

# LOVE & RAGE

Revolutionary Anarchist Newspaper

## Stomp the CONVENTIONS!

Exclusive Love & Rage photo from satellite shows Godzilla stomping San Diego convention center.

## Welcome to the 1996 Conventions

BY LAURA AND MICHELLE

### THE "NO'S" HAVE IT

Just when you thought all hope was lost, Godzilla rises from her slumber to save us! Run for your lives, you puny politicians! You cannot play us against each other in order to obtain votes! No longer can you pretend to care if we live or die once every four years! Your conventions are dust! You who have built false pillars of power on empty promises and ridiculous laws—you shall perish!!!

Well, Godzilla's dead so if there's any saving to be done around here we'll have to be doing it ourselves. In this, as in every election year, we are constantly barraged by people who purport to have all of the answers. All we have to do, seemingly, is vote.

The garden-variety anarchist responds "If voting could change the world they'd make it illegal," and she's right, but once you've screened a few dozen t-shirts, where do you go from there? It's not that simple. Anarchism takes a stand against the state because the state is by its nature outside of and unaccountable to the people. We believe that communities are capable of governing themselves. Politics, then, is pretty far removed from this summer's dueling spectacles they call conventions. It's found instead in places like your own backyard or the vacant lot down the street. Politics consists of all that we do to organize ourselves: to take back the power to make the decisions that effect our lives—whether that be organizing a union, a community school, a cultural organization, a clinic, or a direct action group.

Never should we forget the ironic fact that in this nation that spends billions around the globe forcing "free and democratic elections" down everyone's throat, a majority of the population doesn't bother to vote. The fact that the pitiful tally does not even include non-citizens, the people whose back-breaking labor keeps our economy (sometimes barely) afloat, makes voting in this country even more of a farce. Don't be convinced that those no-shows are just apathetic. Not voting is much more likely an expression of disgust.

But filing ballots in their rightful spot—the trash—no matter how good it feels, sometimes slights the extent to which legislative changes affect our lives. Unfortunately, we cannot ignore the state because it infringes upon us every day. For people of color, the poor and women this rings especially true. From teenagers required to get permission to end a pregnancy to predominately young Black and Latino men locked down sometimes 23 hours a day by the state's lackeys; we can't ignore the state because it won't ignore us.

That's why fights for state reform—of immigration laws, for the restoration of education budgets, against workfare, welfare cuts, labor lock outs, the regulation of abortion, or the destruction of affirmative action programs are so vital. These are the seeds of any revolutionary movement because they address the issues that affect us everyday. Militant struggle around such issues has forced concessions from the government throughout US history; concessions now hanging by a thread such as the eight hour day, social security, the welfare system, civil rights, affirmative action, and others. The demands raised by these

historical movements and by contemporary movements can not be entirely met under the system in which we live. At the most basic level, human needs fundamentally conflict with this society's ultimate priority: profit. Maintaining the majority of people's faith in such a cold-hearted and inhuman system requires all sorts of trickery to keep us divided from each other, white supremacy being the most classic and best-tested formula.

Through struggle, many people learn of the inability of the system to meet demands for justice, others find excuses to compromise and sell out. Reforms of unjust laws and policies can be won and these victories are significant; often they make the difference between misery and a slice of happiness, even between life and death. Anything that improves daily life frees up energy spent keeping our heads above water, for thinking, for pleasure and for struggle. At this point with the big squeeze, also known as neoliberalism, neither party seems to be holding out the option of survival with dignity. Bob Dole and Bill Clinton represent two different parts of the same class: one side believes that corporations can best supply necessary goods and services if the government gets out of the way, not taxing profits so much, for example; the other side believes that the long-term interests of corporations are served by government regulation and social programs, but not too much of either. Each elec-

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Vol. 7, # 3 SPECIAL BROADSHEET EDITION Aug. 1996 Free!



## WHAT IS LOVE & RAGE?

Love & Rage is a continental revolutionary anarchist federation. We have local groups and members in many cities in Canada, the US and Mexico. We believe in building a continental revolutionary anti-authoritarian movement. We believe that in order to do that, we need to be organized and we need to be clear about our politics. If you are an activist, a revolutionary, and anti-authoritarian, then get in touch & get involved!

## WHAT IS THIS?

This is a special broadsheet edition of *Love & Rage*, made especially for the beloved Democratic & Republican conventions. *Love & Rage* is normally 20 pages and comes out bimonthly, providing coverage of revolutionary and anti-authoritarian organizing in North America and worldwide. We cover mass movements of people organizing for liberation. We print analysis of world events. We publish challenging theoretical articles to broaden and deepen political dialogue in the revolutionary movement.

## JOIN US!

Love & Rage is not just a newspaper, it is also an organization. It is not a closed circle of friends...we encourage anyone who basically agrees with our politics and wants to build mass movements to join Love & Rage and get involved. Love & Rage functions in a democratic, participatory manner. You can join the federation and participate fully in the decision-making process. For information on joining Love & Rage, contact the local group in your city. If there's no group in your city, contact the Federation Office in Minneapolis for more information and materials. To get a sample copy of *Love & Rage* newspaper, send \$1 to the newspaper address.

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*Love & Rage* is printed on recycled paper, using soy-based inks, by a union printer. ISSN# 1065-2000. So there!

## SPECIAL EDITION

You are reading a special eight-page broadsheet edition of Love and Rage revolutionary anarchist newspaper. We printed five thousand of these to be distributed for free at the various activities of resistance to the Republicrats' conventions this August. We also printed a sixteen-page (smaller than the regular 20-pages) edition of Volume 7 #4 (August/September). If you like what you read, ask us for more! Here's how:

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Godzilla Stomps Conventions

(Continued from page 1)

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

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If you find yourself in general agreement  
with the politics of Love & Rage, get involved!  
Contact one of the local groups listed here,  
or write the Love & Rage Federation Office  
in Minneapolis for information.

# Oppression

BY MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

## Voting for Your Own

"THESE POLITICIANS ARE SO DEVILOUS THEY WOULD DISOWN THEIR FATHER, DENOUNCE THEIR MOTHER, DENY THEY WERE BORN OF PARENTS, AND BURN THEIR BIRTH CERTIFICATE IF THEY THOUGHT IT WOULD COST 'EM A VOTE, EFFECT THEIR INFLUENCE, CUT INTO THEIR SO-CALLED POWER."

JOHN AFRICA

"ON THE MOVE" COLUMN

PHILADELPHIA TRIBUNE (7/29/75)

When a Philadelphia politician recently dared to criticize the city's mayor for his sluggish response to the police killing of a Black resident, the mayor dismissed the criticism out of hand, by boasting he received 80% of the city's Black vote in his last election.

Translation: "If Blacks don't like my stand on certain issues, they won't vote for me, but since they did, what's your beef?"

In city after city, in election after election, some Black leaders make much ado about the vote, the "sacred franchise" so much so that Blacks make a fetish of the vote, obsessing over it as a symbol of citizenship, forgetting that it is a secular exercise with one objective: power.

Some thirty years after African Americans have won the franchise, the central objective, power, seems as elusive as ever.

We should not confuse presence with power, for although many government bodies have Blacks present, they are so constructed that power, or the ability to exercise the will of their constituencies, is, more often than not, a mirage.

How could this be otherwise in a system that practices "majority rules"? In a system where whites are in an overwhelming majority?

In such a system, Black politicians may don the same suits or skirts; if judges, they may be clad in the same robes of office, but they are never free to exercise the power of their white colleagues. Never.

Several years ago, Black intellectuals and civil rights people were sorely distressed at U.S. President Bill Clinton's slighting and rejection of an alleged "friend," law professor Lani Guinier, for a high post in the U.S. Justice Department, reportedly because her views out of some presumed "mainstream" What mainstream? We shall see.

Professor Guinier's area of expertise is the Voting Rights Act, and how to apply those theoretical statutory rights to the real world. In her view, the "majority rules" way meant a permanent denial of meaningful representation for the numerical minority; thus, she suggested proportionality, or banking votes according to a group's percentage in a given population.

Thus, Guinier's theories challenged the US's historical and contemporary practice of white i.e. "majority" supremacy, and its monopoly of power.

Clinton, fundamentally a Southern politician, in the interest of continued white supremacy, could not be seen supporting a political appointee who supported a theory that diluted white power.

So, in our millions, North and South, we continue to vote for politicians whose interests are not our own. We vote for politicians who spit on our dreams. We vote in a system that was initiated, is sustained, and continues on the foundation of Black oppression and containment. ★



# Reproductive Freedom for All Women

## Not on the Democrats' or Republicans' Agenda

BY JUSTINE ABINNI

Abortion rights are under attack. The Christian Right has succeeded in making abortion a key issue in this presidential race and they are demanding an anti-abortion platform.

Attacks against abortion have occurred on the legislative level for years. The latest trend in state and local government has been to try to put piecemeal restrictions on abortion; the end result would make abortion pretty much illegal and wholly inaccessible. This year's back door scheme was an attempt to ban a kind of second trimester abortion used in very rare cases. In recent years waiting periods and parental consent laws have seriously limited abortions for poor women. And attacks against abortion continue on the grassroots level—clinic bombings and murders mount as evidence of a growing number of anti-abortion fanatics.

A central issue in the struggle for women's liberation is the right to have an abortion; even more so as the Christian Right gains political power and grows as a grassroots movement. Their patriarchal view of family forces women into a submissive role. Hatred of women is shrouded by an obsession with the fetus. Their only view of family is one that consists of Man, woman, and child, so it's not surprising that their family values campaign includes anti-queer legislation as well. At this time the Christian

Chicago area clinics during the Democratic National Convention.

We must be both defensive and offensive in our action against anti-choice forces. We can protect our clinics by doing clinic defense, defend doctors where they live, hold protests where antis speak. These tactics have proven to be somewhat successful reactions to the assault. But we must also take the initiative in the campaign against anti-abortion terror, and adopt strategies such as shutting down fake abortion clinics and waging long-term struggles against the antis who are organizing in our cities and towns.

A revolutionary feminist movement cannot rely on a racist, sexist, and homophobic police force to protect our clinics and doctors. We are responsible to learn and teach

also an anti-abortion candidate and will end up positioning his views on abortion according to whose votes he needs the most. The latest waffle on the issue has resulted in a confounding "tolerance plank" and nobody knows for certain how the party will hedge its bets. The fact that they are allowing a pot-smoking, pro-choice woman to speak at the convention means diddley in terms of what Dole will really do for women in the future. They can't pacify everybody forever.

Obviously our strategy for taking on the Christian Right should not be limited to our presence at the Republican or Democratic convention. It is important to create a long-term strategy, which in part must include building a stronger revolutionary feminist movement that includes poor women, women of color, young women, and queer women. It is also important that we not isolate the issue of abortion. For that reason we come to San Diego, where the Christian Right plans to make a stand, in solidarity with groups in the Chicana/o community who are organizing against the racist anti-immigrant agenda of the Republican Party.

Revolutionary feminism does not and cannot rely on liberal politicians who promise to be pro-choice to get our votes. We are not here to endorse Clinton for president, although he calls himself "pro-choice." Clinton's "pro-choice" position protects access to abortion, but in a regulated and

restricted manner that basically reserves the procedure for middle-class women. Unlike liberal feminists, we will not vote for Clinton because some select, immediate needs might be met for middle-class, mostly white women, at the expense of all other women (and men) who are targeted by Clinton's agenda.

It has never been more important to build a cohesive revolutionary force: as women, as feminists, as queers, as non-whites, as the poor, as immigrants, as prisoners, as anyone interested in creating better lives for us all. Do not forget that the struggle for safe and accessible abortion is one very important point of attack. This struggle, combined with consciousness and activism around the many other locuses of power including the Christian Right (and the like) will point the way to success. ★

*"A revolutionary feminist movement cannot rely on a racist, sexist, and homophobic police force to protect our clinics and doctors. We are responsible to learn and teach how to do it ourselves."*

Right's priority is to pressure the Republican Party to clarify its anti-abortion position.

### STRATEGY

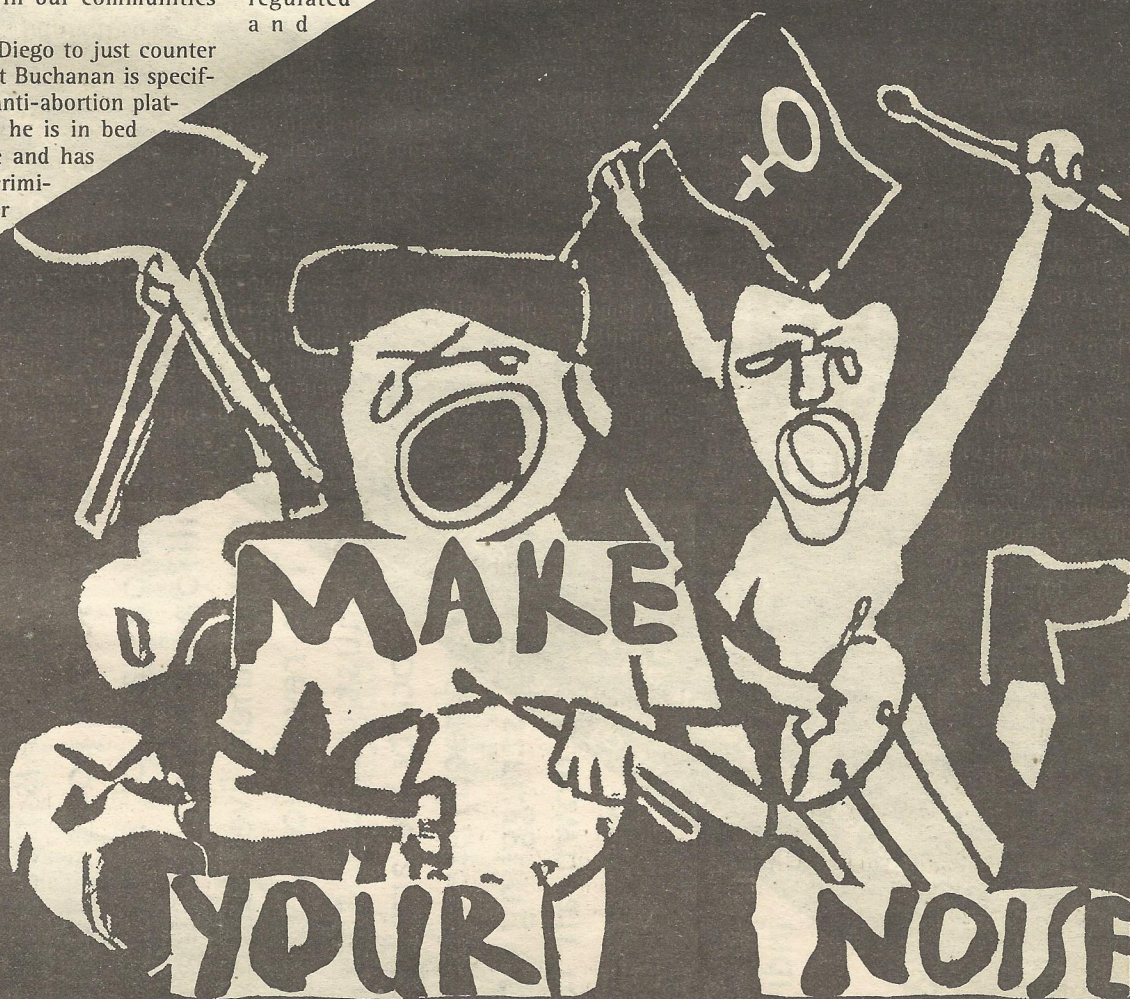
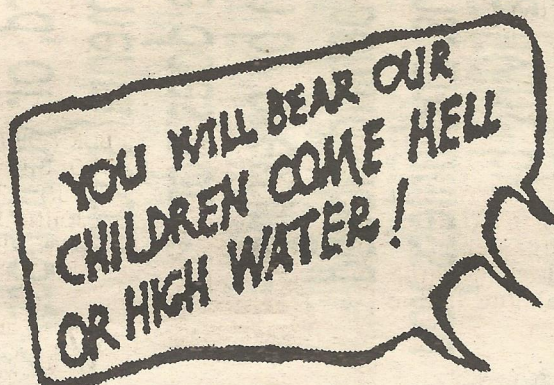
As a movement we need to fight for reproductive freedom for all women, not just upper-middle class white women. The mere right to obtain an abortion on the federal level does not guarantee safe and accessible abortions for women of all races, classes, and ages. Every law or socially-sanctioned attack on women is connected to the same power base. And so we are obligated, to fight the racism of sterilization abuse, forced birth control, and the threat of rape if any real and lasting change is to occur.

For starters, it is important for there to be a pro-choice presence at both the Republican and Democratic National Conventions. Various anti-abortion groups such as Operation Rescue and ACLA (American Coalition of Life Advocates—the group that advocates "justifiable homicide" against abortion providers) plan to converge on San Diego during the Republican National Convention and target area clinics. Most abortion providers have taken the FBI's discreet advice to close their doors during the convention, essentially conceding defeat to anti-abortion forces. In addition, Pat Buchanan is having his own rally and the militantly anti-abortion US Taxpayer's Party convention begins the week following the RNC. Militant anti-abortionists are also prepared to descend on

how to protect them ourselves. The police have no interest in women's liberation—in many cases they arrest and harass clinic defenders before those blocking access to the clinics. In addition, relying on recent legislation such as the FACE (Freedom to Access Clinic Entrances) law to keep the clinics open is a mistake because the state uses the same laws to repress all protest movements including our own.

Liberal forces rely on and trust the state to safeguard our "rights." This strategy has backfired, therefore those of us who have an alternative vision should unite. Love and Rage is interested in working with activists who want to take back clinic defense from liberal groups. We will not let the antis shut down clinics, kill our doctors and clinic workers, or organize in our communities without resistance.

We are not in San Diego to just counter the Christian Right. Pat Buchanan is specifically running on an anti-abortion platform; as we all know he is in bed with Operation Rescue and has spoken openly about criminalizing abortion under all circumstances, including rape. But Bob Dole is





Silly rabbits!  
You can't vote for new  
social relationships.  
Racism can't be voted  
out of office anymore  
than you can vote out  
patriarchy, your  
landlord, or your boss.  
Fundamental social  
change does not  
happen by pressing  
levers behind closed  
curtains, and unless you  
make a living by  
exploiting and  
oppressing people, the  
politicians you elect will  
not be defending  
your interests.

The cops and the military provide the last line of defense for the ruling class by forcibly taking people away to be warehoused in dungeons called prisons. Police cannot be voted out of office either and are a stable feature of all authoritarian societies, no matter who you vote for.



## International Sign the System is Choking You

Individual acts of violence and terror will not make a new society. A revolutionary mass movement is needed to sweep away the rotten structures of this society and to build new, democratic, anti-authoritarian structures. A revolution is not the act of a tiny party seizing power. It is the self-conscious act of a movement of millions of people fighting to change their lives for the better.

The revolutionary movement must reflect the type of society we are fighting for, directly democratic and struggling to tear down all forms of oppression and domination of groups and individuals.

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Every four years,  
millions of people cast  
votes for their  
favorite Presidential  
candidates hoping that  
politicians will make a  
change in their lives.

# First aid for the... GULP The REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

**Instead** of  
voting for your oppressors,  
we recommend

**direct action.**

Authoritarian structures have developed  
over centuries and will only be torn down by

the **conscious** participation of **people**, taking

**control** over their own lives,

communities, and workplaces, and

not waiting for the **state**, the

“Vanguard Party” or **anyone**

**else**





# Always More People Than Cops

By FUTURA DEMIBOLD

Clark Street, Chicago, August 26, 1968. The smell of tear gas hangs in the air south of Lincoln Park, which the cops have just gassed out. People have scattered, mostly heading toward the central Loop. The air is heavy, still warm at 11 p.m. Down Clark Street, almost deserted, a cop car glides slowly, blue-and-white paint reflecting the streetlights. Half a block from me, a loud POP—a brick has hit the windshield. The car jerks to a stop, its doors fly open. Then there's a splatter of crashes, white stars blossom all across the windshield and side windows, dents burst up in the door panels. The doors slam shut and the car flashes past me, still accelerating as it dwindles. Soon it's gone, Clark Street is quiet, young voices laugh at a distance in the summer air.

"Revolution is a festival of the oppressed," wrote the 19th century historian Jules Michelet. Chicago '68 was indeed a festival, but not the Yippie "Festival of Life" that drew some participants to town. The real festival came in moments like this, when the balance of force turned over and the real balance of power stood revealed: there are always more people than cops. To a young radical of the time, the week's events taught that lesson and many others—about power, politics, and class.

## POWER

In front of the Conrad Hilton, downtown Chicago, probably Wednesday, August 28. A kid tosses something at a cop and he flips and chases the youth through the front line of demonstrators, which immediately shuts behind the cop and begins to close in a circle around him, people screaming, "Kill him! Kill him!" He runs, head ducked low, legs stretching out, back toward the line of his comrades, who reach through the demonstrators and pull him to safety.

After the convention, liberals tagged the events a "police riot," to turn the blame on the cops, away from mayor Richard F. Daley and the Democrats. Though it contains some truth—the cops and national guard bloodied and manhandled thousands during the six days of August 25-30—the "police riot" idea is false for two reasons. First, most times when cops charged the crowds they were acting in a disciplined way, under orders, not "rioting" but carrying out the policy of the state. Second, more important, it was *our* riot.

Through the week, there were repeated clashes around three flashpoints: Lincoln Park, two miles north of the Loop, where many out-of-towners were camping and gathering, and which the cops gassed out on Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, August 25-27, enforcing an 11 p.m. curfew no one ever heard of before; Grant Park, across Michigan Avenue from the delegates' headquarters at the Hilton, where there were confrontations every day, but particularly on Wednesday, August 28; and the south end of the Michigan Avenue lakefront, at 12th Street, the route for several attempted marches to the convention site at the Chicago Amphitheater, all blocked by the cops.

Probably only a few hundred demonstrators oriented to street fighting from the start. A larger number were committed to nonviolence at any cost. But probably the largest number wanted to mount standard protests—marches and demonstrations in front of the Hitler—but were ready to fight back tactically when stopped, wherever they had the advantage. This situation created Chicago '68—a mass protest that became a mass riot for hours or just minutes at a time, then resolved into a protest again, only to become a riot once more.

Nobody planned, nobody ran this violence (unlike the cop violence). There were mass numbers and a mass impetus. For example, on August 28th, cop brutalization at a rally in Grant Park led Tom Hayden, of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the antiwar Mobilization Committee ("MOBE"), to call for a move into the Loop. But then the crowd began to move on its own. Cut off in the park (which is divided by a lagoon) by cops blocking the bridges to the Michigan Avenue side, the crowd rushed north, crossed an undefended bridge, and returned south to the Hilton (we called it the "Hitler"), also trying to spill up the sidestreets around it. The cops controlled the perimeter,

but not the confrontation scene itself, and at such moments they lost tactical control on a local scale.

Our riots, then, were a mass action, part of a shifting public emotion. They succeeded when the preexisting readiness of some people to mix it up was answered by the accumulated rage in the crowds—and where the crowds had local superiority because of numbers. They were not a guerrilla, affinity group, or "black bloc"-type action.

Politics is about power; revolutionary politics is about power in the streets; revolutionary anarchist politics is about popular, mass power in the streets. When street actions have mass backing—as they did in Chicago, among the thousands demonstrating—then they can win

## Chicago in August 1968

local control over the streets. When such actions have large-scale support in a society, this is technically called a revolutionary situation.

On the other hand, the support has to be there; a good leader with tactical sense can smell when it's there and not. The popular support can't be created just by daring actions. So there was a negative side to Chicago's lessons, too, which unfortunately trapped some very good radicals.

Just over a year later, in October 1969, the Weatherman faction of now-divided SDS held the "days of rage" in



downtown Chicago. Ignoring the tricky situation that created mass defiance in '68, they believed one could "create two, three, many Chicagos" simply by going into the streets and defying the cops, without popular support. They believed several such actions, through the power of example, would "build a core of ten to twenty thousand anti-imperialist fighters." (Weatherman manifesto, quoted in Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 392.)

Aside from the fact that their ideology was fully Stalinist-Communist, Weatherman's strategy alienated thousands of people. They barged into high schools to harangue working-class students and ended up jeered and roughed up by the students. In the "days of rage," 200 activists without a shred of support from anyone trashed property and fought cops and didn't *gain* a shred of support from anyone. Weatherman actions appeared to people just as craziness, something no sane person would have anything to do with. The actions isolated Weatherman and helped build, in response, the explicitly liberal "Moratorium" movement—which held a Washington rally of about one million people the month after the "days of rage." As much as anyone besides Nixon, the FBI and COINTELPRO, Weatherman helped kill the radical antiwar movement.

## POLITICS

Outside the Conrad Hilton, probably Tuesday, Aug. 27. The convention demonstrators have linked up with a caravan from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's Poor People's March on Washington, and try to march toward the Amphitheater, but Michigan Avenue is choked by cops at 12th Street. We end up back in front of the hotel. "Sieg Heil! Sieg Heil! Sieg Heil!" the front ranks of the crowd keep screaming at the cops. At the same time faces are turned upwards, toward the hotel windows, where delegates can be seen leaning out. Some of the delegates are making V signs for peace, and hundreds of demonstrators here on the street below—the same ones screaming at the cops—hold up their hands and heads, making the V sign back to those elusive faces.

The real nature of the Democratic Party seems the hardest of all lessons to learn here. To a minority of demonstrators, including my friends and me, the Democratic Party stands revealed as the enemy, the party of the ruling class, left and right; the "peace candidates," Eugene McCarthy and the late Robert Kennedy, only disguise its real nature. But many more—protesters who came here sympathizing with McCarthy or the memory of Kennedy, as well as SDS members and other radicals—can't get rid of the idea that the Democratic Party really belongs to us, that it is the party of the underprivileged, or should or can be—if not its mainstream wing, then its liberal wing. And so they flash the V sign to the windows.

For a while, it seems as if Chicago has taught the lesson. "At the end of the week," Todd Gitlin writes later, "the McCarthy people had spilled out into the streets—not because anyone had persuaded them to be anti-imperialist, but because the Democrats' doors had been slammed in their faces." (*The Sixties*, 234) But people haven't learned that Kennedy-McCarthy are part of the ruling-class political process; when protest goes strongly into the streets, the ruling-class liberal party will generate a left wing to win them back.

Cut short in 1968, this process plays out over the next few years. In 1972, George McGovern is the Democratic nominee, on an out-of-Vietnam platform. Though he loses miserably to Nixon, he serves the purpose of coaxing the anti-war movement back into the Democratic Party. Nixon, himself, pulls out of Vietnam. Overall, the US ruling class is willing to sacrifice Vietnam, a minor interest, to keep control of domestic politics. That's the lesson not learned in Chicago in 1968.

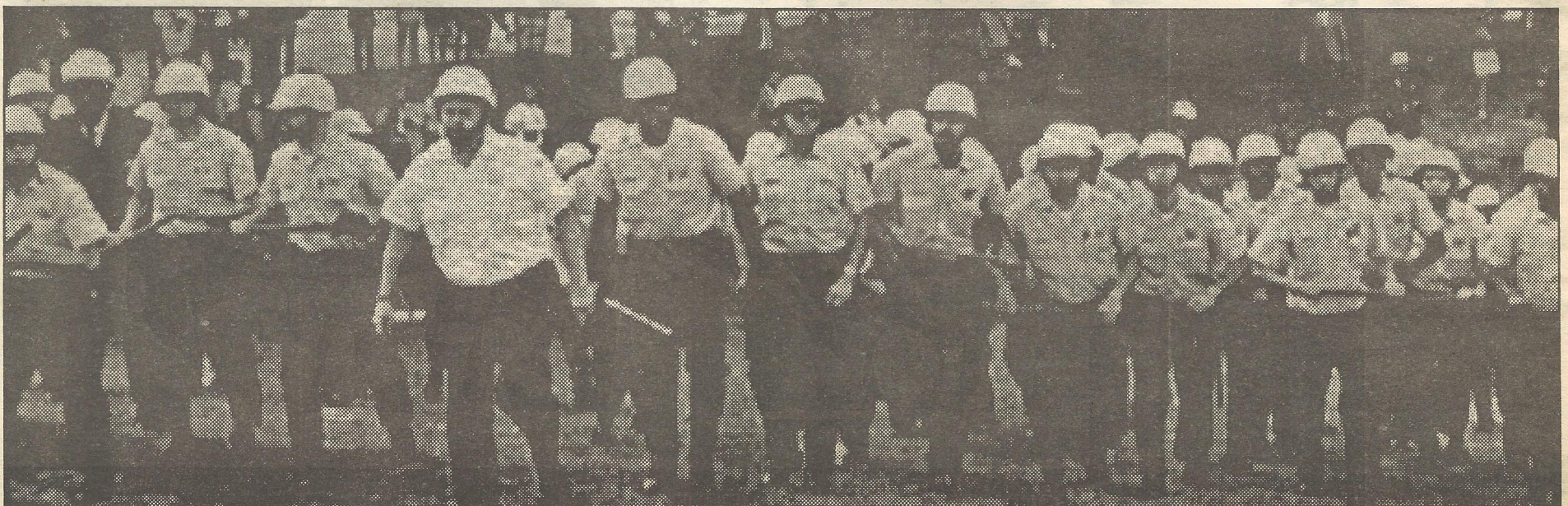
Today, the manifesto for the August "Counter-Convention" announces: "Active Resistance will turn its back on the electoral circus taking place in Chicago and explore instead our vision of real direct democracy." (*Love & Rage*, June/July, 5.) Unlike the protest organizers in 1968, AR recognizes that no wing of the Democratic Party is for the people, but AR also implies that the convention is irrelevant, and that's not true. The convention is not an "electoral circus," it is a decision-making meeting of our enemies.

Though it's easy now for radicals to dismiss the Democrats as irrelevant, that's really a sign that struggle is low. The Democrats are a party of the ruling class that, historically, has succeeded in disguising itself as a party of the people. When struggle heats up people will approach the Democratic Party with the same mix of hate and hope as in 1968. It will be up to the revolutionaries to join in protests and convince the participants that the Democratic Party, as a whole, is the vehicle of our oppressors.

## CLASS

52nd Street and Cottage Grove Avenue, on Chicago's South Side, Monday, August 26, 1968, about 4:30 a.m. A couple of dozen bus drivers, most in their light-blue summer uniforms, gather around the Chicago Transit Authority's Cottage Grove bus barn, as they do at the same hour at nearly every other barn in the city. CTA is on strike, the strike called for convention week by a mostly-Black rank-

(Continued to page 7)





# Open Markets

## Open Season on Immigrants

By ROY SAN FILIPPO

The era of "free trade" and "open markets" is being celebrated with the passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) between Mexico, Canada, and the US. But one commodity will not be allowed to flow freely across North American borders: labor. Instead, in this so-called "post-national age" the US will use very traditional means of state power to prevent migrant laborers from traveling into the US from Mexico. The state's visible hand, in the form of INS concentration camps, US military surveillance equipment and personnel will regulate this transnational commodity. Even the most staunch proponents of free markets support state regulation of this aspect of the economy.

### NEOLIBERAL REFUGEES

Mexican workers have been migrating to the what is now the Southwestern United States at least since the 19th century. But with 15 years of neoliberal economic policies and most recently the effects of NAFTA, there has been a sharp increase in the number of workers moving northward in search of better wages. Neoliberalism has devastated the Mexican economy and help create the longest depression there since the 1920s. The gap between rich and poor in Mexico is one of the worst in the world and the gap continues to widen. Currently, the

richest 10% of Mexican society receives 41% of the annual income, while the poorest half live off of only 16% of the nation's income. In the last five months alone, five million Mexicans were pushed below the poverty line, bringing the number in poverty up to 22 million people—almost one quarter of the Mexican population; seven out of ten wage earners in Mexico earn \$300 or less each month.

These facts reveal the failure of neoliberal economic policies so clearly that even the *New York Times* was forced to admit it in a recent article. The *Times* notes that "Big gains in real wages and economic growth from 1963 to 1984 were wiped out as the previous two [Mexican] presidents religiously followed their open market policies."

The passage of NAFTA has only deepened the economic crisis for most of Mexican society. In 1995, one million Mexicans lost their jobs only to find themselves without social safety nets or unemployment insurance. The austerity measures imposed on Mexico by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the US eliminated the meager social safety nets that have existed in Mexico. The impact on the agricultural labor force will be even more profound. A recent study of the effects of NAFTA on Mexican peasants estimates that 1.4 million peasants will be driven from the Mexican countryside due to the importation of cheap food products from the US. Luis

Tellez, the former undersecretary for planning in Mexico's Ministry of Agriculture estimates that 15 million peasants will leave agriculture in the next decade.

Many of these neoliberal refugees, faced with a failing economy and declining opportunities, will be forced to migrate north to seek employment in other parts of North America not yet destroyed by neoliberalism—either in the *maquiladoras* at the border or in the US.

### NEW WORLD BORDER

*[The US/Mexican border] is intended to facilitate trade in order to bring our nation the significant benefits of international commerce and industry. At the same time, it is geared to constrain . . . the free movement of people and goods in order to block the entry of illegal migrants . . .*

—Alan Bersin, US attorney for the Southern District of California

With this increased migration of workers, border policing in the US has intensified. In the past six years the number of agents patrolling the border has increased 65%, and the support staff for the Border patrol has increased 89% in the Southwest. The budget for the INS has increased 72% over the past 3 years. Military technology is increasingly being utilized to create a "Maginot Line" against refugees from neoliberalism. Infrared body detectors and magnetic footfall detectors designed for use in Southeast Asia are now deployed along sections of the US border; the Army constructed a 10 foot high wall on the border south of San Diego made out of 180,000 sheets of metal originally designed as temporary landing fields for Desert Storm—

Mexicans call it the "iron curtain." In March 1995, a "Border Research and Technology Center" was opened in Southern California to adapt military technology for use at the US/Mexico border. US military personnel are also increasingly being utilized at the border for construction, cargo inspections and training of Border Patrol agents; military surveillance planes and helicopters are used to prevent border crossings.

### NEW WORLD IN OUR HEARTS

*This is war.*

—George Weise, Commissioner of the US Customs Service

In this border war, civilians have become combatants in the eyes of the state. The military force amassed at the border is targeting a defenseless pool of migrant laborers who are forced to flee their families and communities in order to support themselves and their loved ones, because the Mexican economy has been devastated after centuries of colonial exploitation, of which neoliberalism is only the latest manifestation.

In the midst of the poverty created by neoliberalism, we seek hope. In the midst of the military death machines and steel barriers that separate brothers and sisters, we seek resistance. In place of the one-sided class war being waged against us, we seek to take the fight to our oppressors. We seek a new society without borders, without bosses. But this can only be brought about by the conscious participation of many people, by a movement dedicated to total human liberation. As we come together in San Diego and Chicago we must seek to build a new world, in the here and now, even as we proceed to destroy the old.★



## Chicago 1968

(Continued from page 6)

and-file caucus that organized an inconclusive earlier strike in July. I am there, working as a summer-replacement driver. This first morning, there's a strong initial show of pickets, then when it becomes clear that management won't try to get buses out, the pickets dwindle.

The strike issues needn't be detailed 28 years later. They involved both oppressive working conditions and democratic representation within the union; originally a rank-and-file issue, the strikes became a race issue as the largely Black workforce faced a white union leadership and most of the minority of white drivers stood aside or backed the leaders.

A young radical brought away in memory the pure blue of the sky on those early summer mornings—a clarity that seemed to stand for the immense power of the working class. I had already sensed that power at the beginning of the first strike, when an older worker stepped up into my bus as I passed the barn midway in my shift to say, "Finish this trip and pull in; we're on strike," and the city's bus traffic halted like that, with quiet spoken words.

Each day during the convention, I am at

52nd and Cottage in the morning and at the convention protests later, if I can get down there. But the two movements remain separate. While the drivers know about the protesters—quietly chuckling over the papers and the TV news, liking the protests and bemused over some of the fighting and rhetoric—the protesters have seemingly never heard of the strike.

On one night they do hear, briefly. The strike meeting that night is at a North Side church, not far from Lincoln Park, and a decision is voted to march to the park to show support for the protesters. But the meeting goes on too long and by the time a few hundred drivers march east on North Avenue toward the park, the demonstrators are marching away from the park toward some other target. The two lines of march actually pass, on opposite sides of the street, while I go to the march captains and explain what is happening. An SDS leader, Nick Eagleson, takes the bullhorn and crisply announces that the strikers have come to show solidarity and we will join them in a common rally. So the students turn round, the two crowds hold an impromptu rally, and we celebrate a moment of unity between the protest movement and the working class.

But in the long run the separate marches are the right symbol; our movement, as a whole, disdained the working class. One heard that the workers were bought-off,

white, prosperous—but nobody talked to the drivers I worked with. Weatherman proclaimed that "the long-range interests of the non-colonial sections of the working class lie with overthrowing imperialism" (Weatherman manifesto)—but this was just a way of justifying their actions in Marxist jargon. Neither Weatherman nor most other factions ever tried to understand workers, Black or white—or most other Black people—except to harangue them.

After 1968, my friends and I tried for many years to organize a revolutionary wing among Black and white US workers. We were wrong about how possible this would be in our generation—but not in our belief that only such a movement could defeat the state and organize a humane society. In contrast, the majority ideas in the 1960s movement—that one could organize a peace-and-social-change wing inside the Democratic Party, or make a revolution in the US without a popular base, as an outpost of third-world revolutions—were fundamentally, morally wrong. Today as much as in 1968, the link-up that didn't quite happen on North Avenue that August night has been created, or there will be no social revolution.

The lessons of August 1968 lie both in what did happen and in what didn't. People went face to face with the state power and, on a local scale, won some victories; people

launched a mass protest against the ruling wing of the Democratic Party and understood that they were warmongers and oppressors; a group of workers and a mass movement of students and youth were in struggle at the same time and, briefly, made contact. But people didn't learn the dependence of street action on mass support; they didn't reject the Democratic Party as a whole, and organize others to do so; except for a few, they didn't go on to dedicate their whole lives to building a revolutionary movement in the working class, which would have made the generation of '68 one to be remembered.

Now, an anarchist movement worthy of the name has to learn the lessons of Chicago '68: anarchism is not about alternative politics but about power; power lies in control of public space; the contest for public space requires winning people away from the Democratic Party and building a revolutionary movement in and of the working class. Those, at least, are the lessons I would draw; I would hope only that readers of this article think about them and discuss them.★

*Futura Demibold has often written for L&R; s/he uses a pseudonym when s/he might be misunderstood as advocating anything illegal.*



# Convention Action Directory

This list is not comprehensive. It contains as much information as was available to us at press time. All events are, of course, subject to change.

## San Diego

**Defend WomanCare Clinic**  
Saturday, August 10, 5:00 p.m.  
Sleepover—defend abortion providers from attack. 2850 6th Avenue  
Info: WomanCare 619-298-9352

**Pro-Choice Greeting Rally**  
Sunday, August 11, Noon  
San Diego Airport  
Info: SD NOW 619-238-1824

**Raza Unity Convention**  
Sunday, August 11  
San Diego City College  
9:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m.

**National Raza March**  
Monday August 12  
March against the Republican Convention  
9:00 a.m. Meet at Chicano Park  
11:00 a.m. March to the convention center

For information:  
Raza Rights Coalition  
PO Box 1842  
San Diego, CA 92112  
619-280-8361

**Voices '96 March & Rally**  
Monday, August 12, 5:30 p.m.  
Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender response to the RNC  
March from Pantoja Park (India & G Street) to the Free Speech Zone  
Info: Voices '96, 619-296-2462

**Pro-Choice Rally and March**  
Tuesday August 13, Noon  
City Hall to Pantoja Park  
Info: NOW (see above)

**La Resistencia—March Against the Militarization of the Border**  
Tuesday August 13, 5:00 p.m.  
San Ysidro Trolley stop to border.

**Demonstrate Against the Christian Coalition**  
Wednesday August 14, 10:00 a.m.  
Pat Robertson and Ralph Reed featured at CC rally. Balboa Park Organ Pavilion.

## Chicago

### Active Resistance Counter-Convention August 20

Begin Daily Meetings for event facilitators  
Early Registration at the Autonomous Zone  
August 21-25

Morning: Forums, mini-gatherings, workshops conducted by participating collectives and organizations, continuing registration and orientation  
Afternoon: Core Meetings

Evening: The Autonomous Zone Free Skool hosts selected and ad hoc workshops and discussions  
Night: shows, bike rides, movies & more

### August 26-29

Festival of the Oppressed  
Radical History Bus Tour  
Special Events & Dinners  
Meeting space available

### August 30-31

Network of Anarchist Collectives meetings and workshops  
Free Skool continues  
Wrap-up of Core meetings  
Closing celebration

For Active Resistance info, contact:  
AUTONOMOUS ZONE  
312-278-0775  
2311 W. North Ave.  
ugwiller@bgu.edu or chill@burn.ucsd.edu

**March to "Stop the Drug War"**  
Saturday, August 24, 1:00 pm  
March from Grant Park to United Center  
Info: Cures Not Wars 312-486-8085

### March & Rally to Support Immigrant Rights

Sunday, August 25  
Feeder marches from North and South Side of Chicago.  
Info: Coordinadora 96 & Pueblo Sin Fronteras 312-772-8383.

**March for Jobs and Justice**  
Monday, August 26, 10:00 am  
March from Grant Park to United Center  
Info: Chicago People's Convention Coalition 312-641-5151

### March Against Clinton and the Democratic Party's politics of repression and brutality!

August 27, 4:00 pm  
Wicker Park  
(1 Block South of North and Damen)  
☆ Stand up against the racism of the criminal "justice" system.  
☆ Free all political prisoners in US jails.  
☆ Stop police brutality.

Info: *Not on the Guest List!* 312-278-6706  
☆ Pre-action meeting Sunday, August 25  
3:00 - 6:00 p.m. at DePaul University  
Schmidt Academic Center  
2320 N. Kenmore

**Cash The Check March**  
Wednesday, August 28, 3:00 p.m.  
Garfield Park to the Convention Center  
A coalition rally against the disenfranchisement of African-Americans.

chisement of African-Americans.  
Info: 312-268-7500 ext 152

**Clinic Access Network** is organizing to defend clinics during the DNC from planned blockades being organized by Rescue America and other anti-choice groups. They are also planning to oppose other actions Operation Rescue and the Pro-Life Action Network are planning for the weed of the DNC. Info: Clinic Access Network 312-278-0775

**Counter Media** is a band of media activists and Media Arts Centers formed to provide media resources for organizations and groups planning events and actions during the DNC. Media activists should plug in here. Contact via phone 312-278-0775 or xmediax@ripco.com

**Chicago ACT** The August Calendar Team is assembling a calendar of ALL the events taking place surrounding the DNC. Get a complete calendar from them. Call 312-409-2093, or check the Lumpen Times website at [www.lumpen.com](http://www.lumpen.com), which also has a map of the United Center area.

### Unconventional Action

UA is preparing for and coordinating acts of (un)civil disobedience done by affinity groups around the DNC. UA is a collaborative effort including activists from across the continent. UA is explicitly anti-authoritarian in goals and process. UA's coordination will entail:

- ☆ a Guidebook for Action
- ☆ Providing local activists who can act as "tour guides" and help with info.
- ☆ Daily meetings during the DNC with affinity group representatives to develop general plans for action to occur the next day, and to evaluate previous actions / events.
- ☆ Coordinating an "equipment pool" of gear necessary for certain actions.
- ☆ Training workshops on self-defense, communications, working with affinity groups, dealing with cops and arrests, etc.
- ☆ Organizing jail support for those arrested. This will NOT include a bail fund.
- ☆ Establishing central communications / tactical points for actions.
- ☆ Organizing a Rapid Response Network for sudden situations that may arise during the convention.

UNCONVENTIONAL ACTION  
858 W. Armitage #349  
Chicago, IL 60614  
an623385@anon.penet.fi



# Organizational Directory

This list is by no means comprehensive. It is a guide to some national anti-authoritarian groups and campaigns that you can join.

## Anti-Authoritarian Organizations

**Anarchist Black Cross Federation**  
PO Box 8532  
Paterson, NJ 07508  
201-357-0994

A national federation of groups in support of political prisoners and POWs in the US.

**Anti-Authoritarian Network of Community Organizers**  
c/o Georgia Anti-Authoritarian Group  
PO Box 144  
Hiram, GA 30141

AANCO is a network of anti-authoritarians who are committed to community organizing.

**Anti-Racist Action Network**  
c/o Minneapolis ARA  
PO Box 80239  
Minneapolis, MN 55408  
612-649-4586

A network in the US & Canada of direct action anti-racist groups.

**Food Not Bombs**  
3145 Geary Blvd. #12  
San Francisco, CA 94118  
1-800-884-1136

Nonviolent, all-volunteer network that provides free, hot vegetarian meals and political support to low income people in over 75 communities in North America and Europe.

**Industrial Workers of the World**  
1095 Market Street, Suite 204  
San Francisco, CA 94103

Trying to build one big union to bring together all workers to win workplace struggles and defeat capitalism.

**Love & Rage Federation (that's us!)**  
1929 S. 5th Street  
Minneapolis, MN 55454  
612-288-0405

Continental revolutionary anarchist federation, with working groups focusing on anti-fascism, Mexico solidarity, and prisons. Publishes Love & Rage and Amor y Rabia.

**Network of Anarchist Collectives**  
c/o A-Zone, 1573 N. Milwaukee #420  
Chicago, IL 60622  
312-278-0775  
ugwiller@bgu.edu

Decentralized network of autonomous local collectives. Publishes (dis)connection newsletter.

**Workers Solidarity Alliance**  
339 Lafayette Street, Room 202  
New York, NY 10012  
212-979-8353

A national working class anarcho-syndicalist organization. The US affiliate of the International Workers Association.

## Issue-based Organizations

**Campaign 96 Coordinadora**  
c/o Immigrant Workers Association  
638 E. 6th Street  
New York, NY 10009  
212-505-0001

Campaign 96 is organizing a massive march in DC on October 12, 1996 for full rights for immigrants and the poor.

**Fightback Network**  
c/o BACORR  
750 La Playa #30  
San Francisco, CA 94121  
415-437-4032

A radical feminist network that coordinates clinic defense and other feminist activities, pushing for a more militant approach in confronting the Christian Right and the anti-abortion movement.

**International Concerned Friends & Family of Mumia Abu-Jamal**  
PO Box 19709  
Philadelphia, PA 19143  
215-476-8812

ICFFMAJ coordinates the effort to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Contact them for local group info or resources.

**La Resistencia**  
4406 Park Blvd. #B  
San Diego, CA 92116  
619-497-1035

La Resistencia is a national movement supporting immigrants and fighting anti-immigrant repression.

**National Campaign to Stop Control Unit Prisons**  
c/o AFSC  
972 Broad Street, 6th Floor  
Newark, NJ 07102  
201-643-3079

NCSCUP coordinates the national effort to shut down control unit prisons. Many local groups and activists are involved.

**National Commission for Democracy in Mexico**  
601 N. Cotton, Suite A103  
El Paso, TX 79902  
915-532-8382  
moonlight@igc.apc.org

The NCDM is the official Zapatista solidarity organization in North America.

