," the pig bloated back. Sitting there in the grass I could see about 20 police cars, other unmarked cars, a police van and about 30 pigs.... ALL IN BLACK FATIGUES AND PLAIN CLOTHES, NONE IN REGULAR UNIFORM!

This female pig then began to dig her hands through my pockets and she found an ABC pamphlet inside, "What's this, some kind of GANG CRAP?!" She saw the screen name of one of my on-line friends, "Spindogxxx...." I said, "That's not gang stuff, that's a screen name..." I stopped in mid-sentence, I realized that this was a pig tactic to try and gain information on me and the YAM/ABC. I kept quiet, she kept prodding. As I looked in her face I saw her for the pig that she is and I began to laugh out loud. "What are you laughing at?" she asked. "You," I answered.

Meanwhile, the house is being ransacked. Jenny woke up to her door being kicked in while having a mag light shined in her face.

Chris was with her. Justin was in the shower when the pigs banged on the bathroom door. When Justin and the others asked how the pigs got in they replied, "Rob let us in." In the Pig Car I asked, "Well, hasn't Justin told you guys to get out yet?" "No, he even signed a paper saying we could stay," the lying fat pig replied. In reality the pigs asked Justin to sign it and Justin refused.

Justin then asked the pigs if they had a warrant. Of course, they didn't. They said, "We don't have a warrant but you don't

mind if we look around a bit do you?"

Justin said, "If you're asking me for my permission to search the house, let the record show that I DO NOT give you permission to search the house nor do I give you permission to even be here!" They asked Chris if he felt the same way, he sure did, so did Jenny. Then the pigs said that if Justin didn't sign the paper that they would hold them all there for four hours until they could get a warrant. "And then you'll all be late for work," one pig remarked. "And then we'll tear your whole house apart," another swine uttered. Justin replied, "Do what you have to do, but we don't want you in our house." So, the pigs, without a warrant, without respect, with much contempt, took Chris, Jenny and Justin to a bedroom where they were held at bay with glocks while the pigs searched the house.

I was well on my way to jail. The pig in the car kept asking me about the YAM/ABC. "So what kind of organization IS the YAM?" he asked. "Well, you guys probably have had us under surveillance for some time now, you tell me," I replied. "Well, I know that you guys are a terrorist organization, we just got out of a class where they taught us about you guys. You believe in that Malcolm X/Huey P. Newton crap, don't you?" the pig bloated. "Well, what's wrong with Malcolm X?" I asked.

"He was a racist NIGGER!, that's what. And Huey P. Newton would have shot a white person any day of the week if he had the chance." I laughed out loud. The pig grunted.

At the jail I was not taken to the booking center. I was taken into a room marked "Intelligence." There I saw that same face I had seen when I was on the grass in my front yard. He was kind of in the background just watching all that the pigs would do. His name is DETECTIVE T.C. O'S-TEEN of the Jacksonville Sheriff's Office. He asked me my name, date of birth, etc. Then, "Tell me a little bit about the Youth Action Movement." I asked him, "That's what this is all about, isn't it? You don't care about some measly traffic fine. All of that was just an excuse to find out information on the YAM/ABC, wasn't it?" "Yes, but...we just wanted to get a little bit of information on your group." "Then why didn't you just call us and ask? You don't

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AANCO Conference

(continued from page 5)

commitment to community organizing in a visible, constant and decentralized manner. It is a non-bureaucratic national organization that will not dictate, but work with and among the people.

Though the mission, goals and direction of AANCO are well-intentioned, unfortunately the conference fell short of its objectives. It also raised both structural and procedural questions. First of all, the conference was extremely ambitious, if not overly so. The agenda for the conference was much too weighty, attempting to both found a network and develop organizing skills within a two-day period. Given that most of the participants were strangers to each other and hailed from a variety of different experiences, ideologies, racial, cultural and economic backgrounds, there was a need to "get to know one another." Many of the participants felt drained by the constant ideological struggle and confused by the purpose of the gathering. They left the

conference unsure of the next step. Perhaps if the co-conveners had approached this first meeting as an "introductory" gathering; an opportunity to gauge people's skills, perspectives and willingness, there would not have been such disappointment and lack of clarity.

My second criticism revolves around the concept of "founding." Is it possible to found something that already exists? How are we to found a body that already has a purpose, a methodology and even a name? If we were called together to lend our ideas to this "organization-in-progress," there certainly wasn't time allotted for dialogue around differences nor was there an opportunity to engage in the ideological struggle necessary to create a diverse and comprehensive program.

Overall I felt that the 1995 AANCO conference was poorly organized, and thus disappointing. Because of the key goals and objectives articulated by the co-conveners, I think AANCO is a worthwhile organization that can help us reach liberation and self-determination. Hopefully, we will all learn from our mistakes and begin to seriously prepare for the next conference.★

Letters

LOVE & RESPECT TO MUMIA FROM PELICAN BAY'S DUNGEON

Revolutionary Greetings & Clenched Fist Salute to All

I am Shaka Amari! A politically conscious / active Afrikan held hostage in Pelican Bay's infamous dungeon. We just read the latest Love & Rage and I'm responding to the issue of Comrad Mumia.

First, much love & respect to Mumia, members of L&R, and all others collectively, who have demonstrated the courage and commitment to continue "standing tall through it all!" Forever forward, never backwards!!

Now what's really captured my attention was the mention of comrad's inside the "belly of the beast" rising to the challenge and "uprising" if there should be another fucked up decision towards Comrad Mumia.

Well, I would be the first to say: "let the games begin!" if another 'foul ball' is thrown at Comrad Mumia! And without doubt the comrad's inside will suffer great repression from the keepers of these dungeons for such actions... "Oh well!!"

However, I honestly don't believe the people on the outside will support those inside unless you are a Mumia, Sundiata Acoli, Geronimo Pratt, etc, someone of high political, media capturing stature. That really bothers the shit out of me... It's almost as if "we" who don't have attention grabbing names don't count in the struggle, and our contributions and sacrifices are taken for granted. I have a lot of love & respect for all above mentioned soldiers, plus the unnamed. But I don't live in the shadow of anyone, I cast my own!!! My family have been tangible in the struggle for justice dating back to the 60s & 70s, and the support groups of that time were real and visible and committed to the soldiers held hostage in prison. They would organize and visit the comrad's in prison

for moral, mental and emotional support! They would have outlets for communication through letters to show the keepers someone on the outside love & care about this comrad!!

I've seen others and I've personally experienced the failure to respond by organizations advocating being committed to the struggle / people, and I don't understand how something as basic as solidifying relationships / communication with each other inside & out, can be so difficult.

It's sad, because a lot of good comrades inside have developed the feeling that it's all bullshit! That the agendas of most outside organizations are "selfish" and self-promoting, having nothing to do with the concept of "collectivity"...

Today, I look around and wonder, as I sit in isolation, where are the people? I've continuously reach out in hopes of attaining moral & emotional support, but it's been to no avail! The outside comrades (you) cannot wait until uprising to support your people, we need your support NOW!

However, I can assure you that the beat goes on! Myself, and others will pull through as all strong people do, and if they should kill Mumia tonight, they must come for us in the morning! One love!

Before I final, I want to also say, I have much love & respect for members of Love & Rage, and anyone that challenges the unjust-us of the powers that be! Our struggles are diverse and we must attack the enemies from all angles!

I don't mean to bash, I guess in essence I'm appealing for your support! I would hope that with somebody, I may be out of sight, but not out of mind! I hope to hear from you sooner than soon, and would appreciate any literature you can send...

Until, Kutwaa Oali!
In the struggle,
Amani Na Upencia
Comrad,
Shaka Amari

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by Sundiata Acoli

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have to come in kicking doors down and pointing glocks!" He told me that they already knew everything about us and that I might as well just tell them. I replied, "Well if you already know everything then there's nothing more to say is there?" This type of conversation went on for the next four hours.

I was incarcerated for 3 days. I just got out yesterday (Sunday). When I got out I found that they had kept Justin, Chris and Jenny in one of the bedrooms while they confiscated our valuable property. They took a lot of pamphlets, our radio scanner, and two shotguns. All of which were very legal.

We are seeking an attorney to help us contest the illegal search of our home, the illegal seizure of our private property, and the blatant violation of our civil and human rights!

The purpose of this raid was a petty attempt by the power structure to terrorize us out of existence. It is amazing the lengths these pigs will go to. And even more amazing is their stupidity: Do they really think that by raiding our homes and taking our things that they will calm a

mighty storm that rages in the consciousness of the people? If they do then they are sadly mistaken. This petty attempt has served only to make us stronger in our determination and desire to see a better life for all of the people. To see a better life for my mother, who has been busting her butt all of her life simply to survive. Like so many other mothers. Like all those fathers out there and brothers wondering where they're gonna get a paycheck. Wondering how they're gonna feed their babies. YOU and I, as activists, must put the petty aside, must put our individual egos aside and rededicate ourselves to this struggle. Rededicate ourselves to educating all those out there who are sick, shooting up, cracking out, losing their minds.

This, People, is the kind of struggle we must dedicate ourselves to. We must realize that WE ALL are responsible for the justice and injustice that happens in this world. That we must choose a side to fight on. And that neutrality is just another word for SELL-OUT!

Power to the People, y'all.....★

Ken Saro-Wiwa

(continued from page 1)

Soon after, a crowd of several hundred Ogoni youth attacked the meeting hall where chiefs and elders were gathered, massacring four with rakes, iron bars, stones and planks. The slain chiefs' blood is still splattered on the walls and the floor, which is littered with stones and chunks of concrete used to crush their skulls.

The four murdered pro-government Ogoni traditional leaders—A. Badley, a former secretary of state of the government, and three chiefs, E. Kobani, S.M. Orage, and T.B. Orage—were on a list of 10 "vultures" that Saro-Wiwa made public the previous October because of their collaboration with the government to oppose his aggressive campaign against Shell.

The Abacha regime insists Saro-Wiwa and eight others, the "Ogoni 9," incited the murders. Ogoni 9 supporters say the killings were done by government agents to incriminate the Ogoni leader. It's quite possible that NYCOP righteously wrecked those that betrayed the movement, and it's also possible that there was assistance from provocateurs. Regardless, no one except the Nigerian government and its supporters believe that the Ogoni 9's trial was not a travesty.

Internationally, heads of state (most notably those of the US, Britain and South Africa) condemned these murders, as "an outrage" and "a heinous act." Yet former Nigerian Head of State, Gen. Yakubu Gowon spoke most honestly when he termed the decision to execute the Ogoni Nine as "a tactical blunder." Alan Detheridge, Shell's West African coordinator said "Saro-Wiwa's execution was a disaster for us."

Nigerians have been remarkably silent since the execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa. This is due to three causes. Abacha has crushed all activism, including "legal" protests merely for democracy. Nigeria is still divided by a legacy of internal ethnic conflict. And Abacha's regime is most skillfully playing the nationalist card; he is appropriating the popular sentiment against Western chauvinism and hypocrisy to take the heat off himself.

Nigeria's foreign minister Tom Ikimi is saying that condemnation of his country in response to the executions is "a Western plot." "Who is Clinton? To hell with him. What is the USA? To hell with all of them," thundered Minister of State for Agriculture Ademola Adesina. Lt. Gen. Jeremiah Useni said that Nigeria would not be dictated to and that "Nigeria is not the houseboy to the Commonwealth. Sanctions or no sanctions Nigeria will always survive."

Abacha followed, launching an image-laundering documentary, *Not in Our Character*. "Nigeria will not be cajoled or intimidated," Abacha repeated. All other government officials appeared to support this line. So did their paid apologists and rental crowds at government solidarity rallies.

The families of the four murdered Ogoni leaders chipped in, by calling a press conference to denounce those who condemned the executions. "Before the Ogoni 9, there was the Ogoni 4," they said.

Abacha singled out Nelson Mandela for personal attack and insult: "Having spent 27 years in detention, he has lost touch with the global, socio-political trend in the world." Abacha accused Mandela of funding resistance groups in Nigeria.

An international economic boycott supported by some rulers in the US and Europe, much like that which assisted in the defeat of apartheid in South Africa, is a real potential tactic which could hasten democratic reforms or even the toppling of the Abacha regime. Heads of state may soon implement sanctions against the Nigerian government and Shell Oil despite it not being in the interests of immediate profits. Why would they do this?

Criticism of Shell for "irresponsible business practices" by many ruling elites seems to border on outrageous hypocrisy. Yet these voices have not been saying in the media that all capitalists are dogs, but rather that Shell was "irresponsible" in not intervening in this specific case on behalf of the Ogoni 9. Imperialism masking as democracy! After all, the media has announced to us, everyone knows Shell Oil dominates and props up the Nigerian economy. Whether Abacha stays or goes, monopoly capital must insure that the nation-state serves their needs first, and the needs of the people last, if at all.★