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8 de Marzo en San Cristóbal, Chiapas
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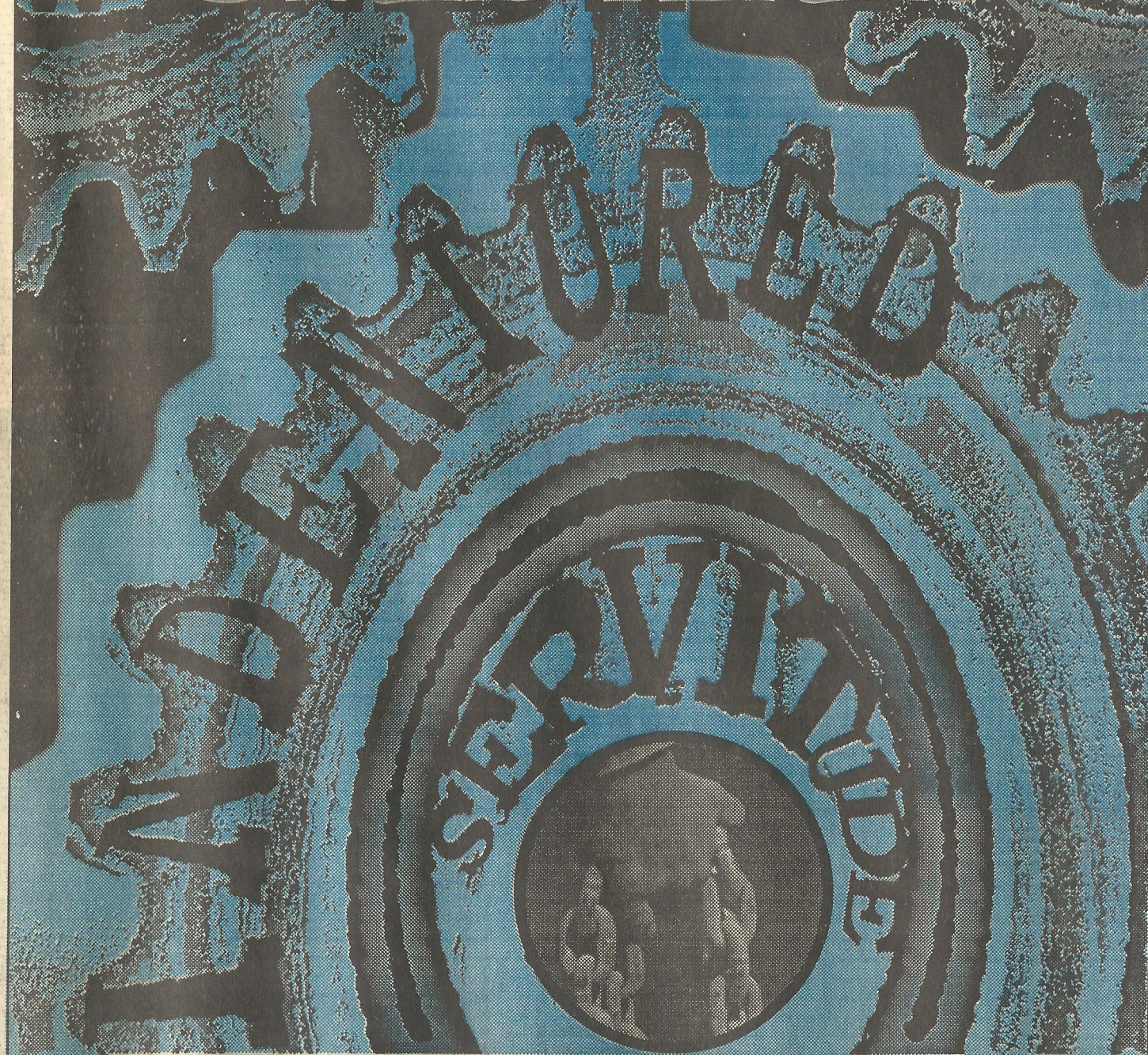
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LOVE & RAGE

REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHIST NEWSPAPER

WORKFARE:



Volume 7, Number 5

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Workfare is Class Warfare

By MICHELLE BILLIES

"We work all day! Now give us real pay!" shouted a small, courageous group of marchers in the New York City Labor Day Parade. Marching single file, hanging onto chains reminiscent of a chain gang, the workers demanded real jobs with livable wages, workplace protections, and benefits. Like most employees, they work hard at their jobs. Unlike most employees, they do not get paid. They are people on public assistance who are forced into NYC's workfare program, called the Work Experience Program or WEP.

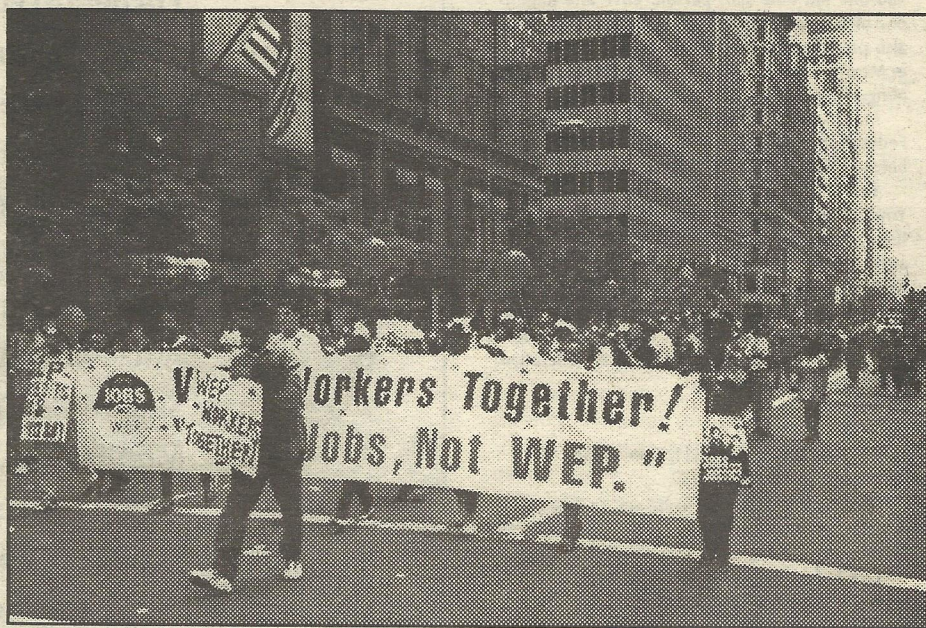
In WEP, people who receive welfare must add their cash benefit to their food stamps, divide by minimum wage, and work that number of hours per month for the city. This gives the impression of regular, part-time jobs, but consider: they have no choice of where to work, no health or safety protections, no guarantee of childcare, no grievance procedures, no days off, no

exemption for education, and no job when their benefits and workfare end.

WEP has been touted as a job training program but in fact is a structure that exploits poor people for their labor. LaDon James, an activist, college student, and mother of two on welfare reports that people are not trained and assessments for appropriate placements and evaluations are simply not done. In fact, Mayor Giuliani is replacing city workers with WEP to save money and get some extra work done in the bargain. WEP workers are cleaning parks, filling clerical slots, even training new hires to do their jobs when they themselves were not allowed to apply. These workers have no other choice; in NYC there is only one job for every 12 workers who need one.

Brenda Stewart, also an activist and mother on welfare explains, "I've been in

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Zapatista Encuentro Finds



International of Hope

By CHRISTOPHER DAY

For eight days, 4,000 people from 43 countries gathered together in Zapatista-controlled territory in the Lacandon jungle in Chiapas, Mexico to participate in the First Intercontinental Encounter Against Neoliberalism and for Humanity. They came to express their solidarity with the Zapatistas, to share the stories of their own struggles, and to build what Subcomandante Marcos called "an international of hope." While the long-term results remain to be seen, the Encuentro (as it was called in Spanish) may prove to be one of the most significant international gatherings of radicals in decades.

There was an inevitable surrealism to the

Encuentro. The Zapatistas have carved out a small liberated territory in the mountainous jungles of Chiapas that is surrounded by the Mexican Army. They have revolutionized the still very traditional culture of the indigenous Mayan peoples, arming them with a liberatory vision of a new society. Then they invited 4,000 people, speaking over a dozen languages, to converge, in the middle of the rainy season, on their desperately poor communities for the purpose of founding a very loosely (or very poetically) defined international network to overthrow the whole international capitalist order.

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Tupac Shakur, Rest in Peace

By MATTHEW QUEST

"Unless I want to turn my back on what's really going on in America, I will either be in jail or dead. There's no way around it."

—Tupac Shakur

Tupac Shakur died September 13 from wounds suffered in a Las Vegas drive-by shooting. He was 25 years old. His dual careers, in music and in film, garnered sparkling reviews, mega-sales, millions of fans, as well as repeated criticism. It was truly amazing the grace with which, as a rapper and actor, he tied together feelings of love with the righteous anger that was a family legacy. We should not reduce his short life merely to a narrow reflection of gangsta' rap, as portrayed by advocates of censorship. Nor should we see his true crimes as fabrications to smear what some see as an exceptional militant or revolutionary. Instead we celebrate his unique contributions to Hip-Hop culture and his potential to transform that culture. We should be honest why he did not live up to that potential and assess what he truly represents.

Rap was born in street festivals in New York City in the late 1970s as a mix of party chants, and compared to today, moderate macho boasting, primarily about sex and material possessions. It was founded specifically as an alternative to gang violence. What was profound at its origin was the tendency for certain artists to convey a perspective of Black liberation that spoke to youth of the urban ghetto. Hip-Hop exploded commercially in the mid-80s with inner cities gripped by police brutality, gang violence, drug abuse, and joblessness. A new generation of profound and angry young voices arose, in songs from Grandmaster Flash's "the Message" to Boogie Down Productions' "Criminal Minded." At the height of the conservative Reagan-Bush

years most of the previous generation of Black liberation fighters were already co-opted or eliminated. This made the emergence of radical voices which could speak to youth crucial.

In the late 1980s and early '90s, a more nihilistic sub-culture of rap was born in the depressed southern California cities of Compton, Long Beach, and South-Central Los Angeles. Gangsta' rap was popularized by the group NWA, who's song "Fuck tha' Police" became an inner-city youth anthem, and drew the attention of the FBI and many politicians. Some of the gangsta' rappers admitted (or boasted about) transforming themselves from small-time drug dealers, pimps, and members in gangs such as the Bloods and Crips into rappers. Many, despite their newfound wealth, continued this lifestyle. Gangsta' rap mirrored real life stories of flesh and blood battles between gangs, and of police brutality. But unlike earlier rap, it seemed to be without hope or a perspective of freedom other than being the sole survivor of deadly conflict for supremacy in the streets. Tupac, his life and art a product of both coasts, would personify the struggle to transcend the nihilism of the inner city to a radical perspective of Black liberation.

In New York City, Tupac Amaru Shakur was born a child of war to Afeni Shakur, a member of the Black Panther Party and the New York 21. She was jailed with them on charges of conspiring to bomb public places in 1971. Tupac was born shortly after they were acquitted and released. In interviews Tupac would boast, "I was in jail even as a fetus." Most of his extended family, full of Black revolutionaries (including Mutulu, Assata, and Zayd Shakur), wound up jailed, exiled, or dead during the 1970s and '80s. Afeni Shakur went on to raise her son, and a daughter, in poverty and sometimes homelessness in New York and Baltimore. Afeni has acknowledged that her drug addiction and unfortunate lack of child care

shaped Tupac's early childhood. Although Tupac rapped about having lived a hardcore urban life, and despite the troubles of his family during his childhood, his talents found at times more stable mentoring as well.

He studied acting and ballet at the prestigious High School for the Performing Arts in Baltimore. When the family moved to Marin City, California, in 1988, he attended the upscale Tamalpais High School nearby, though never graduating. With his first rap group in Marin City, One Nation Emcees, Tupac was known as "MC New York." His lyrics conveyed the Black liberation politics taught by his mother. However, spending much of his life in search of a father figure, he became drawn to a California culture of

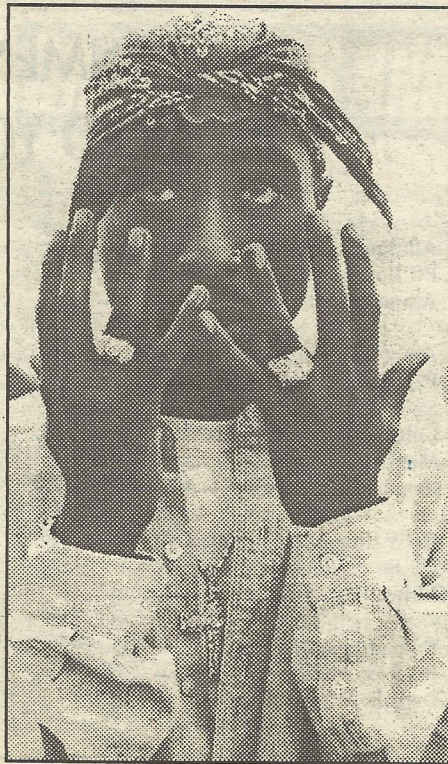
drug dealers and ghetto gangsters which would become the canvas for his art.

After working in 1989-90 with Digital Underground, best known for the single "Humpty Dance," Tupac started a solo career in 1991 with the album "2Pacalypse Now." He released four more albums: "Strictly 4 My N.I.G.G.A.Z." (1993); a collaboration with other rappers, "Thug Life, Vol. 1" (1994); "Me Against the World" (1995); and "All Eyez on Me" (1996); He began a career as a movie actor in the Ernest Dickerson film "Juice" (1991). He starred opposite Janet Jackson in John Singleton's "Poetic Justice" (1993), and played a supporting role in the film "Above the Rim" (1994). He was blacklisted after being promised the starring role in Singleton's "Higher Learning" (1995), which would have been his most politicized film.

Tupac's lyrics were marked by contradiction. He spoke of gang conflict and "thug life" in a celebratory tone as well as in cautionary tales. He was consistent in other ways. His music celebrated killing police officers for harassment of the Black community. In the spring of 1992, a Texas state trooper was killed by a teenager who was listening to "2Pacalypse Now," which included songs about killing cops, like "Soulja's Story" and "I Don't Give a Fuck" (the record also contains the outright revolutionary song "Words of Wisdom" which shouts out to Geronimo Pratt, Mutulu Shakur and Assata Shakur at the end). Vice President Dan Quayle called for the record's censorship. A year ago, presidential candidate Bob Dole attacked him as well.

Tupac's songs "Brenda's Got a Baby," "Keep Ya Head Up," and "Dear Mama," released on different albums over time, conveyed the responsibility of fatherhood and respect for Black women in a much

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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, 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.

The Federation is not a closed circle of friends. You can join the Federation and participate fully in the decision-making process. If you are in general agreement with the stated politics of the Federation and are interested in getting involved, contact the Federation Office or your local contact. 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 articles we print do not necessarily represent the opinions of the Federation or of any member of the Federation, unless specifically marked. 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. Some articles represent one view among many views held by Love & Rage members on a topic.

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 email address so we 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 (yeah, it's a long process). 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.

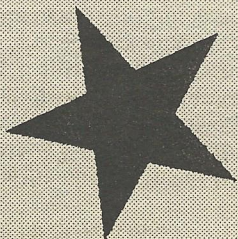


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A Palestinian policeman fires at Israeli soldiers in Ramallah September 26

CORRECTIONS

The "General Strikes Rock Ontario" article in Vol.7, #2 mistakenly reads, starting in paragraph 9, "Those services not shut down included..." It should have read, "Those services shut down included..." The same paragraph also says that the buses were "compelled to run"; in fact they were compelled *not* to run. We apologize for any confusion caused by these errors, which significantly changed the meanings of those statements.

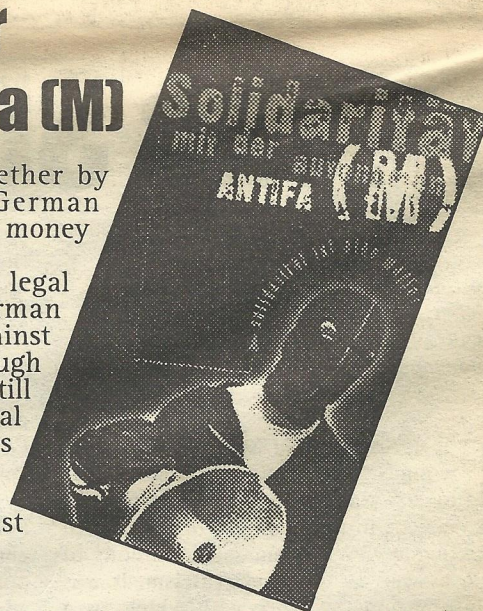
The article "Workfare is Warfare" states in paragraph 6 that trainees make \$12.50 a day, plus travel expenses. It then says that this totals \$520 a month. \$520 a month is actually the maximum welfare payment. Another update from the same Workfare article: seven of 17 of the laid off city workers referred to in the article have been recalled due to the low productivity of the present program at Third Sector, Hamilton.★

Benefit Tape for Autonomie Antifa (M)

This mix-tape was put together by Antifa-Aktion Passau, a German antifascist group, to help raise money for Autonomie Antifa (M).

Funds raised will help cover legal costs associated with the German government's aborted trial against Autonomie Antifa (M). Even though the trial isn't happening, they still have fines to pay as well as legal costs. The tape is a mix of styles and is very well put together.

Order a copy for \$10 and support the German anti-fascist movement!



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Welfare as We Knew It

By Christopher Day

The bipartisan war on the poor advanced to a new level with the recent passage of "Welfare Reform" legislation. True to Bill Clinton's 1992 campaign promises, this legislation will eliminate "welfare as we know it." The legislation largely eliminates the federal government's commitment to providing assistance to the poorest and most vulnerable members of society. In place of this commitment the federal government will make "block grants" to the various states which they can distribute more or less as they see fit. This legislation puts into law the de facto practice of the Clinton administration. Since his inauguration Clinton has granted waivers of federal welfare requirements to state after state so that they might "experiment" with workfare and similar schemes. The net effect of his policy has been to drive tens of thousands of people off public assistance. The tragic consequences of this policy were brought starkly home in New York City last month when a woman who had been kicked off food stamps six months earlier was charged with starving her youngest child to death.

THE NEW SLAVERY

By eliminating federal entitlement requirements the recent legislation creates a situation in which the different states will be compelled to compete with each other to develop the harshest, most "business friendly" system possible. Workfare of course is nothing more than a post-modern form of indentured servitude. Workfare also provides an opportunity for a wholesale assault on organized labor as former welfare recipients are paid measly wages for work that would have otherwise been covered by union contracts.

It is widely accepted that Clinton signed the legislation passed by a Republican Congress in order to deprive Bob Dole and Congressional Republicans of an issue with which to run for President against Clinton. And Clinton has contributed to this perception by suggesting that if re-elected he will seek to modify the law. But this view is far too generous to the Democrats.

NO LESSER EVIL

The principle that "only Nixon can go to China" applies here. Only a Democratic President could have gotten away with signing this sort of legislation without sparking riots across the country. Those who are trying to convince themselves to vote for Clinton because Dole will be worse should keep this dynamic in mind.

The elimination of the meager guarantees offered by the old welfare system is simply the logical application of the neo-liberal economic policies that have the support of the whole ruling class. The only thing that has a hope of stopping this relentless assault on poor and working class people in the US and around the world is a renewed mass movement of resistance that raises the costs of these policies for those who rule.

That is the one positive aspect of the recent legislation. Welfare was never developed to empower poor people. Welfare was developed in response to insurgency by the poor. It was developed not simply to feed the hungry but to control them. The constant bureaucratic intrusions into the lives of the poor that accompanied Food Stamps, AFDC and Public Assistance were not accidental features of the system.

As tens of thousand more people are pushed off the welfare rolls there will be a significant change in how poor people will have to organize their lives. In order to get their most basic needs met poor people will have to develop new structures—both to put food on the table, and to resist the relentless attacks coming down on them. Of course these structures exist to some degree in the informal networks of friends and family that are already so crucial to survival under this system—but the new dire circumstances will force us all to find new ways to take our lives into our own hands. These might include squatting buildings, organizing workfare workers, setting up breakfast or other "feed the people" programs, in addition to strengthening old traditions of community solidarity like rent parties and sharing childcare.

SEIZE THE TIME

Another positive aspect of the "Welfare Reform" legislation is that it will eliminate a whole layer of social workers who have served as a brake on the militancy of the poor (which after all is what they are paid to do) for far too long.

Of course both of these things will only have positive consequences if people take responsibility for seizing on the new opportunities represented by the new situation. The powers that be are calculating that they can get away with these attacks without generating the sort of resistance that is our only hope for a better way of living. It is the job of everybody who cares to prove that they calculated wrong by initiating that resistance now.★

Politics and the Abortion Debate: A Stealth History

By Carol Mason

"I want to be invisible...I paint my face and travel at night. You don't know it's over until you're in a body bag. You don't know until election night."

Ralph Reed, Executive Director, Christian Coalition

People keep asking me about the Republican National Convention. Instead of Pat Buchanan ranting about the culture wars, there was Susan Molinari speaking about being pro-choice in the Republican party. Was this an indication that the abortion debate is waning, and that the extreme right faction of the Republican party is losing its bite?

Don't be fooled by the seeming absence of the fascist, former presidential candidate Pat Buchanan, the Christian Coalition's founder, Pat Robertson, or his protégé, Ralph Reed. These far-right patriarchs, their institutions, and their constituencies can afford to be invisible during the elections of 1996 because they are so ensconced in the Republican party.

Most leftists and liberals who can read between the lines understand that the televised convention was a showy feel-good gloss on the reprehensible Republican party platform, which was designed by the most ultraright-thinking of Republican men. The platform was flown in under the weak radar of the mainstream media. Like the "stealth bombers" in the 1991 Gulf War and like the "stealth candidates" in elections of local school boards, library boards, and city councils who hide their extreme right-wing views until they are in positions of power, the Republic Convention was a sneaky vehicle. It smuggled some of the most fascist language and proposals into the Republican platform.

My guess is that right-wingers know they can't win the presidential election this year; but they have been victorious already in stretching the political imagination of Republicans even further to the right. They have their sights aimed four years down the road, and they are happy to lie low until then, out of the public eye, working undercover to establish the platform with which the Republican party and, in response, the

Democrats will have to contend in the year 2000.

Playing the Republicans and Democrats off of one another is not a new idea for right-wing forces in the US. In fact, it is the modus operandi of the New Right, which was founded as a response to the defeat of conservative Barry Goldwater by Lyndon Johnson in the 1964 presidential election. Richard Viguerie, one of the key behind-the-scenes conservatives and author of "The New Right: We're Ready to Lead," explains why his generation of conservatives decided not to forge a third party, but instead to manipulate the two-party system of Republicans and Democrats.

"For a while we in the New Right thought the country needed a third party. As I have said, we came to see that this was wrong. Under a two-party system, the parties don't really lead; they follow. Their business is not to form coalitions, as in Europe, within which they can keep their own shape and identity. In America their business is to build majorities, which means, very often, putting principles on the back burner."

So genuine principles have to find institutional support outside the parties in order to influence the parties. As long as only the liberals did this, they kept gaining relentlessly. The lack of popular support didn't matter. A well-organized minority can often defeat an unorganized majority.

I believe that Viguerie and his cohorts succeeded in turning the tables so that the Right is now an extraordinarily well-organized minority. It has made terrific progress toward defeating the unorganized majority of US citizens and residents who do not abide by the fascist ideas the Right is promoting. The Right has gained astonishing power by "influencing the parties" and maintaining a "two-party system" for the purposes of manipulating them. Once we understand the importance for the New Right of keeping a two-party political system intact, we can see how the two-sided "moral debate" over abortion is also a political system exploited by the New Right.

Like the two political parties of Republicans and Democrats, "pro-life" and "pro-choice" factions have been manipulated by the New Right. Using abortion as a

"wedge" issue, the New Right ascended to power by encouraging single-issue voting around the abortion controversy, which ceased to be a political cause and became a moral debate. Because the debate has been established as a fight between the fetus's "life" and the woman's "choice," it's difficult to remember how abortion arose as a radical political cause, a first step on the way to women's liberation. It's difficult to remember that this philosophical debate about morality mutated out of a campaign to increase the political status of all women. But remembering, rehearsing, and re-establishing the history of radical women's quest to obtain reproductive freedom is crucial to stopping the ultraright-wing forces that are making fascism not just plausible but palatable in the US today. Re-establishing this history is one way we can accomplish what Viguerie says would threaten the New Right's successful manipulation of the two-party system: it's a way we can forge real, radical coalitions.

Specifically, I think it's important to remember that radical women in the 1960s wanted to repeal all laws that restricted abortion. Roe v. Wade (1973) did not accomplish this. In fact, Roe v. Wade contradicted the fight to repeal abortion laws because it established national guidelines for restricting abortion.

Liberal feminists exalted the national guidelines put forth in Roe as a consummate victory because they were satisfied with moral reform. Liberal feminism then



began to professionalize under the auspices of being "pro-choice," which simplified and reduced the complex, multi-faceted battle for reproductive freedom to a matter of personal, individuated privacy. What began as a radical fight against governmental regulation of abortion became a liberal, plaintive request for governmental protection of women's "choice."

Another point to ponder as we try to forge more radical bona fide coalitions (and not merely fortify the "pro-choice majority") is why "choice" has been so successful. Unlike most critics of "choice," I do not dislike "choice" because it has proven to be an ineffective political rhetoric or stance. On the contrary, it has worked very effectively and in conjunction with "life" to sustain a fight between two majority camps. "Choice" and "life," although antagonists, have worked together to sustain a political system

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Kurds: Between Iraq and a Hard Place

By JAN KRAKER

On September 3, 1996, US armed forces launched cruise missiles at targets in southern Iraq in response to an invasion by Saddam Hussein of the so-called "safe haven" for Kurds in northern Iraq. US officials were quick to point out that "this has nothing to do with the Kurds; this is between us and Saddam Hussein." And indeed this was true, for America's involvement in northern Iraq was never motivated by a concern for the plight of the Kurdish people, but the desire to protect American oil interests in the region. In the days before the US missile strike on Iraq, dozens of Iraqi tanks and artillery, backed by Kurdish traitors from the Kurdish Democratic party (KDP) militia group, cap-

estimated that at least 182,000 Kurds were murdered during the Anfal Campaign by the Iraqi forces (Lazier, p. 1). Saddam Hussein's history of genocidal campaigns against the Kurds makes the recent collaboration of a Kurdish faction with Saddam Hussein difficult to understand.

A "SAFE" HAVEN FOR KURDS

A Kurdish uprising in South Kurdistan in March 1991 succeeded in liberating nearly all parts of Iraqi-occupied Kurdistan, including key oil-rich urban centers such as Kirkuk. But the Allied powers who had "defeated" Saddam Hussein stood by and watched as the unscathed Republican Guard elite forces, backed by tanks and helicopter

cidal military leaders. Both parties are driven by narrow-minded desires for power and neither seeks Kurdish independence.

The Kurds of northern Iraq were hit hard by the economic effects of the Gulf War. The Turkish military launched several major raids into the region, including a full-scale invasion in March 1995. Iran also shelled the region on several occasions. And Iraq, while postponing overt military action until this August, repeatedly sent intelligence agents into Kurdistan to carry out bombings and acts of sabotage which greatly damaged the region's already weak infrastructure. The attacks were made worse by a double embargo: one embargo was placed on Iraq by the UN, and the Iraqi government placed its own internal embargo on

Kurdish villages since 1991. Death squad murders, imprisonment, and torture are commonplace.

The PKK, like most Kurdish parties, took advantage of the power vacuum in northern Iraq after the Gulf War and established dozens of camps and training facilities in the region. Repeated Turkish attempts to dislodge PKK forces in South Kurdistan have all failed. For the past few years, the PKK has been organizing among the civilian population of South Kurdistan, much to the dislike of both the KDP and the PUK. Socialist in its ideology, the PKK, for example, advocates the full equality of men and women. Unlike the reactionary KDP and the PUK, women swell the ranks of the PKK's guerrilla army, the People's Liberation Army of Kurdistan (ARGK). The PKK, unlike the KDP and PUK, seeks the liberation of all of Kurdistan, and not only from foreign and colonialist occupation, but also from the grip of traditional Kurdish feudalism and tribalism. PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan recently criticized Jalan Talabani's PUK for cooperating with fundamentalist Iran, a country which is no friend to the Kurds, and then appealing in vain to the imperialist West. But the PKK's biggest enemy in recent times has been the traitorous KDP. Despite PKK's efforts to create a Kurdistan National Congress together with the PUK and KDP, attempts at national unity have been consistently derailed by the short-term interests of these more reactionary Kurdish elements.

Another obstacle to unity is Western opposition to any role by the PKK in Kurdish affairs. The recent PUK/KDP war not only thwarted the Kurdish people's aspirations for unity and independence, it also represented a major failure for imperialist foreign policy. The US State Department has organized several PUK/KDP summits in an effort to organize a front to stop the rise of the PKK. The CIA spent millions of dollars to prop up the KDP administration in South Kurdistan, not only to hold Hussein in check but also to work against the PKK. On both counts, the US now looks foolish. The KDP fought side-by-side with Hussein's troops in ousting the PUK. With the PUK now largely gone from the area and the KDP exposed as traitors, the PKK is now set to become the major Kurdish force in South Kurdistan.

KDP treason is nothing new in Kurdistan, and the PKK, despite its attempts at national unity, is well aware of this. The KDP will take money from anyone, even from Turkey, whose genocidal campaign against Turkish Kurds rivals Hussein's in its barbarity. The KDP has repeatedly cut deals with the Turkish government and has worked with the Turkish military against the PKK on several occasions.

On August 15, 1995, the ARGK, the PKK's armed wing launched a "second August 15th offensive" against the KDP in South Kurdistan. This followed a deal by US and Turkish officials and the KDP which was arranged in Dublin, Ireland and designed to root out PKK support in the region. Following weeks of fighting, during which the KDP suffered heavy losses and the PKK firmly established itself as the third major force in South Kurdistan, a truce in the interest of national unity was announced in December. At the time of this PKK offensive, many Kurds and their supporters condemned the PKK, saying they were guilty of the same in-fighting tendencies as the KDP and the PUK. The PKK claimed the move was necessary to halt the KDP's collaboration with Turkey. History has proved Abdullah Ocalan correct in this analysis, for not only have the KDP allied

(Continued to page 19)



Fighters from the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), a Kurdish national liberation group

tured the city of Erbil, formerly the capital of "free Kurdistan" and the site of its federated parliament. Even after the Americans "punished" Hussein for this aggression, Iraqi-backed Kurds (known as "jash" in Kurdish, meaning something like "little donkeys") moved on to attack other Kurdish towns, including the major intellectual center of Suleymania, effectively bringing all of northern Iraq (South Kurdistan) under Saddam Hussein's control once again. Iraqi agents and secret police, known for their brutal methods of torture and terror, have once again swarmed into Kurdistan. Tens of thousands have fled towards Iran and Turkey where the situation for Kurds is no better.

THE STATUS OF THE KURDS

Kurdistan is the world's largest stateless nation. Its 35 million people were divided, in the aftermath of World War I and the fall of the Ottoman Empire, between the colonialist-established states of Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Turkey. In each of these, Kurds have been subjected to forced assimilation, intense repression, and in Turkey and Iraq, outright attempts at genocide. Largely disregarded by the world's media, the full tragedy of the Kurdish plight was brought home to many by the horrible images of Saddam Hussein's poison gas attack on the city of Halabja on March 17, 1988, which killed some 5,000 Kurdish civilians. But this was neither the first horrid attack by Saddam Hussein upon the Kurds, nor the last.

The most brutal wave of repression against Iraqi Kurds occurred in the aftermath of the Iran-Iraq war. From 1987-89, a special operation of genocide was bureaucratically engineered by the Ba'ath Party against the Kurds of northern Iraq. Known as the "Anfal" Campaign, it included the Iraqi military's burning, bulldozing, and bombing towns and villages with populations of as many as 70,000 people. Mass graves unearthed following the creation of the UN "safe haven" in 1991 revealed the extent of the campaign's barbarity. It is

gunships, overran the region once again, killing thousands and forcing more than two million people to flee for their lives. In the wake of their great "victory" in the Gulf War and particularly because the Allies themselves had encouraged the Kurds and other anti-Saddam forces to rise in revolt, the Western powers established a no-fly zone over some of northern Iraq (excluding those regions of Kurdistan where most oil is located) and announced a UN-backed "safe haven" for the Kurdish people. Like most UN "safe havens" in recent years, the region soon turned into a nightmare of suffering.

Despite the defeat of their revolt against Hussein, the Kurds of northern Iraq decided to make use of their Allied-backed enclave to establish the first "free" Kurdistan in recent history. Elections were held in 1992 for a federated Kurdish parliament based in Erbil, but Kurdish joy soon turned sour as factional fighting devoured the region. The 1992 elections were declared a tie between the two major parties at that time, the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK).

The KDP has been the major player in Kurdish politics in Iraq since the Second World War, and under its leader Mulla Mustafa Barzani, the Kurds revolted against Iraq from 1970-75. Unwisely expecting backing from the CIA, the Kurds were eventually defeated. Mustafa Barzani made peace with Saddam Hussein and died a broken man. This surrender angered many Kurds who wished to fight on, and in June 1975, Jalal Talabani split from the KDP along with several left-wing Kurdish groups to form the PUK. In 1978, present jash chief Massoud Barzani, Mustafa's son, assumed control of the KDP.

The differences between the PUK and the KDP mirror schisms within Kurdish society itself. While the KDP is fiercely conservative and loyal to old feudal traditions, the PUK represents many bourgeois urban elements. Media and KDP claims that the PUK are "pro-Iranian" are oversimplified. Indeed, both the PUK and the KDP have at some point in time embraced Saddam Hussein, the United States, and even Turkey's geno-

Kurdistan. Poverty was rampant throughout the Kurdish enclave, and the only source of income for many people became smuggling or the control of tariffs from shipments to and from Turkey. The desire to control these economic channels prompted the KDP and the PUK to go to war in 1994. By this time, the Kurdish federated parliament had been all but forgotten. Tribal war replaced nation-building.

PKK STRONG IN SOUTH KURDISTAN

Absent from most media and policy discussions on the recent developments in northern Iraq is the role the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) will now play in the region. Although mainly based in Turkish-occupied Kurdistan, the leftist PKK has established itself as the third major player in South Kurdistan over the past few years and it more than any other party will gain tremendously from recent events.

The PKK, established by leader Abdullah Ocalan in 1978, began armed struggle against the Turkish government on August 15, 1984. Since then, it has achieved remarkable military success against Turkey's US-backed military, the largest in NATO. The PKK's campaign has remained largely focused on rural and mountainous regions and has not yet spread to urban centers. In response to the PKK threat Turkey has unleashed a massive military response directed largely at civilians. Turkey has destroyed more than 3,000

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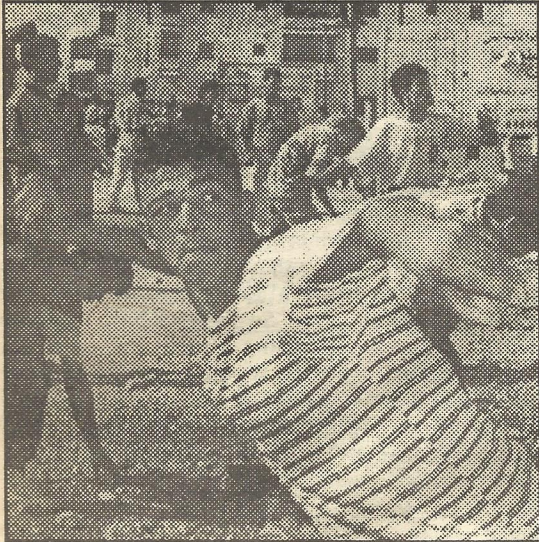
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Blood Flows Again in Palestine Will it be in Vain?

By THE ORGANIZATION FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
-CHALLENGE AND SABAR MAGAZINES

The bloody events of the last few days have introduced a new factor into the political scene. The Palestinian demonstrations are a response to long-felt abuse, humiliation, frustration—and hunger. The guns which Arafat had pointed against his own people have been aimed instead at Israeli soldiers. After the opening of the infamous tunnel near the Via Dolorosa (the latest assertion of unilateral Israeli sovereignty in Jerusalem), it was



Palestinian youth pelts Israeli soldiers in Ramallah

Arafat himself who called for demonstrations. He could have had little idea how violent they would become. Once the shooting started, he had no choice but to support the demonstrators, hoping to use the popular outrage, as well as Netanyahu's isolation, in order to make political gains and bolster his faltering prestige.

THE LAST STRAW

If Peres were in power today, he would no doubt have negotiated with Arafat, giving him some harmless trifle in exchange for the opening of the tunnel. (Before losing power he had already worked out a deal whereby Arafat would give up the claim to Jerusalem in exchange for a village to the east called Abu Dis, which could be renamed El Kuds ["The Holy," the Arabic name for Jerusalem] and transformed into a Palestinian capital.) But Netanyahu blundered along. He got Arafat to shut down three official Palestinian offices in Jerusalem, and then, instead of giving something in return, continued to delay the redeployment in Hebron, destroyed Arab houses, and began taking over Arab land for ultraorthodox Jewish neighborhoods. The midnight opening of the tunnel was thus the straw that broke the camel's back. If Arafat had let it pass, he

would have lost the little credibility he has left among his people.

Many compare the recent violence with the Intifada. Not so. The Intifada set as its goal the establishment of an independent state in the West Bank and Gaza with East Jerusalem as its capital. It expressed a broad consensus among Palestinians both at home and in exile. Arafat's goal is something else entirely: to "get back on the track" of the Oslo accords, which do not lead to Palestinian sovereignty, and which do nothing to bring back the refugees, dismantle the Jewish settlements, or establish the Palestinian right to East Jerusalem.

Will the present violence help bring a better solution? No. As long as the Oslo concept prevails, Israel will have the upper hand. It is the essence of Oslo to take advantage of Palestinian weakness after the fall of the Soviet Union. Having taken his historic decision, Arafat has no way back. He will have to calm the rebellion, while trying to get as much as he can from Netanyahu in exchange. Because he cannot afford to defy the US-Israel alliance, he will have to continue on the path of surrender. The two local "partners" know both their goals and their limits: Arafat cannot eliminate the Israeli occupation, and Israel will not try to get rid of Arafat. For Israel does not want to send its soldiers back into Gaza or Nablus. The victims of these last days



Palestinian Authority officer under portrait of his boss

have courageously expressed their people's feelings of pain and humiliation, but it is to be feared that their blood will have been spilled in vain—for Arafat's limited use.

Meanwhile the left-wing opposition in Israel continues to call for a return to the Oslo process. That would be a return to limited autonomy, as enforced by Arafat's corrupt regime. It would be a return to the acceptance of closure. It would be a return to the plunder of Arab lands in Jerusalem for the sake of expanding Israeli settlements. It would be a return to the same impossible equation which underlies the present upheaval.★

New Afrikan Prisoners Speak Out on Tupac

Victim to the Chrome, Another Souljah Gone My Critique on the Existence of Tupac Amaru Shakur

By Brotha Fi'raun Umoja

On Tupac

By Mangwiro Sadiki

Another potentialed souljah have succeeded in completing his/her own prophecy. A "street poet" which Amerikkka and probably most of the planet, have witnessed either on film, in the media, but mostly "on wax."

Brotha "Tupac Amaru Shakur" was/is the offspring of resisters. From his Queen-Mother and Father on back to the countless faces of his Afrikan ancestors.

Many utter that his life was wasted. I beg to differ. He was born to complete a circle. A circle of children born into a social structure—that consistently breeds the "Do or Die" mentality. A circle of despair that festers no matter how many KKKolonized dollars that a New Afrikan seed might obtain. The contradictions are revealed "broadly" in "spurts." For instance—pig brutality was clocked in the oppressed "mental cam-corder" many years before there was a conception of a "Rodney King" let alone a video tape of his personal lynching. Brotha Tupac's passing over isn't any different. The biological/germ warfare weapon called A.I.D.S. was seen in the New Afrikan community years before Brotha "Eazy E" (may he R.I.P.) was known to have been a victim of it. So on and so forth.

How many "spurts" of the contradictions in a "broad" sense is it going to take New Afrikans and other oppressed seeds in Amerikkka and abroad to intensify in stealing our minds back? There's no more room for the living (dying) in denial that so many of us are falling prey to, no matter how much we try to make our reality sound ad if it's "just a movie" or "just something on wax" we're "just" fooling ourselves.

Brotha Tupac was one of the few potentialed peoples souljahs who was able to broadly expose the "water and oil" mentality and emotions that comes along with dwelling in a KKKolonialized, racist, sexist society. From his lyrics in "Brenda" to "Thug Life" to "Shed So Many Tears" to "Hit 'em Up" to "Dear Momma" to "How Long Will You Mourn Me" to "Words of Wisdom." His lethal combination that we call the "love and hate" (rage) mentality that a backwards plantation society breeds in its dwellers. Even though our existence in such a society is often ruthless we can still shout some love and attempt to "keep our heads up."

Prophecy is not as "spooky" as we've often been mis-educated to accept by "fire

and brimstone" wolves in holy clothing. It's as simple as studying the social structure which we presently exist in and comparing its present with its past. Then it's pretty easy to "foresee" or have a notion on what tomorrow(s) will bring if conditions better or worsen. Brotha Tupac was one of the many young minds who are able to do this. He should be commended for that, with what ever human contradictions that the seed might have possessed. His biggest contribution in my (and others) eyes was the fact that his street (or kolo-nized) poetry broadly exposed the love and rage which festers inside of the oppressed to steal our minds back. For many of us can foresee many many more potentialed organized "revo's" falling victim to the chrome in our near future the longer that we cease in moving to liberate our minds.

So, in closing; Brotha Tupac Amaru Shakur's existence on this plane definitely was not a waste. Even though some of us don't doubt that had he been surrounded or consistently amongst some P.R.T.'s (Poor Righteous Teachers) whose "vibe" he could thoroughly feel he'd been able to make even more of a difference in the New Afrikan National/International struggle. I pour out a little fruit juice for the existence of Brotha Tupac Amaru Shakur. Rest In Peace with the Universe Little Souljah. Peace Unto You who Struggle for Change.★

In Struggle
Brotha Fi'raun Umoja
(captive in the Indiana State Tombs)

"They got money for wars, but can't feed the poor..."

From "Keep Your Head Up"
by Tupac Amaru Shakur (R.I.P.)

I lay in a KKKage listening to de radio and engaged in thoughts of de New Afrikan Independence Movement when news of Tupac's death hit de air waves. It hit me real hard, and for awhile I couldn't believe it, but at de same time, I could profoundly understand.

Here is a New Afrikan lyrical genius (in my opinion!), born thru de womb of a Blak Pantha. Died such a tragic death. First five shots, now four. Mathematically speaking, nine, de number of completion.

Tho Tupac was not Politically conscious and often expressed lyrics that were both dehumanizing and degrading of Afrikan Peepoe, he was socially aware, which vividly reflects in many of de songs he's made such as, "Brenda's Got a Baby," "Keep Your Head Up," and "Dear Momma," which are amongst my favorites. Everything de Brotha pumped had some form of message in it; some messages even appear prophetic. His "reality rap" is definitely something that many of us can identify with and feel, mainly b'cuz for a lot of us it was an everyday thing in de concrete "so-called" ghetto.

I listen to de radio and observed many of de dialogues taking place in de segregated tomb that KKKonfined me, and I was hurt by a lot of de negativism coming from my Peepoe—Afrikans, children of de sun, were responding with such madness. But I wasn't at all surprized.

One voice came over de radio, "live by de sword, die by de sword. I don't like how he disrespected Blak Wymyn noway," anotha voice came thru de tombs, "that's what he gets for faken at it. He wasn't living none of that shit noway." Tho Our Peepoe have a legitimate argument about certain lyrics he use, we still shouldn't be so quick in verbally assassinating Afrikas son. For there is little difference in de gun and de tongue—Death and Destruction is contained in them both! We fail to realize

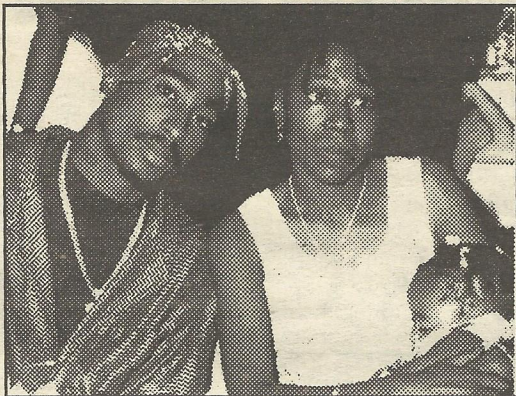
both de shooters and Tupac are victims...victims of Amerikkkanizm.

De KKKolonialist-Imperialist empire seized diz opportunity to mobilize its propaganda networks to further belittle de Blak Male/Man and exploit de vile effects of poverty, lost direction, self-hatred, and low-self esteem that horrifically plagues de New Afrikan community. Tupac was suddenly shown in de newspapers, news, tell-lie-vision, etc. as de representation of every New Afrikan man in diz alien occupied territory/land...KKKolonialism in its worst form: enslaving de minds of de masses to negative, destructive views of de New Afrikan Male/Man, thereby making him an easier target for subjugation and assassination. His legitimacy in de eyes of de Peepoe...destroyed.

Tho Tupac Shakur's death is said to have been attributed to members of de "Crips," de politically conscious amongst us attribute de root cause to de primary contradiction confronting us—KKKolonialism(ist): "De mind behind de gun." We must not allow Amerikkka to utilize diz tragedy to further push her "so-called" justice of imprisonment of Our Males/Men. Nor should we allow diz monster to further KKKriminalize our New Afrikan Nation and deceive de world into believing that we are just a bunch of backwards savages that are becoming extinct by our own hands. Only a fool would deny that Blak on Blak violence exist, but we must also understand that when one controls a persons thinking, you do not have to worry about their actions. It's about taking our minds back. Tupac is but one of de thousands of Afrikan Peepoe whose blood has returned to be womb of de earth. Now we must make those who are truly responsible pay. De Crips aren't de problem, de Bloods aren't de problem. It's not de Gansta Disciples or de Vice Lords. It is a wicked ass KKKolonialist-Imperialist government that will not rest until de only nation alive is de parasites with white skin. Tupac said it quite clear, "we ain't meant to survive, cuz it's a set up..." but we will survive. And we will win!★

R.I.P. Tupac Shakur

Rebuild! Rebuild! Rebuild!
Mangwiro Sadiki, Michigan City, IN
N.A.I.M. Kkkaptive



Tupac with his mother, former Black Panther Afeni Shakur

of de songs he's made such as, "Brenda's Got a Baby," "Keep Your Head Up," and "Dear Momma," which are amongst my favorites. Everything de Brotha pumped had some form of message in it; some messages even appear prophetic. His "reality rap" is definitely something that many of us can identify with and feel, mainly b'cuz for a lot of us it was an everyday thing in de concrete "so-called" ghetto.

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ARA Everywhere

Anti-Racist ACTION Reports

The ARA Network now boasts over two dozen chapters in North America! The following updates and addresses provide a sampling of ARA activities.

HOUSTON

In the three or so months since ARA Houston formed, the group grew from 7 members to an excess of 130 members on its mailing list alone. They've gotten "incredible support from the community right off the bat," and have hit the ground running. They are in the process of 1) Getting ARA extension chapters started in local High Schools. Four new High Schools are already getting involved. 2) Figuring out how to reach and teach younger, elementary-age kids about the dangers and stupidity of prejudice before prejudice gets to them first. 3) Doing surveillance on the Nazi scene. 4) Protesting and organizing against fascist music in their community. They have already protested at a local music store. 4) Making information readily available to the public about ARA, about how to spot Nazis and also about the fact that most skinheads aren't racist so one should not judge a skin by her cover! 5) Newsletters!

MINNEAPOLIS

The summer's been hectic! There was a gay bashing mid-summer in the neighborhood where our meetings were held (and where some of our core members live and hang out). The culprits were two "pro-American" skinheads who have been semi-antagonistic to ARA. We initiated and helped organize an upbeat march through the neighborhood, beginning with a queer kiss-in in front of the bashers' house! ARA worked in coalition with feminist and queer groups and individuals from those communities and the neighborhood. Over 200 people came out to show that gay bashing and homophobia of any kind would not be tolerated and would be confronted in the streets and in every scene.

Ten of us made the trip to Chicago to help represent ARA at the protest against the Democratic National Convention and to make an appearance at the Active

Resistance counter convention. We gave a Copwatch workshop that was well received and acted as Copwatch at the Not on the Guest List demonstration, helping to enhance the anti-cop flavor of that 2,000 person march. We formed a line with folks from ARA Flint, ARA Lansing, #10 collective from Vermont, and Love and Rage-New York between cops and the people doing civil disobedience. We participated in clinic defense and physically confronted violent anti-choicers. We also attended a demo held to counter an anti-choice meeting.

Three ARA members are currently facing misdemeanor destruction of property charges for anti-police helicopter graffiti that has mysteriously appeared around the city. The police in Minneapolis have taken

"potential criminals." ARA plans to take more action against these and other fucked-up police measures.

ARA flyered a show that headlined Type O-Negative, a metal band with racist lyrics in downtown Minneapolis warning metal kids of Nazis infiltrating their scene. The "siege-heiling" fools who were spouting racist shit and calling ARA girls "race traitors" and "bitches" before the show had a meeting of the minds with some skate boards after the show as they were being chased around downtown by an angry mob. Their white pride got taken down a notch when they were called out as racists, coincidentally at the same time kids were leaving an arena-sized hip hop show across the street.



Thanks to Mac in Columbus we got tables at the Rage Against the Machine and Smokin Grooves (Fugees, Tribe Called Quest, Spearhead and Cypress Hill) shows. We distributed tons of info, met a lot of cool kids, tripled our mailing list, and sold a gang of our style t-shirts. Members of Spearhead and Rage Against the Machine are among those now sporting them.

We held an open forum discussing the history of the Black Panthers to kick off moving our meetings to a new location (a neighborhood currently resisting gentrification). It went well and we have been doing Copwatch there too.

An ARA Minneapolis member and an Anarchist Black Cross-Baltimore member who has been kicking it with us for the past month are facing charges of obstruction of po-po procedure with force.

Watch for the next issue of our street

journal, *Fighting Words*!

PHILADELPHIA

Pumped-up after a recent a successful action in Guglersville (see article this page), over a dozen people attended the first meeting of Philadelphia ARA on September 22. The chapter seemed long in coming; it's been brewing since Jim McNamara of Columbus ARA spoke in Philly six months ago. A sense of urgency kicked activists in the ass, helped them overcome past differences and come together to build a chapter. The group already has a full plate, a P.O. Box, a phone number (see contact list) and a second meeting on the 29th. They plan to begin confronting white supremacy by responding to incidents of harassment by white supremacists at a local club, Stalag 13, and on South Street, a commercial strip and popular kids' hang-out near the Delaware river. So far this brand newbie chapter is planning a night out on South Street, a trip to Washington, D.C. for the October 12 march for immigrants and the poor, support for outlying rural Pennsylvania anti-racist organizing.

ATLANTA

Nazi presence in Atlanta has grown from a straggling handful to a gang of 30-plus. The racists have not staged any public "legal"-type actions or rallies. Instead they've been busy engaging in terroristic activities such as confrontations at clubs and attacks at anti-racists' homes. And so unfortunately, anti-Nazi activity has degenerated into a tit-for-tat exchange. While Atlanta anti-racists have not yet gotten a group together to have a more organized and political opposition, they have managed to set up an emergency response system to counter Nazi terror in an ad hoc way. Hopefully it's only a matter of time before a chapter gets its footing.

In the meantime, anti-racists in Atlanta have been handing out ARA News at shows, collecting names for the ARA Network mailing list, and handing out anti-racist gear to students at outlying high schools so they can have a presence and face up to racist classmates.★

Anti-Racist Action Defends PA Club

By DAN, ARA BALTIMORE

On August 2, Anti-Racist Activists from Baltimore, Columbus and Philadelphia converged on Gouglersville, Pennsylvania, in an attempt to

keep Nazis out of a local show. The promoter of the show had been receiving death threats from a group of Nazis in the area and failed to receive any form of protection after notifying the police. ARA went there

with a clear purpose: to keep the Nazis from getting into the show.

The situation was very tense for most of the night as we waited for the boneheads to show up. When a group of eight or nine skinheads made their way to the door from an adjacent parking lot things started to get a little blurry. From our perspective they didn't look friendly but it was unclear whether or not they were Nazis. This standoff went on for some time until one of the skinheads tried to get into the hall. He was explicitly asked whether or not he was racist. His answer was a very resounding yes! At that point he was refused entry and an hour-long stand-off between ARA and the Nazis followed. The stand-off ended when the manager of the hall told the Nazis to leave because he didn't want any trouble.

FENCE SITTERS EXPOSED

For the most part the Nazis were kept out of the show and violence was completely avoided. Also the incident did expose many people in the scene as Nazis and revealed the vacillating nature of the scene's attitudes towards Nazis. The number of fence-sitters who were putting punk rock above keeping the Nazis out was astounding. On the other hand the dialogue that was opened up was very encouraging. It seemed there was a core group of people who wanted to keep their scene Nazi-free and who were dedicated to doing anti-racist work in their area. We have received numerous letters from individuals in eastern Pennsylvania who want to start ARA chapters. The positive movement-building aspects of this action are a case in point: standing up against Nazis is a crucial step in anti-racist organizing.★



ARA Network Chapters

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Atlanta, GA 30307

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Get in touch...
Get involved!

Support the Indiana 6! Political Repression in Indiana Knows No Bounds

BY SHAKA SHAKUR

On 5-27-96, Memorial Day, the top half of D-Cell House (D-CH), approximately 150 prisoners of all nationalities, ate their afternoon meal in complete silence to protest the planned premeditated murder of an innocent man, Ziyon Yisrayah (s/n Tommie Smith), that was initially scheduled for June 14, 1996.

The following day I was kidnapped out of D-CH and brothers Baye and Akono were kidnapped out of C-CH. All three of Us were placed in the hole under investigation for "encouraging others to demonstrate." All of Our personal

property was seized and taken to the investigators office where all Our personal letters, papers, etc. were read, copied, etc. and the state thus began its conspiracy to arrest over 15 New Afrikan (Black) men and charge 10 of them on trumped up charges of conspiracy to disrupt the scheduled murder/execution of Ziyon.

On 6-6-96 in the wee hours of the morning 10 New Afrikan prisoners from all over this maximum security prison were snatched out of their beds by Nazi style D.O.C. SWAT teams, made to wait 4 hours, some handcuffed behind their backs, then stripped searched, placed in bright red jumpsuits and draped in chains. As We were being placed into single file under the threat of kkkops in black fatigues, combat boots, with UZI machine guns, Glock 9mms, stun guns and pepper spray mace, We were told We were being moved to the maximum control complex (supermax) in order to "keep the peace."

As We were made to march single file through the administration building at the height of roll call the D.O.C. propaganda campaign was set in motion and the attempt to kkkriminalize and dehumanize Us had begun. As 10 Afrikan men were marched in chains single file, 6 of Us with lengthy dreadlocks, We ran into the fearful

After reaching Our destination We experienced no better treatment then what Our ancestors received upon their arrival to amerika. Instead of racists with whips, it was racist kkkops in fatigues with foot long clubs with steel tips itching to crush Our skulls. Instead of an auction block, it was an empty cell stripped of its furniture

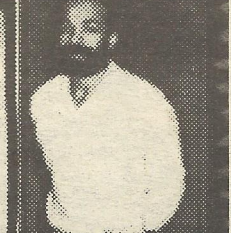
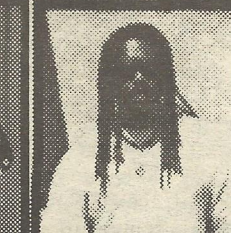
man. Because We as New Afrikan men dared reclaim Our humanity and transform Our kkkriminal mentality and reject the kkkriminal attempts by this sick system and society to have Us mentally deranged, morally depraved and socially backwards.

Do prisoners have a right to express outrage at a decision made by the state to kill an innocent man? Do We as human beings suppose to be denied of all human emotion and feelings because We are prisoners? Do We not have the right to be critical of the state when it plans to take one of Us into a cold sterile room, strap Us to a gurney and stab Us all over Our bodies with needles so

they can inject Us with their poison cocktail? That is how they did Ziyon Yisrayah on 7-18-96 as they stood cold and heartless behind curtains with clip boards in hand taking notes of every twitch and last gasp of breath. Genocidal murder made into an art form!

On 6-18-96 the state of Indiana informed the 10 of Us that We have no right to speak and they did so by charging all 10 of Us with "attempts to riot" and "threatening." Seeing that it was insufficient to keep Us from speaking out to expose the criminal conspiracy of the state and its agency, the D.O.C., they dropped those charges and moved to cover up their attempts to frame Us and conceal the political nature of the repression. Returning two weeks later they charge Us with "Conspiracy to Riot" and "Threatening." Moving to criminalize Us by labeling Us as

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The Indiana Six (Left to Right): Idris Malik, Kopano Muhammad, Shaka Shakur, Sekou B. Majekodunmi, Akono G. Olatunji, Anane Baye Camara

and hateful stares and gawking by secretaries, rows of more kkkops, counselors, etc. only to step outside into a full military operation of K-9s, visitors and employees cordoned off to the sidewalks by UZI and Glock carrying kkkops. As traffic was blocked while We were thrown into two vans under the watchful eyes of the over-

seer/warden, the message to be conveyed was that these 10 shackled and chained Black

men are dangerous animals. We must protect you from these kind of people. The D.O.C. played upon and manipulated the racist fears of people and fed into the racist images that every major news broadcast projects of Afrikan people in society. Black men are dangerous and it must take Us white men to control them!

Political Repression in Indiana Knows No Bounds!

where We were forced to spread Our buttocks, lift and pull out Our bottom & top lips, stick Our tongues out, lift Our scrotums and raise Our arms and show the bottoms of Our feet. Those with dreadlocks told to fold and bend them as you were thrown into a shower and given cups of disinfectant and told to make sure you put

some in your hair. Of course any racist can tell you that dreadlocks

are nasty, dirty and have bugs in them! Refuse any of these commands and you risk being attacked by 5 kkkops dressed in hockey gear with bullet proof vests and clubs.

Why were We all being subjected to this? Because We dared speak out against the premeditated murder of an innocent

investigation for possessing a supposed mask.

Bobby Peck #865349: Received one year disciplinary segregation sentence for possession of a supposed weapon after being cleared of conspiracy to riot and threatening charges.

Kuumba (s/n Robert Carrington) #875749: Being transferred to Wabash Correctional Institution after being found not guilty.

What you can do:

Call, write and fax Acting Department of Corrections Commissioner Ed Cohen. Demand that the charges against the six prisoners be dropped and that no further disciplinary action be taken against them.

Commissioner Ed Cohen
E 334 Indiana Govt. Ctr. S.
302 W. Washington St.
Indianapolis, IN 46204
Phone: 317-232-5715
FAX: 317-232-6798

Contact members of the Indiana Congressional Black Caucus and urge them to call for an investiga-

tion into the racial nature of the charges against these prisoners and the executions of Ziyon Yisrayah and Ajamu Nassor.

BLACK LEGISLATIVE CAUCUS
c/o Indiana House of Representatives
Indianapolis, IN 46204

Write to the charged prisoners to show your support and offer what help you can:

Kopano Muhammad (s/n Vincent Hatchett) #25800
Shaka Shakur #28443
Sekou B. Majekodunmi (s/n Michael Ford) #855831
Akono G. Olatunji (s/n David Bellemey) #862113
Idris Malik (s/n Kevin Holifield) #22275
Anane Baye Camara (s/n Armen Sylvester) #16091

They have all been shipped to various control units in Indiana. Call the I.D.O.C. to find their location: (317) 232-5715

For More Information Contact:
Brew City Anti-Authoritarian Collective
P.O. Box 93312
Milwaukee, WI 53203
blast@csd.uwm.edu

It Doesn't Stop at Six...

Along with the six men facing repression by the Indiana D.O.C. in connection with the state's execution / murder of Ziyon Yisrayah—more are under investigation, charged and found not guilty yet still facing disciplinary action, or remaining locked down. While the six men received the initial blows from the state it is important that we support all of the men implicated in this frame-up.

If you're still asking yourself why you should support any of these men consider this: all of them have histories within the Indiana prison system, histories of standing up for human dignity, histories of fighting for the basic human rights that should be given to all but are routinely denied to those locked up in america's prisons. They have histories of helping to transform others from criminal lifestyles to progressive ones. They are men who have committed such criminal acts behind the bars as studying to better themselves, struggling to

find ways to heal and reconstruct their lives in an atmosphere that does its best to try and kill their spirit and will. They are facing this repression for these reasons—not because of any conspiracy to riot. The conspiracy is amongst those in the I.D.O.C.

Lorenzo L. Stone-Bey #10006: transferred to Indiana Reformatory on D/S status after being found not guilty.

Herman Aeverhart #900086: transferred to Indiana Reformatory on D/S status after being found not guilty.

Mangwiro Sadiki (s/n James Malone) #913752: Received one year segregation sentence after initial Indiana 10 investigation. Also lost 90 days good time and was dropped in time class, further postponing his release.

Malik Umoja "Fi'raun": Received a one year segregation sentence after initial

Prison Notes

FIRE IN THE SKY

Raze the Walls!, an anarchist prisoner support project based in Seattle, has published a new journal, *Fire in the Sky*. It consists of "articles exposing the stupidity of caging, writings by prisoners, listings of resources for prisoners, and articles on anarchism." This is the first issue, and will only continue if there's clear support for doing so. This first issue also includes a great resource guide for prisoners. Order your copy from Raze the Walls, PO Box 22774, Seattle, WA 98122-0774.

OVER 1.6 MILLION IN US PRISONS

The number of men and women in the nation's prisons and jails climbed to nearly 1.6 million last year. By the end of 1995, 1 out of every 167 Americans was in prison or jail, compared to 1 out of every 320 a decade earlier, according to the Justice Department's Bureau of Justice Statistics. As of Dec. 31 there were 1,078,357 men and women in federal and state prisons, which usually house sentenced prisoners

serving more than one year. That was an increase of 86,745 over the previous year, or 8.7%, slightly above the average annual growth rate during the last five years. As of June 30, 1995, there were 507,044 men and women in local jails, which mostly hold people serving less than 1-year sentences. That was an increase of 20,570 or 4.2%.

The total number of inmates in custody has more than doubled since 1985, up 113%. The rate of incarceration has grown from 313 prisoners per 100,000 US residents in 1985 to 600 prisoners per 100,000 in 1995.

ABC IN AUSTRALIA

ABC Melbourne is not a new group, but was inactive for a while. Now it is reorganized and is going stronger and stronger. ABC Brisbane formed in the last year too and is active. ABC Melbourne and ABC Brisbane, with other anarchists, have organized support for Mumia Abu-Jamal, support for the Greek anarchist prisoners, an ABC Weekend in March, solidarity for the Turkish and Kurdish prisoners on hunger-strike, and more. ABC Melbourne publishes

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Mumia Abu-Jamal Update

BY ALEXIS BUSS AND JAMILA LEVI

On October 1, 1996, Judge Sabo again clearly demonstrated how far the Philadelphia courts will go to stand in the way of a new and fair trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal. The morning began with Mumia's defense attorneys trying to issue a subpoena to the District Attorney's office for the entire Jamal case file. Of particular importance are the records pertaining to police coercion of witnesses to the shooting of Officer Daniel Faulkner in 1981. This motion was denied after Judge Sabo characteristically sided with the prosecution to strictly limit testimony to issues surrounding a newly found addition to Mumia's PCRA (Post Conviction Relief Application) case, Veronica Jones.

Veronica Jones was working as a prostitute at the time and witnessed the incident where Mumia was shot and Officer Faulkner was killed. She testified that on December 15, 1981 she was questioned by police at her mother's home and told them she saw two men run away from the scene of the shooting. In January 1982, the cops

brought her into the Sixth District Precinct and made her an offer: work the streets with impunity in exchange for testimony identifying Mumia as the shooter. Five months later, Jones was again in custody for felony charges. She was again told that she would be relieved of charges if she named Mumia as the shooter. This time, it was harder to refuse. As she testified in court, "Ten years away from my kids—my kids was all I was thinking of." At the time, Jones was 21 years old with three young daughters. A few days later, she was brought into court, thinking that she was going to be facing her own charges. Instead, it was the courtroom of Judge Sabo—she was brought into Mumia's trial. Jones' denied her original statement that the two men fled the scene, implicitly implicating Mumia.

Veronica Jones had been sought by Mumia's defense for years and was finally found in April 1996. The D.A. relentlessly insisted that Jones' whereabouts had been known by the defense all along, and that

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They've
Got the

Khmer Blues

Khmer Rouge Splits, Sary Faction Joins Govt.



Norodom Sihanouk chairs a meeting of Khmer Rouge leaders wearing matching scarves, March 1973. Left to right: Ieng Sary, Hou Yuon, Pol Pot, Hu Nim, Khieu Samphan, Norodom Sihanouk

By RACHEL RINALDO

A recent split in the Khmer Rouge (KR) is one of the most dramatic developments in current Cambodian politics. A large section of the KR, led by Ieng Sary, the Foreign Minister during the Pol Pot regime, has split off from the core group, headed by Ta Mok (General Chief of Staff of the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea, who oversaw the purges and under Pol Pot) and Son Sen (Defense Minister of Democratic Kampuchea, who may have been responsible for the Tuol Sleng torture center). Following several weeks of quarreling within the shaky coalition government, Prince Sihanouk pardoned Sary and gave him full amnesty on September 14, with the support of two thirds of the parliament. The government and military officials are now meeting with the breakaway faction to discuss integrating it into the government and transferring its lands to state control.

The magnitude of the split is enormous. The breakaway faction includes up to 4,000 troops out of an estimated 7-10,000 total for the KR fighting forces, and possibly over 20,000 civilians in northwest Cambodia near the Thai border. The 4,000 forces include eight out of the KR's 22 divisions, two of them its strongest. Two more divisions are expected to begin negotiations soon, bringing the total up to 10, or nearly half of the KR. This effectively isolates the rest of the KR in a thin strip of territory along the Thai border and a few scattered units in other areas of the country. The northwest region is extremely important because of its tremendous gem and timber resources, which have sustained the KR financially since they retreated and regrouped there after the Vietnamese invaded in 1978. The breakaway group has now started a political party under the leadership of Sary and may participate in the upcoming 1998 elections. The Cambodian public remains divided over the pardon and on the issue of whether to seek retribution for the 1976-1979 mass killings.

Cambodian politics, though, is murky. The background of the split and of the characters involved points to a far less savory interpretation of events than the straightforward news story implies. The internal split came to light August 7, when clandestine KR radio broadcast accusations of treason against Sary. The next day, co-prime minister Hun Sen (of the Cambodian People's Party or CPP, the Communist party once backed by Vietnam) declared that the breakaway faction had defected to the government, and claimed credit for it. This sparked internal feuding between Hun Sen and his co-prime minister Prince Norodom Ranariddh (Funcinpec Party—royalists), son of King Sihanouk.

PATTERN OF DISSENSION

The feuding continued the pattern of dissension that has plagued the coalition government since its election in 1993, following the departure of Vietnamese troops (in 1989) and the UN peacekeeping initiative (UNTAC). Superficially, Hun Sen, himself a KR defector, was pro-pardon, and the Prince and the King vehemently against. Actually though, the dispute was more about Hun

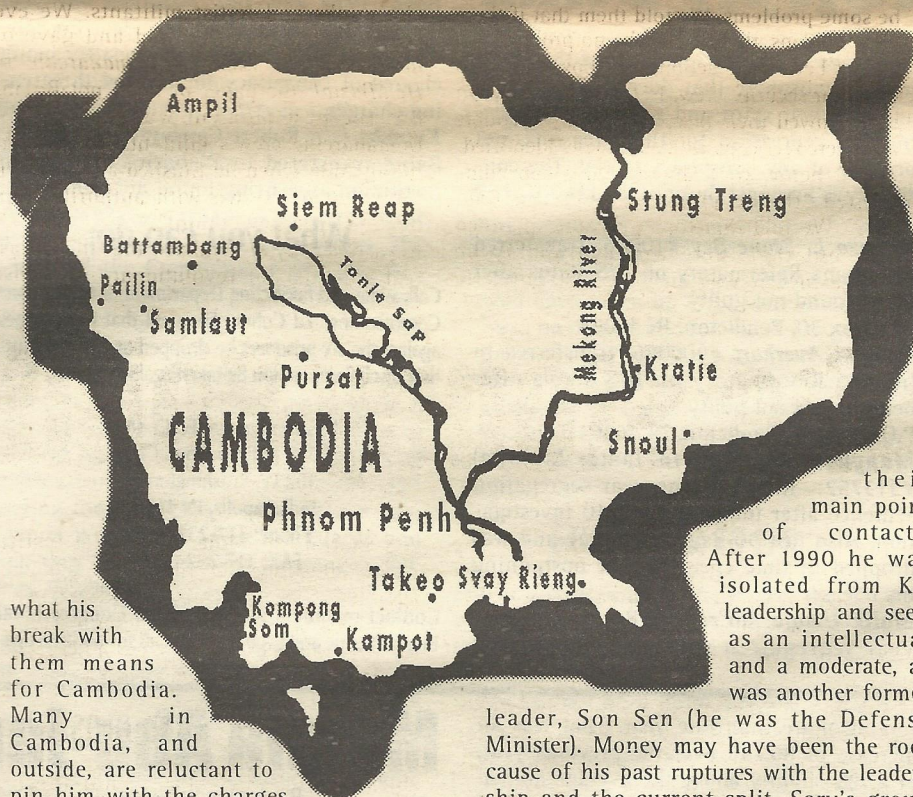
Sen's claiming credit for provoking the split. The Phnom Penh Post, reported that sources claimed the Funcinpec party had initiated negotiations with elements of the KR. There were suspicions, however (denied by Funcinpec), that Funcinpec was attempting to create an alliance to present a unified front in the face of the CPP and seize control over the northwest. Though it seems far-fetched in light of King Sihanouk's past, an alliance would not be all that surprising. The Post further reported that Hun Sen suspected an alliance, but also did not want Funcinpec to be able to take credit for possible mass defections, so he instructed the CPP military to make contact with the KR. This happened at the same time as the apparent KR internal split between Sary's and Ta Mok's wings.

It is still not clear what role Ieng Sary played in the Khmer Rouge's regime, and

the government and friendship with Pol Pot make it impossible to believe he was not aware of and complicit in government policies.

He may have played a role in the purges of expatriate Cambodians who were urged by the regime to return to Cambodia and contribute their expertise, and then were almost all executed. Sary claimed in a 1980 interview that he knew of the existence of the torture center Tuol Sleng and tried to prevent people from being sent there, implying that he knew of the systematic killings carried out there (possibly 200,000 people were killed in the purges that occurred right after the KR takeover; many of them passed through Tuol Sleng).

Sary is not a surprising leader for a breakaway. In the 1980s he fell out with Pol Pot and Ta Mok, and lost his influence when China phased out aid (he had been



what his break with them means for Cambodia. Many in Cambodia, and outside, are reluctant to pin him with the charges of genocide or murder because no direct evidence links him to it beyond his position in the government. Born in 1928 in what is now lower Vietnam, Ieng Sary attended the Lycée Sisowath in Phnom Penh, where he befriended his fellow student Pol Pot, then known as Saloth Sar. In 1951, Sary went to Paris on a government scholarship, where he joined Sar, and the two became members of the French Communist Party and married sisters. When they returned to Cambodia, both became communist activists, and in 1963 they left Phnom Penh together to organize in the countryside.

The Vietnamese called Sary "Brother Number Two" in the regime, and in their 1979 tribunal, found him guilty of genocide along with Pol Pot, and sentenced both to death in absentia. Sary more likely ranked fourth or fifth in the regime. He served as Foreign Minister and as a vice-Prime Minister, and was on the standing committee of the Central Committee. There are of course no smoking gun documents linking Sary to genocide. But his high positions in

leader, Son Sen (he was the Defense Minister). Money may have been the root cause of his past ruptures with the leadership and the current split. Sary's group controlled a large and lucrative part of the KR's logging trade on the Thai border, and he may himself have profited substantially (he had two villas). At its peak, before the Thais shut down the border in May 1995, the timber trade was worth between \$10 and \$20 million a month for the KR, and the gem trade was worth \$27 million a week. Sary's group enjoyed some limited economic freedoms unavailable to other KR units, such as owning cars and motorbikes.

It's possible that a struggle recently broke out between the so-called moderates and the diehards when the leadership attempted to reimpose total collectivization. (Pol Pot claimed to have renounced communism in 1981, but the KR never made any significant changes in their practices). Reports surfaced in June that Pol Pot had died, and if they were true, they may have ignited a power struggle within the KR, though Sary contends that the reports were false. There have been suggestions that Son Sen is either part of the breakaway faction, or will join it, but Sary says that he is cooperating with Ta Mok.

Literature on the KR points to numerous potential areas of dissension within the group, suggesting that a split may have been inevitable. Before 1975, the KR was composed of two wings—the main one being the more moderate Marxist-Leninists who gained much of the mass support, the other a smaller, Maoist wing led by Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, which prevailed over the other group and then went about

purging it. The KR publicly disavowed Maoism soon after the 1976 death of Mao Zedong. Thus it may well have been either a serious personal and/or ideological quarrel that precipitated the breakaway.

CONSPIRACY TO HOLD POWER?

Theories are circulating, even on the highest levels of the coalition government, that the whole split is an elaborate ploy on the part of the KR designed to get into power. Thion, a left-wing French journalist who has written on Cambodia since the early 1970s, wrote in a rather prophetic essay in 1988: "In the case of negotiation leading to a settlement, the Khmer Rouge will probably resort to their old tactics, namely splitting formally between a politically 'acceptable' party, led by some characters like Son Sen and Khieu Samphan, and a 'refusal' guerrilla group including the real CPK core, Pol Pot, Ta Mok and Nuon Chea, which will remain in the forest living on accumulated reserves of food, gold, and weapons, and refusing to bow even to the Chinese 'wishes,' confident that they will be able in the long run to undermine any real attempt to reconstruct a Cambodian state."

Only events can test this theory of a faked split. The reported KR split does have many inexplicable elements. But Thion's theory also seems implausible, since there appear to be real grounds for a split. Moreover, given Hun Sen's history as a KR defector, the KR has considered him a traitor, and it is unlikely that a unified KR would ever agree to talk with the CPP. And the KR has traditionally taken care not to air its quarrels to the general public.

Obviously, none of the major role players in this scenario are at all trustworthy. Hun Sen defected from the KR in 1978, and rose in power under the Vietnamese occupation. He has often been the most willing to fight the KR, but his political style is authoritarian and anti-democratic. Recently he has made anti-foreigner statements and supported legislation that would have made it illegal for Cambodians to have dual citizenship, a bill clearly aimed at returning Cambodian émigrés. Some suspect that his supporters may have been behind or at least complicit with the rash of crimes against foreigners in the capitol this summer.

ROYAL MACHINATIONS

Prince Norodom Ranariddh, head of Funcinpec, is the son of King Sihanouk, who though largely a ceremonial monarch, still wields considerable influence and is venerated by much of the population. King Sihanouk may be the most slippery character of all. He has allied with the KR several times, beginning in 1973 when he made a speech from China calling on Cambodians to support the KR in the struggle against the US-backed Lon Nol government. That first alliance was understandable, given that no one knew at the time that the KR was any different from the other Marxist-Leninist national liberation groups like the Viet Cong and the Pathet Lao.

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Démanarchie's 15 Minutes of Fame

By NICOLAS PHÉBUS

Following last summer's political repression (see last issue for more details) anarchists in Québec city united their efforts and launched a three-week campaign called "anarchists out of the shadows." The campaign opposed media and police lies by going directly to the people to explain clearly who we are, what we think, what we do, and of course to try to gain support. The campaign proved to be a success.

THE LIBERAL COALITION

During the trial of the three Food not Bombs activists, people from different political backgrounds formed a short-lived group called "Coalition for Justice and Freedom of Speech." While anarchists were the prime target for repression, we were a minority in the support group.

We soon realized that we were doing all the work and getting no credit for it. After some bad experiences, like people talking for the coalition to the media before it was even formed, and without informing the people in jail, we decided to go it on our own.

ANARCHISTS HERE, ANARCHISTS THERE, ANARCHISTS EVERYWHERE!

The cops were trying to suppress us. They want us to disappear, so we decided to be everywhere, and especially where they didn't want to see us! For example when they tried to rebuild bridges with the youth by organizing a free showing of the movie "Trainspotting," we were there selling our papers and going on television.

Food not Bombs and Démanarchie held a couple of meetings together and agreed to hold some rallies and some public forums at the Place d'Youville, a popular youth hang-out where the riot started in June. This is the place they want to clean up and kick out all the poor and marginalised people; it's the last place they want to see us.

At our first public forum about 100 people showed up. The response was good; people actually agreed with what we had to say, and showed interest in our ideas. And there was no violence, despite police predictions.

MEGA MEDIA ATTENTION

The local dailies gave the rally major coverage. The cops first said that they were not going to let us have another meeting, because it was illegal to meet without a permit; fuck that!



August 3 public meeting / demo sponsored by Food Not Bombs and Démanarchie at Place D'Youville, the site of the summer riots.

At the first rally we announced that we would rally again within a week at the same place. Every day of the week, the media talked about us, asking the police what they were going to do. Finally, after realizing that they were losing public support, the cops said that we could rally if we remained peaceful. The media's attention culminated the day of the second action when one of the two dailies had an in depth interview with Food not Bombs and Démanarchie on the front page, announcing the rally.

COPS AFRAID OF THE BLACK FLAG

The day before the second action, Démanarchie received visits from the police twice. They were scared and wanted to know what we were going to do. They told us that it was going to be big and that there would be some problems. We told them that if there were no cops, there would be no problems.

Just before the action, the cops wanted to meet our security crew. In the end no boys in blue showed their faces there, only a couple of undercover cops we had already identified.

Just before the rally started a cop commented "there's gonna be no black flag, hey?" We told him that we hadn't planned any, but that there would probably be some, since it was an anarchist rally. He

said he didn't want any black flags, because every time black flags fly downtown, cops are attacked by people, and that for him black flags mean big problems. So we learned that cops are scared of black flags. Interesting, isn't it?

TOO MUCH MEDIA ATTENTION?

200 people showed up for the second rally. We were forced to start 20 minutes late, because we were unable to get rid of about 20 journalists. That's when the media started to be a real problem, they were so many that we were having difficulties talking to the people. Anyway, it was great.

We met with elderly anarchists who we didn't even know existed, some 40 year old mothers, and so on. For the first time in our short history, our rally attracted "normal" people rather than the usual mix of anarcho-punks and leftist militants. We even ran out of papers—we sold and gave out more than 200 issues of *Démanarchie* and *Hé...Basta!* (the paper of Food not Bombs). But the best moment was when one of Démanarchie crew's militants got a standing ovation when he finished a speech with the shout of "Down with authority! Long live the social revolution!"

At this rally we realized that there was a real potential for revolutionary anarchism,

if we are only able to reach the people. We were left with a paradox. The people that came to the rally agreed with us, but if it wasn't for media attention, they never would have heard of us. How can we reach these people, and get rid of the mass media at the same time?

AN ANTI-REPRESSION GROUP

The last action of the campaign was a quiet public assembly with no media. We met with people and searched for answers to police brutality and oppression. After some hot debate and discussion, the 50 or so people present decided to form a group. The group, who did their first action on September 27, choose a multi-directional strategy. They choose to fight the police on every front available. They want to start a "copwatch," do a brochure on "your rights," and go on the legal front. The only question is, will the group survive the winter?

BUILDING ON WHAT WE HAVE

At the present time in Québec there is no national revolutionary anarchist organization. The closest thing is Démanarchie and Food not Bombs (both present in three cities). Whether or not such an organization exists, there is potential for us to grow. Will we seize the time? Will we be able to build on the latent potential of the working and popular classes? If we can, how will we? There is much debate to be had in the mouvement anarchiste Québécois, but one thing is sure; we should stay out of the shadows, and build on our new experience.★



Undercover cops stand behind speaker at August 3 rally.

Support the Stoney Point People

By TARIQ HASSAN GORDON

One year ago the Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) opened fire on members of the Stoney Point First Nation during a peaceful occupation of Ipperwash Provincial Park. When the OPP pulled out of the park, many people had been beaten, one person had been shot and wounded and Dudley George was fatally injured by a bullet to the chest. In memory of Dudley George, the Stoney Point First Nation held the first annual Traditional Gathering on September 6. After a 10 month investigation the Special Investigations Unit released its report in August on the shooting death of Dudley George. On the basis of that report, OPP officer Kenneth Dean was charged with criminal negligence causing death. Dean was second-in-command of the Tactics and Rescue Unit operation at Ipperwash Provincial Park. The officer's first court appearance was on August 13th, 1996 at the Sarnia Provincial Court House, the same court room in which 26 Stoney Point people are facing over 30 charges relating to the occupation of the park. During the court appearance the right-wing Ontario Foundation of Individual Rights and Equality [ON-FIRE] held a rally calling for the state to drop the charge against the OPP officer.

THE MACKENZIE INSTITUTE

At the rally, members of ON-FIRE were passing out "The Ipperwash Protests—An Unfinished Drama," a briefing note pro-

duced by the Mackenzie Institute. The Mackenzie Institute for the Study of Terrorism, Revolution and Propaganda is a right wing think tank founded in 1986. The Institute is linked to the Northern Foundation, the Center for Conflict Studies, the North American Region World Anti-Communist League, Citizens for Foreign Aid Reform and many other far-right organizations as well as the (Canadian) Reform Party and the Canadian Armed Forces. John C. Thompson, the author of the briefing note, has also written briefing notes on the Mohawk Warrior Society and the Oka Crisis.

In "the Legacy of Oka," the Mackenzie Institute suggested that the Army's involvement at Oka resulted in a moral victory for the Warrior Society in the eyes of the public. They also recommended that the Canadian state hire, equip and train police forces as a counterinsurgency force to be used for any future confrontations with First Nations. These heavily-armed police forces would be deployed quickly, with no time taken for "prolonged negotiations" (Mackenzie Institute Exposed 1995). The role and actions of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police during the standoff at Gustafsen Lake and the Ontario Provincial Police at Ipperwash Provincial Park last summer suggest that the members of the government have heeded the recommendations of the Mackenzie Institute.

The contact between the current president of ON-FIRE, Rick Shultz (also a member of the West Ipperwash Property

Association) and the Mackenzie Institute clearly illustrates the right-wing agenda of ON-FIRE. Rick Shultz is quoted extensively by John C. Thompson and described as "the self-restrained leader of ON-FIRE, and a leading light of West Ipperwash."

MEMORIAL FUND CLOSED

Unfortunately ON-FIRE is not the only opposition that the people of Stoney Point are currently facing. Recently the Toronto Dominion Bank unilaterally closed the Dudley George Memorial Fund. Harry Verburg, the Bluewater Regional Manager for the Toronto Dominion Bank, stated in a letter of correspondence to Marcia Simon, treasure of the Fund, that the bank did not agree to have the bank serve as "a reference point" for donations. The bank was pressured by members of the Kettle and Stony Point band council to close the account. Kettle and Stony Point is funding a public relations officer to co-opt and counter the public support for the recognition of Stoney Point First Nation, reserve #43. According to Marcia Simon, there are "two First Nation communities with one band council administration." But this situation was externally imposed after the federal government appropriated the unceded territory of Stoney Point in 1942 under the War Measures Act and relocated some of the Stoney Point families to swamp land on the Kettle Point reserve (others became refugees across Ontario).

The federal government only recognizes

the Kettle and Stony Point band council. They refuse to negotiate with the people living on Stoney Point territory. The Federal government is manipulating the division of the two communities and using the Kettle and Stony Point band council to undermine the position of the Stoney Point people and fight a proxy public relations war. The Stoney Point people urgently need support in their struggle for self-determination. The trial date for the 26 Stoney Point members has been set for two weeks beginning October 21, 1996 in Sarnia. They are in critical need of funds for their legal expenses.★

In Canada send donations to:
"Stoney Point Legal Fund" c/o The Canadian Alliance in Solidarity with Native Peoples
39 Spadina Rd.
Toronto, Ontario M5R 2S9
(416) 972-1573 fax (416) 972-6232

In the US: "Stoney Point Legal Fund"
c/o Indian World
17321 Telegraph, S. 207
Detroit, MI 48219-3143
(313) 535-9728 fax (313) 535-7822
(they can issue receipts for tax deduction)

For More Information Contact:
Marcia Simon
RR #2, Forest, Ontario N0N 1J0

Anti-Colonial Action Alliance
Box 25, 197 Hunter St. W.
Peterborough, Ontario K9G 2L1

Anarchy in the Windy City

A Look at the Active Resistance Counter-Convention

BY RACHEL RINALDO

Though the rest of the left barely noticed, the Chicago police were well aware that over 700 anarchists had descended upon the city during the 1996 Democratic National Convention. The Active Resistance gathering was the largest and most ambitious anarchist conference since the San Francisco *Without Borders* conference in 1989, and the police raids at the end confirmed it. [See page 14 for details.] Police harassment aside, as a kind of seven-year milestone, the conference deserves a close look—what does it say about the state of the movement?

Along with everyone I met there, I was impressed by the organization of the gathering, which was a massive undertaking. Having received only the vaguest information about it, I arrived expecting chaos and typical anarchist haphazardness. Instead, the Autonomous Zone had done a terrific job lining up spaces, putting out guides and literature, providing food and security, getting entertainment together, and distributing info about what else was going on in Chicago around the Convention.

CORE CONCERNS

There were many reasons to get excited about the conference. The turnout was amazing, with new, young faces, as well as the familiar comrades, from all over North America. The variety of workshops was overwhelming—it was difficult to choose among them. There were unexpectedly interesting speakers at various events. And unlike some, I think the idea of the core workshops was a good one. Core workshops focused on broad themes, and then split into sub-groups which met on five consecutive days, culminating in a plenary session at which participants related the themes of their discussions and the conclusions, if there were any.

Unsurprisingly, the cores didn't quite work as planned. It was impossible to anticipate the political interests of conference-goers; many sub-group topics ended up being combined and discussions in most groups did not always follow the intended agendas. For a variety of reasons but mainly because so many people came late or left the conference early, the sub-groups didn't have the same people in them every day, making it hard to build on discussions day by day, as the format intended. Nevertheless, the cores succeeded in getting people together on an ongoing basis to talk about some of the key issues facing the anarchist movement—community organizing, building revolutionary movements, and alternative economics—and despite some of the confusion it created, I think that their flexibility on themes and agenda was positive.

But I came away from Active Resistance unsatisfied. It wasn't just that little concrete came out of it—it's much more complicated than that. And in fact, it had almost nothing to do with the conference itself or the way it was organized. In most ways, the Autonomous Zone could not have done a better job. The problems I observed at AR reflect larger problems in the anarchist movement that surface at such large and fairly representative gatherings.

THE COOL CRUSTY THING

The problems basically fall into two categories: the people who attended the conference and the nature of the discussions that took place. There were only two issues for which the organizers bear some responsibility. First, I would like to have seen more plenaries, where the group as a whole came together. Without this, the conference felt somewhat disconnected and discontinuous as it was always being broken up into small groups. The other issue is a bit nitpicky. The contingents to demonstrations during the convention were not well-organized or well-publicized. I think that's fairly minor since the anarchist turnout for those events was fine anyway.

The first aspect of Active Resistance that struck me (and many others, I'm sure) was the sheer number of crusty punks. Maybe I noticed them more because I spent my first two nights at the Spice Factory (one of the two main conference sites), where most of them were crashing too. While many people

who look "punk" or "crusty" participated meaningfully in the conference, and have an unquestioned commitment to the anarchist movement, a lot of crusties there were doing the cool crusty thing, which consists of traveling around all summer from gathering to gathering. That's perfectly fine, except that having too many transients with little to contribute beyond anti-intellectualism really detracts from serious work at a conference, and moreover, ensures that we appear to be a movement rooted in one particular youth culture. I want to stress that I'm not directing this criticism at all of

explains why the discussions in most of the workshops remained frustratingly basic. Several people I talked to commented that they felt like they were reinventing the wheel in their workshops. My own experience in the Building Revolutionary Organizations core sub-group was that although the discussion was more advanced than in most groups, we did not really break any new ground. For example, on one of the days it turned into a heated debate about the utility of local versus national organizations, which unfortunately, was more vague than it should have



the punk or crusty scene, which I think has produced more revolutionary anarchists than any other youth culture in recent memory, but at those individuals who come mainly to get fucked up, show up only for meals, and disparage everyone else. In general, one of the strongest aspects of the conference was that groups on both sides of the "lifestylist" argument, who haven't particularly trusted each other, were able to transcend these divisions and communicate.

It was thrilling to see so many new folks at AR, people who have only recently become active. On the other hand, it's hard

In general, one of the strongest aspects of the conference was that groups on both sides of the "lifestylist" argument, who haven't particularly trusted each other, were able to transcend these divisions and communicate.

to have a workshop, especially a core workshop, that mixes people who are very inexperienced at anarchist activism with those who've been involved for a long time. It's rather like being at a meeting where people keep coming in and bringing up questions that were discussed half an hour ago. Since no one is really at fault here, and it wouldn't be fair to exclude people from workshops, I don't foresee any solutions to this perennial problem except for more homogenous conferences.

This same phenomenon partially

been, with people refraining from naming names. Nevertheless, it was the feistiest debate thus far, so I was getting into it. Yet I had a nagging feeling that I'd been through this before. And indeed I had, for as every Love and Rager certainly knows, this same debate has been going on in the anarchist movement for years (check the letters sections of *Anarchy* and *Fifth Estate*), and has mainly been solved by those who are ideologically opposed to large-scale organizations remaining in smaller, local groups.

I also witnessed all the usual self-flagel-

Resistance and I would be delighted to see it flourish. But even many of the NAC discussions (formal & informal) at this conference felt like another instance of spending a great deal of time rehashing basic stuff on which we already agreed.

TROUBLING TENDENCIES

As I said, the problems at Active Resistance had nothing to do with the organization of the conference. They are problems inside the anarchist movement, and as such, they highlight some of the more troubling tendencies of contemporary North American anarchism. The level of discussion clearly shows how vague and unsophisticated our theory and strategy remain, despite numerous attempts to develop them. Moreover, the transient nature of the people in the movement gets us bogged down in many of the same old debates over and over again. And not least, we spend far too much energy on internal arguments and navel-gazing, and not enough time doing tangible work. Instead we need to start implementing our ideas, and learn as we go about doing that.

The more outwardly active we are, especially if we have some perceived and/or real successes, the more people will be attracted to us. And they will stay in the movement because the movement is accomplishing things, not just holding an endless procession of meetings and tiny demos. This is part of the reason infoshops have become so popular—those involved are accomplishing something tangible.

In addition to doing more external activism, everyone should be boning up on theory and strategy. We can form discussion/study groups on broad or narrow topics, and push groups of which we are members to raise the level of discussion beyond short-term strategy. No matter what kind of group it is, it can benefit from addressing questions about longer-term goals, how revolution happens, how movements form, etc.

READERS GALORE

One way to advance this is to put together readers for new activists which will introduce them to basic texts and familiarize them with ongoing or past debates. It doesn't matter who produces them—the idea would be for a given person to collect several readers on various aspects of anarchism. Love & Rage could reprint the Building Revolutionary Organizations reader that one member put together for Active Resistance; someone could do a Social Ecology and Anarchism reader; ARA could do a Fighting Fascism reader, and so on. The readers should be widely distributed, available from the organizations and individuals that created them, and sold at all the infoshops. Such readers would help foster a sense of ideological continuity for the anarchist movement. In fact, a number of these readers already exist—all we need to do is mass-produce and distribute them (anyone want to take on this project?). The newly formed Institute for Anarchist Studies is also taking a gigantic step in this direction by providing funds for anarchist writers to create the new body of theoretical literature that we are so sorely lacking.

No matter how much fun a gigantic conference like Active Resistance is, structurally and otherwise it's probably not the kind of conference which will produce immediate or earth-shattering results. The AR organizers took on the incredibly difficult task of trying to simultaneously organize an open-ended anarchist gathering that would appeal to the broadest number of anarchists, as well as a focused core component that would appeal to and help the work of anarchist organizers. The "gathering" side of things sometimes overflowed into the organizing part, but the AR organizers succeeded in developing some innovative new forms and new ideas that will be useful in creating conferences.

Despite all the drawbacks and problems with "anarchist gatherings," they are effective (and fun!) every so often and a good way to gauge the general state of the movement. In the meantime, smaller and more focused conferences and activist projects will accomplish more to build the movement concretely on a theoretical and practical level.★

Not on the Guest List or the Newscasts: Resistance at the Republicrats' Conventions

BY SUZY SUBWAYS

When asked by MTV what he thought of the protests outside the Republican National Convention in San Diego, one delegate said, "They're totally irrelevant." This is the same sentiment many television viewers had about the conventions themselves. Each election year, the conventions are less a place for politicians to debate politics and more a place for them to put on a nauseating show of unity.

Both the Democratic and Republican National Committees attempted to marginalize any protest by setting up "free speech zones"—large fenced-off areas away from the entrances to the convention. These cages were large enough to make all the protests look small, and far enough away from the action to allow all of the delegates to forget about the presence of demonstrators and our issues. The most successful and inspiring demonstrations were the ones that refused to go into the cage, challenging the state's regulation of protest.

At the Active Resistance Counter-Convention, in Chicago a week before the DNC, anarchists gathered to build a movement that can confront the state and organize to take its militance beyond mere tactics. Over 700 people went to Active

a constitutional amendment outlawing abortion.

TWO CITIES, WHITE AND BROWN

The city of San Diego is only a few miles from the Mexico border, but if you watched the news there you would think San Diego is a city of white conservatives, and you would see no signs of poverty or exploitation. It's like there are two cities—the one you see if you or your family came from Mexico, and the one you see if you're white and

grew up with the privilege of US citizenship. One of the largest and most militant demonstrations was held by the Raza Rights Coalition, which had an organizing conference the day before the convention. The demo called for an end to anti-immigrant laws like proposition 187 and English-only laws and it advanced more militant demands like "US out of Mexico!"

The La Raza march began in Chicano Park, a green space with murals representing Chicano/a people's history painted on the large columns holding up the highway ramps above. The march was made up of mostly young Chicano/a people. Most visible were the Brown Berets, a socialist group that sees the Southwest and California as Aztlan, a colonized part of Mexico within the US. McChA (a Chicano/a and Mexicano/a student organization) groups from several universities in California and the Southwest were also there.

Chants were spontaneous but familiar to the marchers. "Viva La Raza!" "Viva El Barrio!" "Deport Pete Wilson!" and "We didn't cross the border, the border crossed us!" Raza security was effective in keeping the march of over 1,000 people together. We walked over 20 blocks to the convention site and back, through a Chicano/a neighborhood, refusing to go into the protest cage.

Another march left from Chicano Park later that afternoon to protest the California Civil Rights Initiative, Proposition 209, which would dismantle Affirmative Action in California. This march was organized by some liberal Chicano groups and did end up going into the cage. It was also mainly young Chicano/as, but there were more women in visible organizing positions than at the La Raza march, and several openly gay people spoke.

La Resistencia held a protest at the Mexico border. It was a small, feisty crowd, a mix of white, Chicano/a, and Mexicano/a. Several Mexicans climbed on top of the border wall on the Mexico side, and at the urging of some anarchists, one Mexican guy jumped down into the United States. Unfortunately, neither the march organizers nor the anarchists involved took responsibility for the situation. Finally, two other demonstrators offered to find him a place to stay, scurrying him out of the clutches of

nearby INS agents, until he could reach his family members in the States.

Pro-choice activists knew well in advance that Operation Rescue was planning to block clinics that perform abortions during both conventions. Police told clinic owners in San Diego that they wouldn't protect clinics from OR, and advised clinics to shut their own doors. Only one clinic stayed open. OR never showed up there, and fortunately so because clinic defense there was just organized as escorting, not to keep OR from blocking the clinic.

Being in San Diego during the convention was often a disturbing experience for radical activists. Psycho right-wing Christians were wandering around in T-shirts with homophobic jokes on them. Two "pro-lifer" men wearing bizarre white robes and carrying huge silver staffs walked into the protest pit. Strangers yelled at each other in front of TV cameras.

But we also met a lot of interesting, smart, fun people. At the last demonstration, a march of all the progressive groups at the convention, the connections that activists made with each other paid off in our ability to coordinate spontaneous action.

The march was made up of queer groups (both radical and liberal), NOW, some Asian and Latino students, and some other groups. It kicked off just after sunset with candles and a horribly corny song that we were all supposed to sing. ACT UP! attempted to push things further by confronting the mass of delegates where they were leaving the convention. When the march was led back to the "free speech" zone, some Asian students, radical queer activists, and anarchists started chanting, "Don't go in the cage!" A segment of the march headed back downtown on the sidewalks and sometimes the street, yelling at the Republicans who crowded around the bars, and making a lot of pro-queer, anti-racist, anti-sexist noise.

CHICAGO

In 1968, thousands of radical students came to Chicago to confront the Democratic party for its role in the imperialist war in Vietnam and were beaten by the Chicago police. In a year when radical movements are much weaker, Mayor Daley (son of the

notorious mayor of Chicago in 1968) welcomed Tom Hayden and other former Students for a Democratic Society organizers to a rally called "Return to Chicago '68/'96," complete with a 38-member cast revival of the musical "Hair."

Jesse Jackson, speaking inside the convention, criticized the prison economy, saying that prisons represent the number one growth industry in America, and expressed disappointment in Clinton for signing the welfare bill. But instead of actually doing something to fight for prisoners and poor people—which one would have to leave the Democratic Party to do—Jackson emphasized unity against the Republicans. "The last time we gathered in Chicago high winds ripped apart our big tent...we lost to Nixon by the margins of our despair," said Jackson. Unfortunately, despair is real, and to pin one's hopes on the Democrats is to ignore the reality that their interests are not those of oppressed people.

THE ANARCHIST ALTERNATIVE

The anarchist activists at Active Resistance came together in the tradition of the radicals of '68, hoping to build a movement that can rip apart the big tent in the '90s. The Counter-Convention started one week before the convention, and continued to be an organizing base for anarchist participation during the convention. Over 700 people attended. The group was mostly young people, and it was predominantly white.

Resistance, to share skills, network, and discuss the state of the anarchist movement. The buildings rented for AR served as a base for organizing the anarchist presence at protests targeting the convention.

SAN DIEGO

The Republicans wanted to put out a moderate image of themselves at their convention, to avoid the negative press they got in '92, and to distance themselves from the unpopular Newt Gingrich. They even put women and people of color up on stage. But it was still plain as day that the party is only moving to the right. Speakers spent a good deal of time talking about rape one night, but only to justify policies that appeal to racist crime hysteria, like building more prisons and passing tougher sentencing laws. TV cameras focused on Black people in 1/5 of their shots of audience members, although only 3% of the delegates were Black. Susan Molinari went on at length about her immigrant grandfather finding "the American Dream," all the while exerting a visible effort to hide her New York accent.

The Republicans avoided debate about abortion by hardly mentioning the issue. But Ralph Reed, executive director of the Christian Coalition, told the New York Times he didn't mind: "If they were to give me a choice between a prime-time speech and a third of the delegates being associated with the religious conservative movement, I would take the latter any day of the week." The party platform still calls for



August 11 March in San Diego

The organizers' goals were for activists to network and share skills learned from our often-isolated projects, and to facilitate the effort to build a better-organized anarchist movement.

The Autonomous Zone infoshop in Chicago put a lot of good work and thought into the Counter-Convention. Every day had time for networking meetings, "free skool" workshops on specific issues and skills, and core groups. Three hours each day for five days were set aside for core group meetings, where the same people discussed the same topic each day. There were three main topics—alternative economics, community organizing, and building revolutionary movements—with subgroups within them.

Core groups experienced mixed success. A lot of people jumped from group to group, so a meeting would have different people in it from one day to the next. Many facilitators didn't seem prepared to talk about specific subjects, and many partici-

(Continued to page 14)



Photos of Chicago demonstrations By Peter Ford

Notes on the Love & Rage Really Long Road Trips Are the

By CAROLYN

This past summer Kieran and I went on a Love & Rage-sponsored speaking tour to both build and get a better picture of the revolutionary anarchist movement in the US and Canada. In seven weeks, we met with anti-authoritarian activists in 25 cities. We began in Minneapolis, Minnesota and ended in San Diego, California at the demonstrations against the Republican National Convention. In between we hit Milwaukee, Chicago, Lansing, Detroit, Hamilton, Toronto and Peterborough in Ontario, and Montreal, Quebec, Montpelier, VT, Boston, New York, Baltimore, Washington DC, Chattanooga, Knoxville, Atlanta, New Orleans, Houston, Albuquerque, Fresno, San Francisco, Seattle, Los Angeles and San Diego. In each city we met in bookstores, info-shops, cafes and comrades' homes to have focused political discussions with local groups of anti-authoritarian and anarchist activists.

WHY A SPEAKING TOUR

The goals of the tour were to raise the level of dialogue and debate between revolutionary anarchists, develop a more nuanced understanding of the specific conditions facing revolutionaries in different cities, and get a better grasp on national and continental patterns of social struggles. We tried to foster comradely and principled political discussions. While honestly airing differences, we hoped to build unity with revolutionary anarchist activists around common projects and issues.

WHAT WE FOUND

Explaining what we experienced in 25 different cities is hard. In their communities people are mainly involved in bookstores and infoshops, Food Not Bombs, pirate radio-stations and local media projects, poetry and art groups and a couple of free schools. These projects primarily serve the social and cultural needs of the already existing anarchist scene. There are varying degrees of success in gaining broader community interest, though honestly none of them can be described as incredibly successful.

Many people find it difficult to get beyond the narrow cultural appeal and entrenched middle class values of a lot of anarchists. The racial, class and gender composition of the anarchist scene has remained consistent over the past decade. It is largely made up of 20-something white males, of mixed to thoroughly middle-class backgrounds, whose forms of cultural resistance are limited to reactions to the white middle-class mainstream (with a few exceptions). The anarchist scene as a whole has effectively depoliticized race, class and gender issues; either speaking in hushed tones about issues of comfort and alienation or boldly declaring support for people of colors' rights to self-determination, a claim that often merely justifies inaction and maintains the current scene's composition.

A deeper problem concerns the tension between building a culture of resistance in the absence of social movements versus building social movements that will in turn generate counter-institutions and a radical culture. Obviously there is a dynamic relationship between the two.

Below I outline of some of the tendencies I see in the anarchist movement; break them down based on types of organizing, analyze them and add my own thoughts on strategy and revolutionary possibilities.

ANARCHIST DISORGANIZATION

Activist organizations are undeveloped in our movements as a whole. While many anarchists speak nostalgically of the militias in Spain or even the anti-authoritarian tendencies in the Black liberation and student movements of the 1960s, contempo-

rary anarchism has few concrete examples of functioning revolutionary organizations. This fact combined with the examples of ideological organizations we see—the fossilized Party-sects, remnants of the new left—and the relative low level of social movements in our generation causes a conservatism among many anarchists about building organizations. A genuine disagreement with the way some left sectarian parties organize has grown into outright hostility to organizations that are anything more than cliques of friends hiding behind an official-sounding title of affinity group or collectives. We spoke to many anarchists who are critical of this organizational con-

Contemporary anarchism has few concrete examples of functioning revolutionary organizations.

servatism and are developing solid organizations or are open to new organizational formations. Many have taken steps in this direction by building organizations which have roots in the anarchist scene but aren't locked into one subculture.

Building a mass anti-authoritarian movement will take more than unity within the current anarchist milieu. We need to translate existing anarchist organizational frameworks and ideology into a living body of revolutionary praxis that new social movements can make their own. It is our responsibility to make sure the current anarchist movement is receptive to and a part of the new forms that movements take. How well we are prepared for this task depends on our understanding of the current state of the scene, a thorough analysis of the conditions in the US, and on having a strategy.

ANTI-RACIST ACTION NETWORK

The growth of the Anti-Racist Action (ARA) Network is a good example of this tendency. ARAs have their roots in the anti-racist skinhead and punk rock sub-cultures of the late 1980s and early 1990s. The movement emerged as a youth-based militant response to the rise of right-wing skinheads in the music scenes. Most of the original ARAs died out in the early '90s (with the important exception of Toronto ARA) but in the past couple of years they have reemerged, and their social base and strategy have expanded in critical ways. Toronto ARA's integration of the street militancy of the German anti-fascist groups with a commitment to doing broad-based organizing and excellent art and cultural work has made them a model many for other new chapters.

During the tour we met with ARA members in Minneapolis, Detroit, Lansing, and Baltimore. We also met with other anti-racist activists, such as Michael Novick, editor of *Turning the Tide* and member of People Against Racist Terror (PART); members of Bay Area Coalition Organizing for our Reproductive Rights (BACORR); and Noel Ignatiev, editor of *Race Traitor*. Just about everyone we met with on the tour was involved in some anti-racist activity.

ARA is concentrated in the Midwest, though ARA chapters have been started all over the US and Canada by people from diverse backgrounds. ARA is the

tendency with the most potential to become a mass movement. Many ARAs have developed politically as the groups repeatedly come up against the systemic roots of racism.

FIGHTING RACISM...

ARA has put anti-racism at the center of the struggle for human liberation. It has consistently fought against white supremacy in its many different forms. ARA activists have started to target the role of the police in maintaining white supremacy. And in Detroit, ARA has fought for non-discriminatory hiring practices in the build-

important political development.

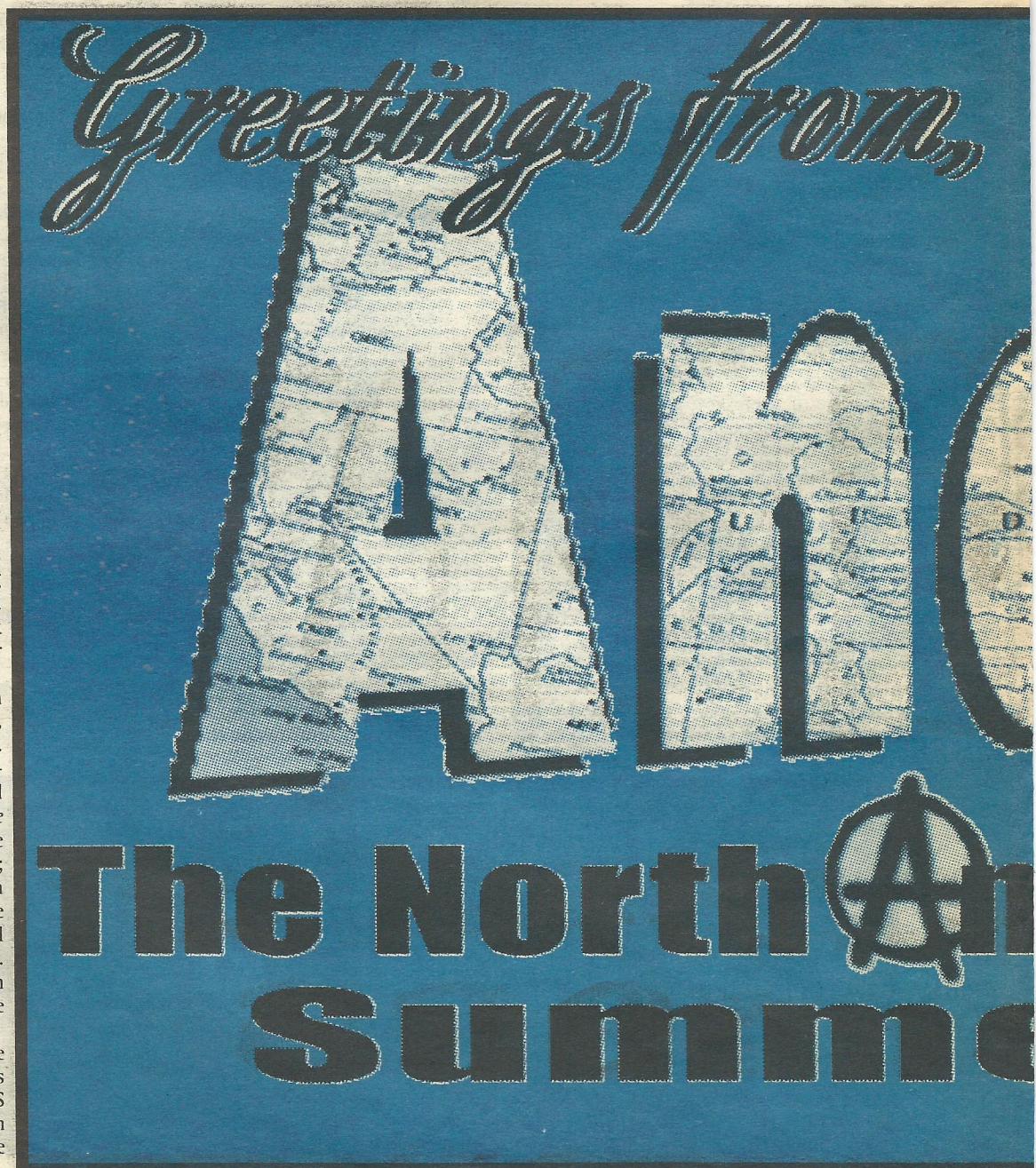
ANTI-AUTHORITARIAN COMMUNITY ORGANIZING

Another growing current in the anarchist movement is community organizing. This trend is not concentrated in specific organizations or localities. It is united in the desire to see anarchism have a greater impact on people's daily lives, empower people, and win actual changes in the relations of power. They want to engage in real projects such as food and clothes distribution, alternative-living models and at the same time attempt to influence the politics of local housing struggles, rape crisis centers or neighborhood anti-police brutality campaigns. In DC, Chicago, the Bay Area, Vermont, Montreal, Quebec, and elsewhere, anarchists are increasingly organizing outside the anarchist scene, usually individually joining already existing community struggles.

Many others in this tendency, in fact probably the majority, seek to redefine community to mean anarchists, squatters or counter-cultural youth. In practice, organizing often takes a back seat to creating a self-enclosed comfort zone for those rather than a basis to further political struggle. While these two segments overlap considerably, this article focuses only on the former, as I believe it is a far more important development.

BUILDING A BASE

The strengths of the community organizing tendency are (1) it recognizes the narrow social base of the anarchist movement, (2) it has a political strategy to try to broaden this base, and (3) it has an orientation toward communities already in struggle. Some good examples of this tendency are taking place in Washington DC, Montreal and California. Anarchists there were



Love and Rage Summer Tour The Key to Smashing the State

involved in, respectively, a community anti-police brutality coalition, welfare rights and student organizing, and a variety of other struggles include fighting for affirmative action for women and people of color and struggles around public housing.

In Montreal we met with Démanarchie (loosely translated as democracy and anarchy), a Francophone anarchist organization with local groups in Quebec City and Montreal. Démanarchie began as a newspaper collective in Montreal in late 1994. They came together out of the anti-Fascist/student politics milieu to put out a newspaper with an anti-authoritarian perspective on the struggles in which they were involved. Démanarchie engages in three overlapping areas of work: welfare reform, housing issues and fighting cuts in public education. They are critical of the counter-cultural tendencies of the anarchist scene, and think anarchists have conceded class struggle to the authoritarian left. They have also individually and as a group been involved in anti-fascist organizing and have a very queer-positive scene.

In DC we met with the L&R local as well as members of Positive Force (a long-time DC political punk collective), student activists and folks from the American Kurdistan Information Network (AKIN), a Kurdish solidarity group. Members of L&R have been involved in a community-based police brutality coalition, People Against Police Brutality (PAPB) in Alexandria, VA, which was started by family members of victims of police murder and brutality. They have also helped to initiate a city-wide anti-police brutality network, Peoples Defense Network (PDN), which tries to foster new groups based in particular neighborhoods. Similar coalitions are forming in many other cities, led by families of victims of the various wars on the poor (police brutality, welfare cuts, attacks on immigrants, etc.). In these community-based struggles, anarchism becomes something you can win

people to during an ongoing struggle.

In the Bay Area we met with anarchists and anti-authoritarians working on a variety of issues. The IWW has a significant role in the anarchist movement there, and they operate out of the Long Haul infoshop. Politically, the IWW consistently upholds anarchism from a working class perspective, and is growing through concrete activist projects. We also met and talked to anarchists active in the student movements in California around affirmative action and the fight against Proposition 187. They have seen the movement ebb over the past year, but seem to be building a solid multi-racial student movement with anti-authoritarian tendencies. Much of this work has

structural divisions along class, race, gender, sexuality are personal or localized issues—the result of lack of communication. This is just a shallow understanding of “the personal is political.” While there are interpersonal dynamics to all forms of oppression, they are not the roots. The fact that most anarchists doing community organizing are not part of a revolutionary anarchist organization makes it more likely that they will submerge their politics to make it easier to organize the community. We need to develop an anarchist framework that combines insights gained in the day-to-day struggles of oppressed people with a theoretical understanding of revolutionary anarchism.

We need to develop an anarchist framework that combines insights gained in the day-to-day struggles of oppressed people with a theoretical understanding of revolutionary anarchism.

been done by a few anarchists operating in the larger student movement milieu. Their anti-authoritarian politics have had some impact, though the larger anarchist scene has only participated sporadically, mostly in street demonstrations. The anarchists I spoke to talked about the vibrancy of the student movement, not only because of its politics but because of the potential of reaching out and into new communities.

Currently most anarchists who are moving toward community organizing are doing so individually, not within movements or organizations. A large problem is the system's ability to cope with the gains made in one community struggle by targeting other communities to recuperate its losses.

The community organizing approach tends to reinforce the world-view that

ANTI-IMPERIALISM & SOLIDARITY

A third major tendency in the anarchist movement is the anti-imperialist and solidarity tendency. This tendency is mostly involved in two major activities—(1) propagandizing and providing material support to armed revolutionary movements and (2) supporting political prisoners and fighting against the brutality in prisons.

This tendency has grown since the early '90s when it was mostly represented by the Canadian anti-authoritarian newspapers *Arm the Spirit* (ATS) and *Prison News Service* (PNS). Since then a number of Anarchist Black Cross (ABC) groups have formed. In the past year and a half many of these new ABC groups formed the ABC Federation in order to coordinate their activities and build political unity. These groups then split into two separate organizations. One ABC Federation (centered in NJ and Jacksonville ABC) specifically and only supports political prisoners. The other (centered in Baltimore, DC, and NY ABC) addresses prison issues more broadly and more explicitly promotes anarchist politics. ABC groups now publish many newsletters and papers, like *Claustrophobia* from DC, *Resistance* from NY, the *ABC Federation Bulletin* from NJ, and the *ABC Discussion Bulletin* from Baltimore.

The anti-imperialist and solidarity tendency is probably the most ideologically-oriented tendency in the anarchist movement. Anti-imperialists argue that the struggle of oppressed nationalities for self-determination is the primary struggle against the global capitalist system. A more sophisticated strain argues that anti-authoritarians need to support self-determination while recognizing that the national liberation struggles of the 20th century have been authoritarian and capitalist.

Over the past two or three years, most anti-imperialist and solidarity activists have been engaged in Zapatista support work and have been involved in the struggle to free Mumia Abu-Jamal. The movements around these two issues have declined since last year. Many people attributed the decline in Mumia support work to Mumia's defense campaign's shift toward the legal front, while others spoke of the

failure to broaden the movement beyond leftist circles.

There has also been a decline in Zapatista support work by anarchists. The reasons for this include the undemocratic structure of the National Commission for Democracy in Mexico (the US Zapatista solidarity organization), the information blackout in the major US media sources, vague criticisms of the negotiation process, and anarchist disorganization. A few revolutionary anti-authoritarians have kept at it through non-NCDM projects such as Acción Zapatista in Austin, Texas, and actions by New York ABC and anarchists in Montreal.

The anti-imperialist and solidarity tendency represents some of the most militant and politically sophisticated anarchists in the movement. At the same time, this tendency has had limited success in building broad-based campaigns. While the nature of the work entails particular difficulties, more outreach and clearer goals are in order. Entire communities suffer from both the brutal policies of US imperialism and the ongoing effects of the criminalization of young people of color. Anti-authoritarians need to be building in the communities most sharply affected if our politics are going to have the potential to grow into a mass movement.

TAKING IT TO HIGHER GROUND

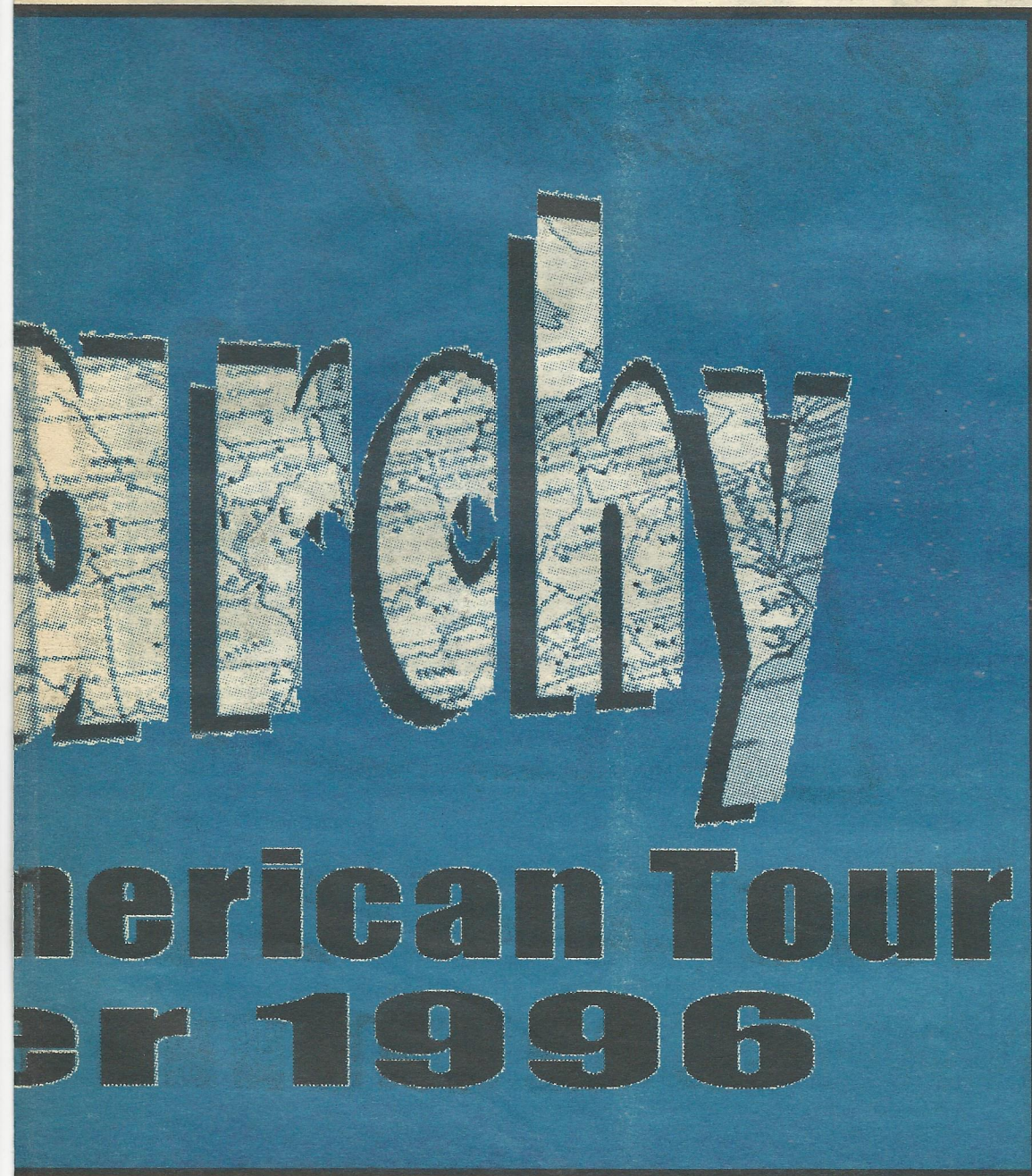
The US and Canada are experiencing massive economic and social dislocation on a scale not witnessed since the turn of the century. The restructuring of the international economic order creates new obstacles for revolutionary change, but it also creates new opportunities, as more and more people become disillusioned and willing to the fight against the system.

What role will revolutionary anarchists play in this fight? Many anarchists seem to have a higher level of seriousness than in the past decade. Anarchists have created a structure of institutions: food co-ops, squats, info-shops, alternative media, etc. But the anarchist movement is largely isolated from the poor and from marginalized working class people: welfare recipients, the homeless, temp workers, and minimum wage workers. The anarchist movement has failed to grow beyond its narrow subculture. The persistence of anti-organizational politics keeps us marginal and unable to consolidate gains that our good work could bring.

Our tour sought to develop closer ties and to raise the level of political discussion among revolutionaries, analyzing the different struggles that are happening and figuring out how we can build a more cohesive movement. We did this by explaining where Love and Rage sees the potential for expanding resistance in the US: the growth of the ARA Network; the massive protests against Proposition 187 and for Affirmative Action on the West Coast; the many high school and college walkouts; militant demonstrations fighting against the budget cuts on the East Coast; and the possibilities the Zapatistas offer revolutionaries in the Americas. We talked about revolutionary pluralism, building mass democratic movements, and our commitment to militant street tactics. Having a common political language and understanding of what's happening with as many people as possible is essential to building broad democratic social movements and taking it to higher ground.

This is an incomplete article in many ways. If you would like to offer your comments on the tour and this article please do.★

[Author's note: There were lotsa great photos taken on the trip: of new comrades, demonstrations, partying and some revolutionary cats and dogs. Unfortunately the film was damaged on the road. Thanks for all the burritos and beers. See ya next year! Love, Carolyn]



Conventions...

(Continued from page 11)

pants had never talked about the issues before. The groups in the building revolutionary movements core were combined and reorganized until only one or two out of the original twelve remained.

But several groups got a lot out of their meetings, and are continuing to work on projects together. The community-oriented group in the alternative economics core is putting together a resource guide for the anarchist community on socialization within our community and our relationships to other communities. One idea they discussed was that the anarchist "ghetto" is one of people who marginalize themselves voluntarily, and that people of color, women, and queers are marginalized against their will within it. A strategy needs to be developed for people to break out of these alienating situations and work together for change in society.

The community organizing core was productive and exciting. It was very structured, with a focus on training organizers. The group discussing building revolutionary organizations, in the building revolutionary movements core, talked about the need for a higher level of organization in the anarchist movement. We also discussed strategy for building a working-class anarchist movement.

Most meetings and discussions at Active Resistance were very male-dominated. Also, there were no specifically feminist workshops, except for a few in the free skool, and the women's caucus. The few times women got together, it was more often a social gathering or planning for the Sister Subverter gathering in Wisconsin, than to talk about fighting for women's liberation. A small group got together to discuss the exclusion of transgendered women and boys at women's festivals like Sister Subverter, and how we can end this exclusion. But since five out of ten people at the meeting were men, some of whom didn't share the same basic understandings of the world as the women in the room, the group ironically ended up having to spend most of

its time discussing the need for all-women's space at such festivals in the first place.

Many people at Active Resistance talked about being frustrated by the number of crusty punks who didn't seem to be going to many of the workshops, but still somehow define our movement to outsiders. The best thing about the Counter-Convention was how often people talked about wanting more organization in the anarchist movement, so that we can reach beyond punk culture and work more effectively with other movements for human liberation, especially movements of people of color.

IN THE STREETS

Affinity groups from Active Resistance played an important role in many protests at the Democratic convention. At a march against anti-immigration laws, anarchists made up about half the protest, along with Pueblo Sin Fronteras, a Chicano/a group, and smaller groups from the Puerto Rican

San Diego.... It's like there are two cities—the one you see if you or your family came from Mexico, and the one you see if you're white and grew up with the privilege of US citizenship.

Cultural Center and some white leftist organizations. Largely because anarchists took the initiative, the march took over the street and kept it. But when the Chicano/a organizers objected to the mostly white anarchists taking the lead and at the same time pushing the cops' limits by taking the opposite traffic lane, the anarchists pulled back out of respect for the self-determination of

the organizers and the safety of the many children present. The march finally split again at the end, when the anarchists refused to go into the cage.

Not On the Guest List, a coalition of groups including the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, the Autonomous Zone, the Puerto Rican Cultural Center, Women's Action Coalition, and the National Lawyers

Guild held a march of over 1,000 people demanding freedom for political prisoners and an end to police brutality, and to expose and oppose the racism of the criminal justice system. One of the goals of the march was to block buses of delegates on their way to the convention, and to get arrested doing it. About 30 anarchists in affinity groups were willing to take more risks while attempting to avoid arrest.

The march was spirited, and included an elaborate puppet contingent made during Active Resistance that included a headless,

said things like, "I really just want to save the world for white men" above the heads of antis. One man was wearing a T-shirt that said it all: "4,000 Kodak customers lost to abortions each year." The pro-choicers—mostly young people including groups from Refuse and Resist! and Anti-Racist Action—ended up venting their anger by chasing antis around the museum.

Clinic defense in Chicago was better organized than in San Diego. With good surveillance information, ten to fifteen activists were able to reach the clinic that the antis had chosen to attack before the antis got there. When the antis got there, they ran across the parking lot, but pro-choice activists were able to keep the clinic open. Then the cops showed up, removed the clinic defenders, and allowed the antis to move in and block the clinic for hours. The police lied and said that the clinic owner hadn't asked them to remove the antis.

The owner then made a statement that there would be no abortions performed that day. The antis declared victory and left. The experience was discouraging for reproductive freedom activists. Several women showed up for appointments while the clinic was blocked. One was so frustrated that she cried and then left. Another stayed and was continually taunted by antis.

Despite newspaper reports that the



Anarchists crash the Democrats' party at the Not On The Guest List demonstration

Photo By John Penley

Chicago Cops Freak as Clinton Speaks—Raids and Felonies

ACTIVE RESISTANCE

On August 29 at 8 p.m., as Clinton was speaking before the Democrats (and the world), one of the buildings used by Active Resistance was raided by police. Five to eight uniformed officers—who weren't wearing badges—forced their way in through the back door, searched through people's personal belongings, and confiscated radio equipment and papers. When they came in, the cops ordered everyone to sit down. They pushed down anyone who didn't sit. They kicked one woman and pepper-sprayed several people, two of whom had to be hospitalized.

Conference participants report that when they asked to see a search warrant, officers told them a search warrant wasn't necessary. No arrests have been reported.

Police vans then proceeded to another Active Resistance meeting site. By the time officers arrived at the second site, counter-convention participants had already removed their belongings and evacuated the building.

The police raids came at the end of a day of 14 arrests of activists and independent media makers. Eight conference participants were arrested at the Festival of the Oppressed procession, including the parade's traffic safety coordinator. Six videographers working with Counter-Media, a coalition of alternative media makers, were arrested while covering the procession. Their cameras were confiscated and some of their film was destroyed by arresting officers.

THE FESTIVAL OF LIFE

Five organizers of the Festival of Life, a series of events scheduled at Grant Park during the Democratic National Convention (DNC), are currently facing multiple felony charges after their arrest by Chicago police late in that week of protests. The organizers, mostly Yippies

and other radicals revisiting the scene of the protests at the 1968 convention, were harassed by the Chicago police throughout the week of activities. Working through the courts to establish their right to assemble in the park and oppose the drug war, demand freedom for political prisoners and sovereignty for Native Americans, and agitate around other issues, Festival of Life organizers deprived the city of Chicago of lots of potential cash from renting the park out during the convention. Needless to say this earned them the wrath of local authorities.

At around the same time Chicago police raided the Active Resistance conference spaces, they rounded up five Festival of Life organizers and pinned the blame on them for alleged incidents at the Not on the Guest List demonstration a couple of days before. Chicago cops accused the Festival of Life folks of inciting the anarchist "mob" to violence against the police and of causing the cops bodily harm with the help of a beer bottle and a fist. Rob MacDonald, Bonnie Tocwish, Ben Masel, Rev. Ron Schopp and Mike Durschmid are currently facing three felony charges each: one of mob action and two counts of aggravated battery.

The Festival of Life Five were arraigned on October 1. Their next court date is on October 25. Radical Chicago lawyer Jeff Haas of the Peoples' Law Office is representing them. In doing so Haas will revisit an earlier celebrated case when he successfully sued the Chicago police for \$1.4 over the murder of Fred Hampton on behalf of his family members.

The Festival of Life Legal Defense Fund needs contributions. Checks should be made out to The Eighth Day Center for Justice/FOL.

Please send your tax deductible donation to:
The Eighth Day Center for Justice

Attn: Dorothy Pagosa
205 W. Monroe
Chicago, IL 60606



More anarchists at the Not On The Guest List demonstration

thirty-foot "tower of corporate greed" pulling the strings of puppets Clinton and Dole. As the marchers passed a cluster of housing projects, people from the projects enthusiastically joined, identifying with the group's issues. When the march got close to the convention center, it was blocked from going further by police. People stayed in the street and ended up delaying delegate buses for an hour with no arrests. Native American musicians played and anarchists lit a bonfire, and people enjoyed the festival atmosphere.

Ralph Reed of the Christian Coalition rented the Field Museum to court anti-choice Democrats. About 50 reproductive freedom activists came to give the antis a hard time, carrying thought bubbles that

Chicago police were on their best behavior towards demonstrators, cops were unable to put their violent past behind them at this convention. The police raid of Active Resistance (see sidebar this page) is an ominous example of the repression that is increasing these days, with the Anti-Terrorist Act and the erosion of due process for people accused of breaking the law. When anarchists organize ourselves effectively, we are a threat to the government and will be treated as such. It is hard to be prepared for this kind of attack, even with good security like at Active Resistance. In repressive times like these, we need to keep working hard to build a strong movement that can withstand attacks and effectively go on the offensive.★

NYC's Contract for Slave Labor

(Continued from page 1)

the program for two years. I had a spark of hope when [Mayor] Giuliani said he was going to hire 100 WEP workers into the jobs they were doing. But that wasn't me."

The fact that Stewart wasn't offered one of those jobs is not surprising. A hundred jobs doesn't come close to meeting the needs of the 34,000 WEP workers already working for the City. Giuliani is taking advantage of an abundant, cheap labor supply—why create real jobs when you can get the work done almost for free? In the past two years, while WEP has exploded, the City has cut over 20,000 unionized city jobs through attrition and severance buyout packages. There is more to come; over 100,000 WEP workers are expected by next year with no new jobs in sight.

Ironically, WEP is considered a national model, especially since the passage of welfare reform this summer. The new federal law, formally known as the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act (PRA), ends the guaranteed Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and limits funds by creating block grants to states. PRA imposes strict work requirements: to receive a cash grant, recipients must participate in community service within two months and work within two years. Soon these requirements will mount to 30 hours of work per week, affecting millions nationwide.

These changes have not been taking place in a vacuum. In fighting welfare reform, groups across the country desperately organized to challenge the conventional wisdom about welfare: women on welfare do work, they don't have kids for the extra \$30 a month, and the way to improve welfare is not to destroy it. Groups of welfare warriors (women activists on welfare) around the US began to capture some of the spotlight. They held demonstrations, published newsletters, conducted letter-writing campaigns, media campaigns and engaged in civil disobedience.

WORKERS FIGHT BACK

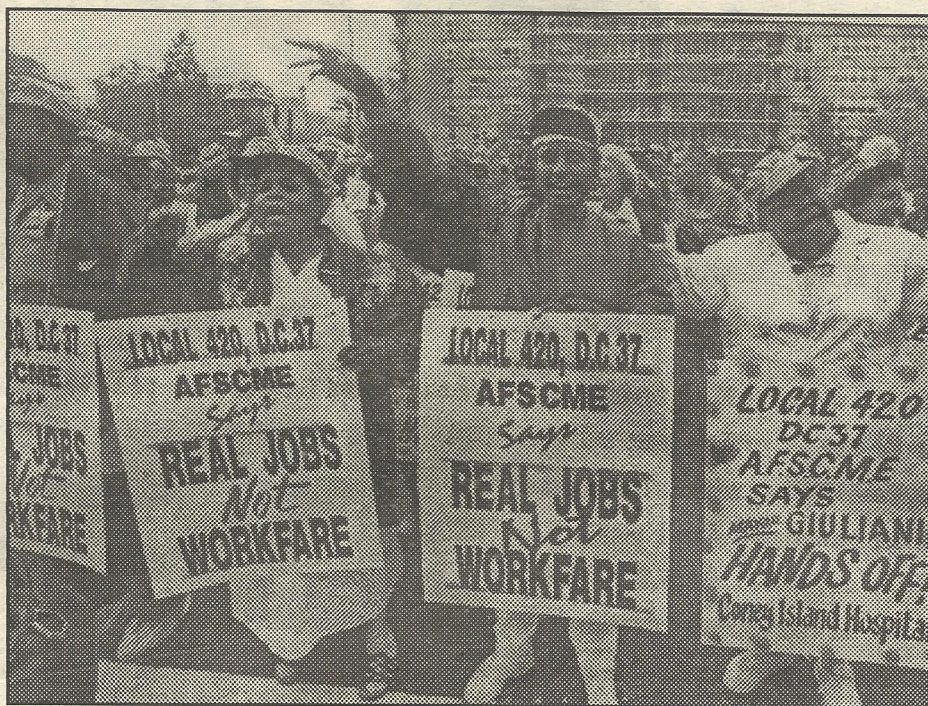
While all this was not enough to prevent passage of the law, the fight continues. A striking example is the effort organized in response to New York City's workfare program. Organizers and WEP workers have come together to form WEP Workers Together! (WWT!) a quasi-union of people on welfare. WWT! is using a model of organizing which attacks WEP through its grassroots: the WEP workers themselves.

WEP Workers Together!, which mobilized the Labor Day Parade contingent, was initiated by the Community Action Project (CAP) of the Urban Justice Center, Community Voices Heard (CVH), and the Fifth Avenue Committee (FAC). Each has its own history and perspective.

CAP began as a leadership development institute of homeless and formerly homeless people on welfare. The group knew that people needed real jobs, that workfare needed to be abolished, and that they should organize among WEP workers to accomplish their goals.

CVH, a group of activist women on welfare in New York City, realized that coming WEP requirements for AFDC recipients are a threat to their families and to their futures.

The Fifth Avenue Committee, with a long history of tenant organizing, wanted to



address tenants' concerns beyond housing. "WEP was a crisis for people," according to Benjamin Dulchin, Director of Community Organizing at FAC. "We started meeting with WEP workers on their lunch hours and had a huge response. People became animated and anxious to do something." Brenda Stewart, a vocal member of WWT!, had already been talking union among her coworkers. "There was nobody to speak up for us. Then WWT! came along." Suddenly there was a place to join forces with others.

The goal of WWT!'s organizing is therefore very simple: more jobs. More specifically, the goal is to create permanent jobs directed at chronically unemployed people, as Lisa Dagaard, Director of the Community Organizing Project at UJC explains. WWT!'s strategy is still in development, but seems to be evolving into a process of outreach, education, mobilization, and action—in other words, building a movement. The potential is huge; by the time 100,000 WEP workers are pushed into the system, they will comprise half the labor force employed by the City. In creating a presence and, as Dagaard suggests, "by becoming an implicit threat," a movement of WEP workers aims to become a force in the creation of public policy. While the ultimate goal is to create jobs and eliminate WEP, interim demands to increase WEP workers' status as workers might include: job creation and retention policies, safety and health training and protections, real job training and placement, and exemptions from WEP for education.

The three support organizations have agreed that people receiving public assistance are to be the members and leaders of WWT! Leaders are in the making: members make presentations, engage in outreach, consult on strategy, and are encouraged to take on responsibilities such as talking to the press and managing public actions. A joint committee of paid organizers and people on public assistance creates proposals, but final decisions are made by WWT! as a whole and only people on welfare can vote. "The organizations that started this are really just there for support. They are putting the decisions in WEP workers' court," Brenda Stewart explains.

A theme echoed by all WWT! members interviewed was the importance of letting people on welfare know they have a voice. "No matter what section of life they are in,

they count," says Wendell Ortiz, a member of CAP and WWT! "WEP workers are stigmatized," Stewart adds. "They are disrespected on the job. Their spirit and their motivation is crushed." Her message to other WEP workers is conveyed by her example and her encouragement, "WEP workers should be treated with respect and recognized for their work."

SPREADING THE NEWS

LaDon James points to the lack of information among WEP workers. "People don't understand the issues. They don't know their rights; they don't know the impact of the welfare reform bill." James conducts community forums, teach-ins, and helps create fact sheets through CVH. She also organizes on CUNY campuses among low-income students fighting for their right to education. For example, WEP hours severely conflict with class schedules. "The argument isn't that people shouldn't work, most students work. The issue is that they need access to education. If I don't have an education, where am I going to be? How can I teach my children?"

A second theme was the desire for real work. Wendell Ortiz had his eye on a job training program that would result in a job paying \$15 to \$20 per hour. There was no exemption from WEP, however. Stewart's goal is equally simple—"to have a job to care for myself and my family with a pension for some security later on." She has been putting out resumes but "no one's hiring."

With over 100 members and growing, outreach is a major focus. WWT! is modeling itself on a union, with WEP workers who identify themselves as shop stewards at their job sites. Members are reaching out to other WEP workers by handing out pamphlets, buttons, and meeting notices at their WEP placements and at welfare offices. WWT! members talk to people constantly, asking about their concerns, educating them about their rights, and inviting them to participate in the union. The Parks and Recreation Department has over 6,000 WEP workers already and has become the only placement for new WEP workers. WWT! may soon focus its outreach there.

Stewart's effort has been paying off; WEP workers at her site wear the buttons and a few have come to WWT! meetings.

The City, however, has begun cracking down on this activity. Some WEP workers have been told that they are not allowed to wear the buttons (which say "JOBS, not WEP") at their placements. In fact, Stewart was mysteriously dropped from the WEP program. Although she says she cannot speculate on whether her organizing activity caused her to be singled out, she said that she has worn her button and has not kept her activities a secret.

To develop its presence, WWT! is taking action. First, WWT! has already engaged in its first public action by marching with Communication Workers of America Local 1180 in the Labor Day Parade. Second, WWT! is in the process of planning a work slowdown.

WEP SANCTIONS A THREAT

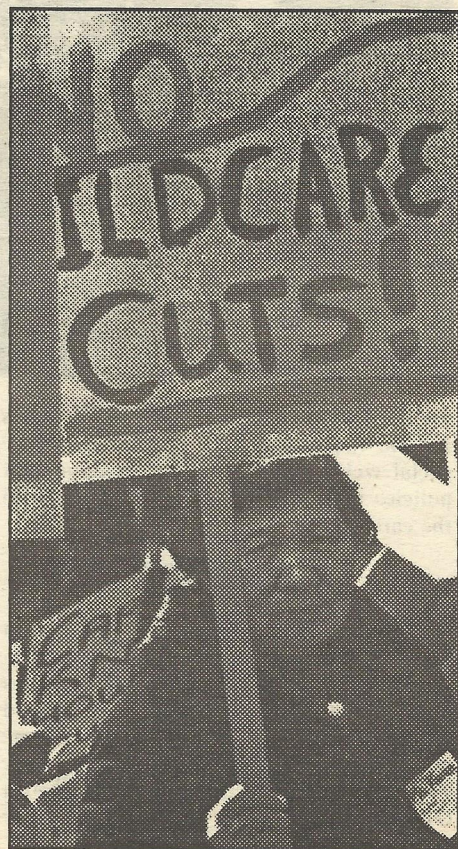
Stewart's major concern is getting enough people to participate. "A lot of them are fearful of losing their benefits, especially because the news media is involved," she said. Diane Reese, a member of CVH and mother of three, was disappointed by the small turnout at the parade, since 75 people attended the last WWT! meeting. She cited people's fear of being sanctioned as keeping them from coming out in public. Sanctions are the administrative method of cutting people off welfare for infringements of inflexible WEP regulations. She said lawyers had assured the group that organizing activities could not be used against them as long as they were not on WEP time. This reassured Reese but there is a chance that some the newer participants will be scared into silence.

Reese is insistent in her effort to get people to unite their voices against WEP. Most people she knows in WEP are cleaning offices—their bathrooms to be more exact. "The [cleaning] solutions are so concentrated they are getting sick," she said. "But they can't find work so they are making the best of it."

Dismantling workfare and fighting for real jobs will be a tough battle that could take many years. It will also take a nationwide movement. Some seeds have already been planted; in the process of organizing against welfare reform, welfare rights groups across the country have established communication and action links between them. The movement could also expand by building bridges with unions, workers' rights groups, living wage campaigns, and others. For all of these, WWT! serves as an important organizing model. Workfare workers are due real wages, benefits and protections for their labor. The courageous efforts of WWT! make it possible that workfare workers will ultimately prevail.★

In New York City: If you are on welfare or in WEP and would like to get involved in WWT!, or if you know people on welfare or in WEP and would like to help them get involved, please call the Urban Justice Center, 212-229-2080 x315 or the Fifth Avenue Committee, 718-857-2990.

Thanks to all the members of WWT! who generously contributed to this article!



Ontario Sneaking in Workfare

By A LOVE AND RAGE MEMBER, HAMILTON, ONT.

With the expected Ontario Cabinet shuffle now over, and as the Social Services Portfolio passes over from the often bumbling Minister, David Tsubouchi, to his Parliamentary Assistant, Janet Eckner (who is widely held to have been the real initiator of much of the drastic changes on Welfare) one thing is hotly expected. "Workfare" will officially be "phased in" as of September 1. Officially but not really. The Conservative government's "Workfare" plan, awarded to 15 initial "first sites," of which Hamilton is one, lacks any clear plan for implementation. Though the government is carefully admitting to nothing, they would like to see

workfare implemented in areas such as land upkeep, day-care and health care supporting roles; all areas with unionized work forces. It is also anticipated that agencies such as the United Way, the umbrella for hundreds of charities, will manage the "Workfare" program. But seemingly no one is poised to administer the program.

Should this, then, be seen as a reprieve? Not if the Ontario Government can help it. With no firm "workfare" structure to put in place at its deadline, the Tory government has firm plans on one thing, its punishment for not participating.

The penalty for welfare recipients' first refusal is no benefits for three months; after that the sentence is six months without any

money on which to live. This, quite simply, is an impossible situation. It will be impossible to live that long without meeting the needs of food, shelter and clothing. Therefore people will be left to meet these needs one way or another. With the dismissive attitudes of the ruling Tory government toward the truths behind unemployment and crime, they sit (and all of us with them) on the brink of the two colliding in an explosive fashion. While the present program looks unmanaged, the future, for them, is looking increasingly unmanageable.

All of this we expect. A ready-made punishment for a program that doesn't exist shows us once more the government's intentions for its poorest citizens.★

Encuentro

(Continued from page 1)

WHO WAS THERE

And the people came. The largest contingents (up to 400 people each) were from Mexico, Spain, Italy and France. The United States and Germany each had about 200 people. Sizable contingents came from many Latin American countries. Smaller contingents came from the rest of Europe and countries in Africa and Asia. The under-representation of Africa and Asia was the most glaring weakness of the Encuentro. Mauritania, Senegal, Zaire, the Canary Islands, and South Africa were the only African countries represented. Turkey, Kurdistan, Iran, the Philippines, and Japan were the only Asian countries represented.

The participants in the Encuentro could be divided into three general categories of roughly equal size. The first group consisted of traditional solidarity activists, people who had (or would have if they had been old enough) participated in the Central America, South Africa or other solidarity movements in the 1980s. The second group consisted of members of independent organizations of students, workers, peasants, women or indigenous people. The third group was the anti-authoritarians: anarchists, syndicalists, autonomist marxists, and others.

While at least a couple of the European Communist Parties were represented, the Encuentro as a whole was remarkably free of the various parties of the left. Any representatives of Trotskyist or Maoist groups present kept their heads low. Additionally there was a bus full of Rainbow Gathering people from Mexico and the US, a handful of celebrities, some international media, and some folks who just got swept into the whole thing accidentally. While all ages were represented, most participants were in their 20s or early 30s.

AGAINST NEOLIBERALISM

The Zapatistas have articulated a critique of what they call "neo-liberalism" and the Encuentro was organized on the basis of that critique. Neo-liberalism is not a term widely used in the United States and consequently it is frequently misunderstood. Neo-liberalism refers to the policies of austerity (budget cuts, lower wages, etc.) and of international free trade (NAFTA and similar treaties) that have been pursued with increasing intensity since the early 1970s. Neo-liberalism takes its name from the economic policies of England in the 19th century that are known as "classical liberalism." Neo-liberalism doesn't have much to do with what is known as "liberalism" in the United States except that many liberals have shown their true stripes by supporting what are basically right-wing policies. Neo-liberalism is basically the latest stage in the development of international capitalism. It represents a renewed assault on the gains of

four host villages. Each village was the site of one of the five mesas (tables) dedicated to discussing political, economic, social, cultural, and indigenous issues respectively. I participated in the smallest of the mesas, the one devoted to the struggles of indigenous peoples. Each mesa was further divided into four sub-mesas, and it was in the sub-mesas that we had three solid days of political discussions. These discussions were organized to produce a collective document which, gathered together with the documents of the other sub-mesas and mesas, would constitute a sort of political declaration of the Encuentro.

The process of developing the document was imperfectly democratic. A draft document was presented on the first day of the sub-mesa meetings. This was followed by a series of presentations by anybody who wanted to speak on the theme of the sub-mesa, which were in turn followed by a general discussion of the draft document and the presentations. A committee made up more or less of one member of each national delegation present was then responsible for synthesizing the discussion and rewriting the draft in time for the next day's meeting.

Each sub-mesa had a different degree of democracy and respect for the contributions of everyone present. There were a few rebellions against heavy-handed committee members and at least one sub-mesa split into two, but given the circumstances

The most effective way to act in solidarity with the Zapatista revolution is to make revolution around the world.

the process was remarkably participatory. Each day's discussion began with the seating of the members of the Zapatista comandancia who, aside from brief opening and closing remarks, generally observed the proceedings in silence. A considerable amount of leadership came from members of the newly-formed FZLN (Zapatista National Liberation Front), a broad, newly-formed organization united around the political demands of the EZLN, which also took responsibility for much of the logistical work of moving 4,000 people into and out of Zapatista territory and from village to village.



poor, working class, and oppressed peoples around the world. It is a rejection of the social welfare and economic development policies pursued from the end of WWII to the early-1970s.

THE SET UP

Participants in the Encuentro gathered in San Cristobal de las Casas, the colonial capital of Chiapas, where we boarded buses bound for Oventic, a Zapatista-controlled village. Oventic was the site of the welcoming ceremony and dancing into the night. The next morning those not staying in Oventic boarded buses for one of the other

After three days of mesa meetings we all reconvened in the village of La Realidad where, after some inspirational speeches by some of the Zapatista leadership, the final document was presented to the assembled crowd. As at most conferences, much of the really important work took place outside of the official proceedings. International friendships were formed; ad hoc meetings of every sort were called; contact lists were gathered; books, videos, and periodicals were exchanged; we ate and danced and sang together and in a hundred ways people developed the face to face relations that must be the foundation of any serious international revolutionary undertaking.



THE SITUATION IN MEXICO

The Encuentro took place in the context of a deepening political crisis in Mexico. After several false starts it appears that the Zapatistas have jump-started a broad-based organization in Mexican civil society in the form of the FZLN. Significant elements of the Mexican left have joined the FZLN and seem to have sincerely embraced important elements of the EZLN's implicit and explicit critiques of the authoritarianism of the left. The FZLN explicitly eschews participation in electoral politics and excludes elected officials from membership. The FZLN only offers an organizational framework for the spreading social struggles of workers, peasants, students, and indigenous communities across Mexico. Representatives from many of those struggles were present at the Encuentro and their stories conveyed the

tions suggests that such a seizure of power would short-circuit rather than accelerate the broad development of the democratic self-organization of the oppressed and exploited of Mexican society. This renunciation of the seizure of state power implies a prolonged period of dual power in which zones of rebellion co-exist with the Mexican state. It is unclear as to whether such a situation can be maintained for as long as it will take to implement the Zapatistas' strategy, but for anti-authoritarians it is one of the most exciting things about the Zapatistas' approach.

The second new aspect of the Zapatistas' strategy is the form of international solidarity that they are demanding. Traditionally, movements in solidarity with various national liberation struggles have taken all of their cues from those struggles. In contrast to this the Zapatistas seem to be deliberately encouraging a high level of autonomy on the part of groups acting in solidarity with them.

More importantly, they are encouraging solidarity activists to develop methods of struggling directly against the neo-liberal economic regime that the Zapatistas have identified as their main enemy. The most effective way to act in solidarity with the Zapatista revolution is to make revolution around the world. Concretely this was expressed in the Zapatistas' proposal to the Encuentro that the various Zapatista Solidarity Committees around the world be transformed into Committees Against Neo-Liberalism and for Humanity.

REVOLUTIONARY ACCOMPLISHMENT

The Lacandona jungle is one of the most desperately poor regions in the Americas. Most of the current residents of the Lacandona have moved there in the past thirty years after being forced off their ancestral lands in other parts of Chiapas. They have cleared mountainsides in order to grow small fields of corn. Most of the jungle is accessible only by treacherous dirt roads. Access to medical care, education, clean water or electricity is practically non-existent.

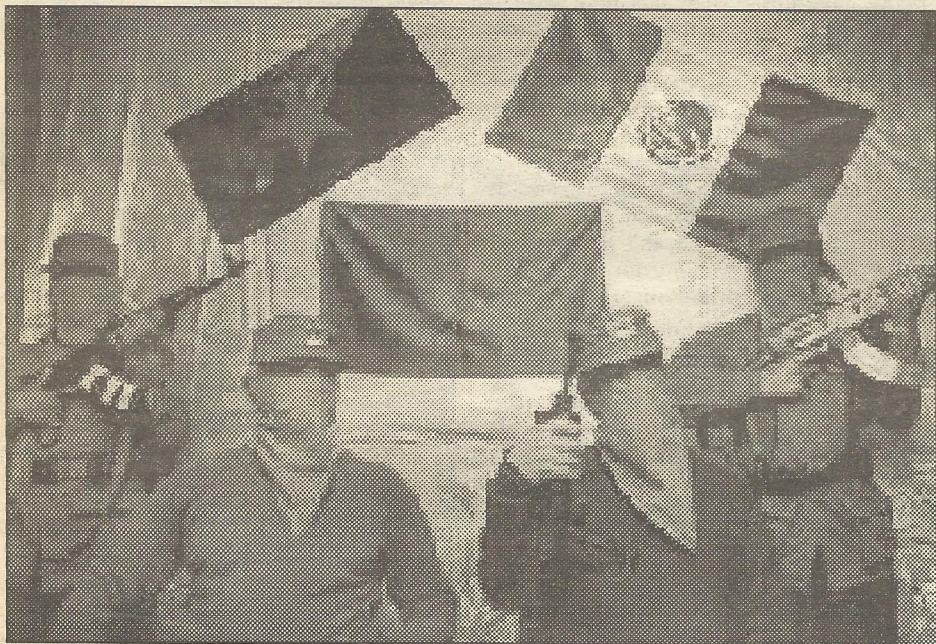
The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) threatened this precarious existence on two fronts. First, it compelled the Mexican government to rewrite the Mexican constitution to eliminate the protection of communal lands (called ejidos) from purchase (or theft) by ranchers and foreign companies. Second, NAFTA eliminates the price supports for Mexican-grown corn. Without these price supports the peasants of the Lacandona can't hope to compete with giant multi-national agricultural corporations like Daniel Archer-Midlands or Cargill. It was in the face of this imminent destruction that the Zapatista uprising was organized.

Once the Zapatista uprising had secured a cease-fire and effective control of much of the Lacandona jungle the Zapatistas set out to construct a huge open-air meeting place that they named Aguascalientes, after the site of Mexico's 1917 constitutional convention. In February 1995 the Mexican Army launched an offensive against the Zapatistas. One of their main targets was the Aguascalientes. The Army completely destroyed this symbol of the capacity of Mexico's poorest inhabitants to build a truly democratic society.

The Zapatistas responded to this attack

(Continued on next page)

EPR Spreads Armed Struggle in Mexico—But Where Do They Want to Lead It?



By GENE, NY ABC

The renewed armed struggle in the country, this time from the Popular Revolutionary Army (EPR—Ejército Revolucionario Popular), and the withdrawal from negotiations by the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN), threatens the governability of the Mexican state. The possibility of wide-spread revolutionary activity has increased as all kinds of resis-

tance spreads across Mexico. Mass repression is the government's only response. While scores have been arrested as suspected members of the EPR, the guerrilla group claims that only two of those are actual combatants and that the rest are innocent.

The Federal Army, Judicial Police, and the police forces of seven state governments are engaged in massive maneuvers to hunt for members of the EPR and to repress

all movements against the government. They are moving against everyone: legal organizations like the Zapatista National Liberation Front (EZLN) and peasant organizations in the Southern Sierra; as well as the Zapatistas in Chiapas, who report making eye contact with the Federales from their defensive positions in the hills increasingly since the EPR attacks began.

BASELESS ACCUSATIONS?

The government claims that the EPR, along with an allied group, the PDRP (Partido Democrático Revolucionario Popular) is the "armed wing" of another group, the Procup-PDLP (Partido Obrero Clandestino Union del Pueblo—Partido de los Pobres, or Clandestine Workers Party Union of the People—Party of the Poor). The Procup is a Marxist-Leninist organization that surfaced in the early 1970s and has a history of violent action. Its Local Construction Committees proclaimed in April 1993, from the state of Guerrero, a strategy of "Prolonged Popular War" towards socialist revolution that entails building the party while clandestine forces build an army of the people capable of seizing state power. The immediate activities would be retribution for crimes against the people, military aggressions and abuses, and armed self-defense against police.

Some of Procup's members are currently

in prison after a series of arrests in the early '90s when a number of its members were captured and tortured. The Procup/PDLP Political Prisoners Collective, who are being held at the Reclusorio Preventivo Norte in Mexico City, in June of 1993 called for: "fortifying and consolidating the vanguard party, the army of the people and a powerful political mass movement, the basic elements that will unify the struggle of the Mexican people for political liberty and socialism."

ARE THEY POPULAR? ARE THEY REVOLUTIONARY? ARE THEY AN ARMY?

At a press conference, government officials claimed that Procup-PDLP documents identify as their "mass fronts" the Organization of Campesinos of the Southern Sierra (OCSS), whose members were massacred on their way to an organizational function, and at whose commemoration the EPR first appeared, as well as the Emiliano Zapata Eastern Democratic Front of Mexico (FDOMEZ) and the Popular Democratic National Front (FNDP).

The government's assessment is of course always suspect. They reiterate the argument of the ex-governor of Guerrero, Rubén Figueroa Alcocer, who

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Encuentro

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by building not one but five more Aguascalientes in five villages scattered throughout the jungle. The construction of these Aguascalientes is a particularly impressive accomplishment in light of the desperate need for building schools and clinics. Since their construction the Zapatistas have been using the Aguascalientes to host various gatherings including a Continental Encuentro and a summit of Indigenous peoples.

For eight days the Zapatistas provided transportation, clean and healthy food, shelter, showers, clean water, and meeting spaces for 4,000 guests in a region where none of those things had previously been available to the people that lived there. This accomplishment points to the profound capacities that even the poorest people have to transform their living conditions when they take matters into their own hands. It also points to the Zapatistas' understanding that such gains cannot be expected to last unless the democratic accomplishments of the Zapatistas are projected not just onto the rest of Mexico but also the rest of the world. More than any political proclamations or revolutionary communiqués, it is the actual material changes that the Zapatistas have made in the lives of the people that reveal the revolutionary power of their ideas.

SOME PROBLEMS

This is not to say that the Encuentro was without its problems. The road to the new society is bound to have few potholes and detours. Some of the problems were thrown up by the Mexican government. Soldiers at military checkpoints frequently stopped the caravans of buses that carried us from one village to the next. Traffic on the road to La Realidad, the site of the last days of the

Encuentro, was stopped when a small bridge over a gully was removed. But this obstacle became a metaphor for the whole Encuentro when people from at least a dozen countries poured out of their buses to rebuild the bridge (actually to drag it back into place). The night before the first day of the Encuentro, peasants in the state of Oaxaca blockaded the main highway leading to Chiapas in protest against the policies of the government. Ironically the first vehicles caught up in the blockade were a caravan of buses going to the Encuentro.

There were also some political controversies. Many members of the French delegation objected to the invitation extended to Danielle Mitterand (wife of the now-deceased former French President) to speak to the Encuentro. German feminists objected to the inclusion of women's concerns under the broad category of "the excluded," because they felt it marginalized discussion on half the world's population.

More significant than the actual controversies was the enthusiasm with which they were picked up by the capitalist media looking for an opportunity to ridicule the Encuentro. The disproportionate representation of the Western European countries resulted in their domination of several important discussions. One Mexican participant said of this "The gringos are arrogant, but at least they know it's a problem. The Germans don't even know."

FROM SOLIDARITY TO RESISTANCE

The Encuentro was undoubtedly many things to many people. And this is clearly an intention of the Zapatistas. They have cast their net broadly and gathered together a politically diverse bunch of folks ranging from revolutionary anarchists to wide-eyed solidarity activists to social democrats. All of us bring our strengths and weaknesses to the mix and the Zapatistas know there aren't enough of any single group to build a serious worldwide movement. But the openness of the Encuentro should not allow people to think that the Zapatistas them-

selves have no politics. Rather, their politics start from an understanding that until now everything else has failed and therefore there is a need to profoundly rethink the revolutionary project.

The collapse of the Soviet Empire and the ensuing collapse of what was left of the international left has created a unique opportunity for this rethinking to take place. The Zapatistas understand that they have an important role to play in this process, but if they are to play such a role it is necessary to break with the old patterns of international solidarity work. The call to transform the Committees of Solidarity into Committees Against Neoliberalism and for Humanity is in effect a call to move from carrying the banner of the Zapatistas to trying to be like them. This doesn't necessarily mean taking to the mountains and picking up guns. What it does mean is finding concrete ways to struggle against neo-liberalism however it manifests itself in different places.

WHAT WE STAND FOR

The Encuentro produced a lengthy document (or more accurately a collection of documents) that seeks to articulate the basis for a new politics in a new period. It is a long and rambling affair with all the idiosyncrasies one might expect from a document produced under such circumstances. Undoubtedly it contains many points worth challenging. But it is nonetheless a very important thing. On many crucial points it breaks with the whole authoritarian tradition that has so dominated revolutionary thinking for most of this century. It should be available in English very soon, and hopefully revolutionary anarchists and any other activists who are serious about finding a way out of this very rotten new world order will read it, discuss it and respond to it.

A NEW INTERNATIONAL?

The call to come to the Encuentro spoke of the formation of an "International of

Hope." The document developed at the Encuentro and the coordination involved in making it happen and in getting through it certainly have laid the foundation for some new sort of international organization. It is unclear what steps will be taken to transform the various Zapatista solidarity groups and other forces that came to the Encuentro into the Intercontinental Network Against Neo-Liberalism and for Humanity that was proclaimed from the stage in La Realidad.

What is clear is the existence of a profound potential to build a broad new international organization on a foundation of revolutionary and anti-authoritarian principles. Such a project would not be free of serious contradictions and can only be realized if all parties are prepared to approach the work in a serious spirit of non-sectarianism. This goes for revolutionary anarchists as much as anybody else.

NEXT YEAR IN EUROPE

As the Encuentro was coming to an end it was announced that the next Encuentro would take place next year, probably in November, somewhere in Europe. This will be an important test of whether the spirit of unity that suffused the first Encuentro can be maintained outside of the Lacandona jungle. There was a European Continental Encuentro this past spring in Berlin that was by all accounts a success. Holding the next Encuentro in Europe should also make it easier to get broader participation from Africa and Asia.

The system we are up against is not confined by any national borders; and no serious effort to overthrow this system can limit itself to functioning within the confines of any single nation state. There is a crying need to develop an internationally-coordinated resistance to neo-liberalism. It will not be an easy thing to build a new international and we should expect a lot of twists and turns along the way. But it is necessary and it needs the active support of every serious anti-authoritarian revolutionary on Earth.★



Members of the EPR during an August interview with *La Jornada*

described them as follows: "In the past days we have become aware of various terrorist attacks against civilian objectives in diverse parts of the country. Said attacks are attributed to members of our EZLN. The Indigenous Revolutionary Clandestine Committee-General Command of the EZLN declares that Zapatista troops combat

the police and the Federal Army and not against the parking lots of commercial centers. No civilian objective will suffer military attacks on the part of the Zapatista troops."

The EZLN again criticized the Procup after they circulated a document in which they implied that the EZLN is one of their "belligerent groups," and that the recent events in Mexico were part of Procup's national plan, of which they were the vanguard. In an interview in May of 1994 members of Amor y Rabia (Love and Rage, Mexico), myself and others asked Marcos, "Is this true, do you have some connection?"

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tried to use the spectre of an armed guerrilla to bring repression down on the OCSS and even blame them for the massacre. But Procup/PDLP documents and current events seem to indicate a connection. Most likely Procup/PDLP militants are involved in a number of legal organizations where they have been recruiting for the EPR.

In fact, the EPR's own statements are the best proof that there is a connection between the Procup and the EPR. Aside

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from now claiming Procup actions as their own, the slogans in the EPR's June 28 Aguas Blancas Manifesto are very similar to the slogans contained in the communiqués written in the early '90s by their Guerrero Local Construction Committees and their political prisoners.

The government has portrayed the Procup and, by extension, the EPR, as more like a terrorist group than a traditional guerrilla army. (Officials compared them to the Red Army Fraction (RAF) of Germany.) This assessment is backed up by some in the Mexican left and by the Procup's own history. Operating in small very secretive cells, their past actions include a series of bombings of the Mexico City offices of international corporations, including Citibank, Nissan, Sony and IBM. The Government suspects the Procup of the 1994 kidnapping of Alfredo Harp Helu, then the chairman of Mexico's largest bank. Mr. Harp was released after two months when his family paid a \$30 million ransom.

Of course this "terrorist" description of the EPR is the same one the government used to describe the Zapatistas in the beginning. According to Subcomandante Marcos of the EZLN, "it is laughable that yesterday they ran over each other to call us 'terrorists' without a social base and product of a 'foreign' implantation of elements of radical university groups with a '70s ideology. Now these same people run over themselves to say that you are the 'terrorists' and the EZLN has an 'authentic social base.'" (EZLN communiqué to EPR, August 29)

In a recent press conference an EPR leader expressed frustration that the EZLN had yet to acknowledge their actions during January 1994. At the time Procup claimed responsibility for some urban bombings and the EZLN did in fact acknowledge them. They distanced themselves from them and



EPR member during an August interview with *La Jornada*

The EPR's recent offensive looked more like the work of a guerrilla army than the sporadic commando actions, bombings and kidnappings of the Procup or the RAF.

All this may account for the EZLN's delinquent behavior between the Procup, whose actions they have criticized,

and the EPR, which they refuse to call "terrorist." Referred to as a "guerrilla of guerrillas," a list was published in *La Jornada* identifying 13 groups as the ones that disappeared to form first the EPR then the PDPR.

JUST HOW POPULAR IS THE EPR?

Many have observed that a high level of coordination and a network of supporters was necessary for the EPR to carry out the actions on the scale that they did. They have support from poor rural communities and some of the international left, and they appear to be well-financed. Commander Francisco said that the EPR's military activities were financed by their social base, who support them with food and clothing, but he also took responsibility for the kidnapping of members of the "oligarchy" but not for all the kidnappings of which they are accused. There is evidence that they have been successful in recruiting frustrated and desperate campesinos in a country where many feel armed struggle is justified in the face of continuing government corruption and war on the poor.

THE RIVALRY THAT ISN'T

Mocking Marcos and the EZLN, EPR leaders commented that you can't "fight a revolution with poetry" and offered assistance to the Zapatistas if they were to break off talks with the government.

In the communiqué cutting off the dialogue with the government, the EZLN said that:

"The appearance of the EPR has not been read by the government as a new and urgent call to open the spaces of political participation, to end the impunity and modify the political economy. No, the government has read the appearance of the EPR as a possibility of laying out the trap of the choice between the 'good guerrilla' and the 'bad guerrilla' in the negotiation with the EZLN. Awaiting the logical demarcation between the EZLN and the EPR, the government expects that the Zapatistas 'now' accept anything offered to them as well as expecting that they join in its campaign of attacks against the EPR. The government is mistaken. Here in the mountains of the Mexican southeast, there is not a 'good guerrilla' nor a

liberty of the indigenous leaders who, in these days, were gathering the opinions of the communities." And he questions the motivations behind it, "Did you not know we were in the midst of this process? Why carry out a propaganda action in Chiapas if you have already demonstrated your capacity to move in other parts of Mexico? Was this to prove you have sympathizers in the zones where the EZLN is found? Have you fallen into the trap of 'rivalries' promoted by the government? Meanwhile the cost of that action will not be paid by you, but by the Zapatista indigenous communities (who I will remind you, have undergone almost a thousand days resisting with their armed rebellion... and their poetry)."

IT'S NOT IN THE MASK

Marcos goes on to lay out the key differences between the EZLN and the EPR:

"...the difference is not what you and others have insisted upon, that you do not dialogue with the government, that you do struggle for power and that you have not declared war, while we dialogue (attention: we do this not only with the government but in a much larger sense with national and international civic society); we do not struggle for power and we did declare war on the Federal Army (a challenge for which they will never forgive us). The difference is that our political proposals are diametrically different and this is evident in the discourse and practice of the two organizations. Thanks to your appearance, now many people can understand that what makes us different from existing political organizations is not the weapons and the ski masks, but the political proposals. We have carved out a new and radical path. It is so new and radical that all the political currents have criticized us and look at us with boredom, including yourselves. We are uncomfortable. Too bad, this is the way of the Zapatistas.

"You struggle for power. We struggle for democracy, liberty and justice. This is not the same thing. Though you may be successful and conquer power, we will continue struggling for democracy, liberty and justice. It does not matter who is in power; the Zapatistas are and will always struggle for democracy, liberty and justice."

The EPR's own statements are the best proof of a connection between the Procup and the EPR.

'bad guerrilla'; there are rebel citizens who have taken up arms because they have no democratic spaces of peaceful political participation and a social base tired of bonanza declarations and economic offerings and the constant reality of misery. We are different from the EPR, but we are not their opposition."

EZLN LETTER TO EPR

But in a communiqué to the EPR the EZLN turned down their offer for help and articulated the political differences between them.

"We do not need it, do not seek it and do not want it ... Until now we are happy not to owe any political organization, national or international, anything. The support which we seek and need, is that of national and international civil society, their peaceful and civic mobilizations is what we await. Of the first, weapons and soldiers, we have enough. Of the second, military actions, we have the capacity we have and this is enough. What we seek, what we need and want is that all those people without a party and organization make agreements about what they want and do not want and become organized in order to achieve it (preferably through civil and peaceful means), not to take power but to exercise it."

Tensions were stirred up between the rebel groups when the EPR's propaganda roadblocks in Chiapas coincided with the end of the EZLN consultation with their base.

In the same kite, Marcos describes the EPR propaganda action in Chiapas as "useless and foolish to me in the best of circumstances and provocative in the worst sense. This action occurred during the end of our consultation and jeopardized the lives and

The appearance of the EPR and the government's use of them as an excuse for repression may make the kind of open dialogue and communications the Zapatistas are encouraging more difficult to accomplish. On the other hand, the Zapatista pull-out from the negotiations and the threat of war in Mexico may help mobilize their forces and increase pressure to try to win more concessions from the government.

For anti-authoritarians, it is more important than ever to support the Zapatistas. While both the EZLN and the EPR deny any rivalry between them, the appearance of the EPR gives us an opportunity to see competing ideologies in practice. We can already see the way in which the EPR will be held to standards set by the Zapatistas, on questions such as their social base, the role of women, etc., and how the actions of either group can affect the other. The EPR's more traditional Marxist-Leninist line is exactly what the EZLN has gone to great pains to distance itself from. The EZLN's more anti-authoritarian approach, their creation of the FZLN, an organization of non-party affiliated people, their efforts in building a national and international dialogue and movement against neoliberalism, and the EZLN's insistence that it does not seek state power explain why it has gained so much support and made it difficult for the forces of neoliberalism to demonize and rid themselves of them. It also explains the cool reception from much of the traditional left, who have called the EZLN "armed reformists," lacking a program, party, etc. With the EZLN out of negotiations and ready to defend themselves against an expected government attack and the EPR fighting for socialist revolution it will be interesting to see how events play out in Mexico and in the international solidarity movement that will grow in response to any crisis.

If the Zapatistas do not resume negotiations it could likely lead to war. A war in which there are many players. Stay tuned.★

Cambodia

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Under the KR regime, known as Democratic Kampuchea (DK), Sihanouk was kept in the palace under house arrest. In December 1978, when the Vietnamese launched their first major offensive, Pol

Public support for forgiving the KR for all its atrocities, while partially motivated by fear of more violence and a Buddhist dislike of retribution, also draws heavily on nationalism.

Pot sent Sihanouk to the United Nations to argue DK's case. In 1982, Sihanouk's forces were part of a coalition government that included the KR, and later in the decade, Funcinpec allied directly with the KR to fight the Vietnamese. Sihanouk has also maintained personal friendships with the Chinese and North Korean governments since the 1950s—Zhou Enlai of the Chinese Community Party was his long-time patron, and may have been pressured by Pol Pot to encourage Sihanouk to unite with the KR. Sihanouk still has North Korean bodyguards. Over the years, Sihanouk has maintained some contacts with the KR, and occasionally receives letters from them about various issues, but has always claimed that from 1970 onward,

they were only exploiting his name to gain popular approval.

Whether or not this association should tar him, it is clear that some of Cambodia's 1970s mess is directly tied to Sihanouk's political machinations. In the late 1960s he made a secret deal with the North Vietnamese allowing them to operate bases along the Cambodian-Vietnamese border. He then turned around and make a deal with the US, allowing Nixon to bomb those same bases, angering all sides, and providing an opening for Lon Nol's coup in 1970. When the coup occurred, Sihanouk was on his way home from a visit to Moscow, and instead of coming back to Cambodia, went into exile in Beijing. Historians have argued that it wasn't actually a very serious coup attempt, but more of a warning to Sihanouk, and so his going to Beijing was a serious mistake. In his absence, Lon Nol was able to seize power completely and allowed the US a free hand to step up the bombing, which increased popular support for the KR.

Given this background, it is no surprise that the government pardoned Sary. Despite appearances, debate on this point was more about political maneuvering than serious consideration of responsibility for one of the most murderous regimes in history (up to two million killed out of a population of eight million).

Regrettably, still more factors come into play. The KR has never been destroyed par-

tially due to the international weapons support they received in the 1980s from the US, Thailand, and China, but there are also deeper causes. Prejudice against the Vietnamese is historical fact in Cambodia and remains rampant. The KR have exploited it successfully since they first came to power, when Cambodians feared that the new Vietnamese government would take over its neighbors. The Mekong Delta was

to my Cambodian guide that it didn't seem like justice had been done, and that it seemed bizarre to even consider negotiating with the KR. He replied, "We are all Khmers," using the term for the Cambodian ethnic group and language. Ironically, most of the KR leadership had internationalist roots, many rising through the ranks of the French and the Indochinese Communist parties. A number



Khmer Rouge forcibly evacuated two million people from Phnom Penh when they came to power in April 1975

once part of Cambodia, and the KR, along with many Cambodians, continues to insist that it is still Cambodian. In June, the KR massacred 11 people in a fishing village in western Cambodia. The foreign-owned Phnom Penh Post was the only newspaper to report that it was a Vietnamese village, and that the unit had walked uninterrupted through several Cambodian villages to reach it.

Public support for forgiving the KR for all its atrocities, while partially motivated by fear of more violence and a Buddhist dislike of retribution, also draws heavily on nationalism. After visiting the Killing Fields on a recent trip to Cambodia, I said

of them also fought with the Viet Minh. They continued links with Hanoi right through the early 1970s, and only later turned against Vietnam.

In Cambodia today, murderers live side-by-side with their victims' families, and may now be ready to rejoin the government. A US-sponsored genocide investigation team will release its results soon, but there may not be the political will to do anything with them besides build another museum or monument. Even if the split finally destroys the KR as an army, their tactics and ideas live on in a country unwilling to confront the horrors of the past, unable to bring those responsible to justice. ★



Kurds

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themselves with Turkey, but now they are openly pro-Hussein as well.

HOPES FOR A FREE KURDISTAN?

The cause of Kurdish independence has sustained much damage over the last couple

months. The bourgeois PUK allied itself with Iran, then begged for help from the US and the West when things went sour. The KDP openly supported Saddam Hussein, whose Anfal operations against the Kurds were "every bit as thorough and efficient in their stages of execution as had been the Nazi Holocaust against the Jews" (Lazier, p.2). The two parties, now openly at war, have ruined the only chance ever given to the Kurds by the outside world. By acting on the basis of self-interest and greed, the two parties wrecked "free" Kurdistan and

their infighting has lost the Kurds much of the sympathy and support they enjoyed after the Gulf War.

In the long run, however, these developments may prove beneficial to the Kurdish cause. First of all, "free" Kurdistan was never really free. It was weak and starving, just as the allied powers had planned. The US in particular used the safe haven concept to keep Iraq weak. Never would they allow the region to become economically or politically feasible. A fledgling Kurdish state in northern Iraq would be seen as a threat to

Turkey, home to 50% of the Kurdish nation. Therefore, the same US planes which patrolled the skies over Kurdistan to keep Saddam out passed on intelligence to help Turkey come in and bomb.

Most Kurds now realize that America's Operation Provide Comfort brought them no comfort at all. The US looked away when Turkish forces bombed the region, and when Hussein himself finally attacked, the US responded against southern Iraq, doing nothing whatsoever to halt the Iraqi advance into Kurdistan. The PUK begged America for help, but none was forthcoming. If Kurds had any delusions about genuine US concern for their plight, they have now been shattered.

WILL THE PKK SEIZE THE DAY?

The only Kurdish party that has consistently refused to become a tool for foreign intelligence agencies is the PKK. The PUK, by seeking open support from Iran and then making feeble appeals to the imperialist West, is now weak and without credibility. The KDP, by allying themselves with the Butcher of Baghdad, are now seen by all to be traitors to the Kurdish nation. It is now up to the PKK to seize upon this opportunity and work towards the genuine liberation of Kurdistan.

Despite hundreds of millions of dollars in military and financial aid from the United States and Europe, Turkey has not been able to crush the PKK's revolution in Turkish-occupied Kurdistan. If the PKK's appeal and success should now spread and blossom in northern Iraq, the Kurdish national liberation movement will receive a tremendous boost. With PKK strength already established in the Kurdish regions of Iran, the party seems set to become a truly pan-Kurdish representative movement. If so, Western powers will be faced with a Middle Eastern policy dilemma like they have never before encountered. ★

For a good account of the feuding between the KDP and the PUK, see Sheri Lazier's book *Martyrs, Traitors and Patriots: Kurdistan after the Gulf War* published by Zed Books.

For current news and articles on the Internet about the Kurdistan national liberation movement, see the kurd-i archives on the Arm The Spirit homepage at <http://burn.ucsd.edu/~ats>.



Followers of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, which has aligned with the Iraqi government

Kissing Queers Quashed at CUNY Campus

By MICHELLE

As part of an ongoing crackdown on student activism, two students at Queensborough Community College (QCC) were arrested last May at a school party. They were kissing on the dance floor.

James Robinson and Brian Lewis were dragged by campus security who tackled them to the ground and shackled their feet and hands. Robinson, an asthmatic, was so severely traumatized that he required hospitalization; yet it was not until the NYPD arrived that he received any medical attention.

The two were charged with disorderly conduct and resisting arrest. They were held in jail for 30 hours until the District Attorney's office decided there was no cause to pursue the charges. QCC, however, is still considering disciplinary charges against Robinson and Lewis.

Vice-President of the Gay and Lesbian Alliance on campus at Queensborough and co-chair of the National Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Student Caucus, Robinson is also a student-elected board member of the United States Student Association, a national organization of student government members. Lewis is president of the Advocates for

Student Rights, a QCC group which reviews student government and club spending on campus.

The two men were accused of dancing "provocatively" with one another that night—an action which has been cited as disruptive behavior leading up to the arrest. No other students who attended the dance have come forward to attest to the truth of the administration's claims.

The students believe the homophobic and discriminatory atmosphere of the college, in addition to their ongoing activism, was a factor in their arrests.

The ejection from the dance and subsequent charges are in violation of several federal, city and CUNY codes and laws. Title IX of the Education Amendment of 1972 prohibits discrimination on the basis of gender. The New York City Administrative Code prohibits discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in public places; e.g. a CUNY campus. The university's "Henderson Rules" prohibit intentionally and/or forcibly preventing others from exercising their rights.

When contacted in reference to this case, QCC's Dean of Students, Patricia Evanoski, refused to comment: "The matter has not

been resolved and I don't want to talk about it at this time." While the administration's hesitation to act may seem promising, there still remains a threat that Robinson and Lewis may face disciplinary hearings on the matter. Whether or not the college chooses to press charges against the students, it is also possible that Robinson and Lewis could sue QCC for violating their human rights.

This arrest not only shines an unfavorable light on QCC as a homophobic campus, it also questions the larger issue of "peace officer" conduct on campus. With the addition of 160 security officers and 4 attack dogs to be funded by a grant from the U.S. Department of Justice, every CUNY campus will have to confront the problems raised by the increasingly heavy hand of repression.

At Hunter College, where there is a long-standing legacy of student activism, there is growing concern for the safety of the students should any find themselves the targets of the administration-sponsored backlash. Officer Sanchez, a SAFE Team lieutenant at Hunter, told a reporter from the Hunter Envoy that he wished he had arrested the students himself. He reasoned that had he made the arrests he would receive

overtime pay.

The SAFE Team is a group of over 30 "peace officers" with full arrest powers and access to guns, that have been specially trained to suppress student demonstrations. If SAFE officers are rewarded with the incentive of overtime for arresting students for kissing or cracking their heads for protesting, none of us are safe.

While it is possible that this case may serve to warn other "peace officers" and/or the administration as to the effects of improper procedure and discriminatory practices, it is more likely that nothing will change. Anti-queer violence and bigotry are frequently ignored on CUNY campuses.

Consequently there is good reason to fear that this incident will be pushed underground again. An August 20 article in the Village Voice brought this incident to public attention. For this many are thankful.

For the many other activists and students at CUNY, queer and non-queer alike, this case is cause for alarm. The increasing number and aggressiveness of CUNY's security forces are creating an atmosphere that is intolerably repressive and completely contrary to the professed aims of an institution of higher education.★



Brian Lewis and James Robinson of Queensborough Community College, arrested at a school party for kissing on the dance floor

Abortion Debate

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called the abortion debate. Like Republicans and Democrats, "choice" and "life" are a political system that has enabled the ascendance of the New Right. This two-sided political system, the "abortion debate," has also reinvigorated the credibility of fundamentalist Christianity, and has helped usher in a new era of domestic terrorism and organized white supremacy. Just as the New Right has played Democrats and Republicans off of one another, ultraright promoters of fascism have benefited from keeping the abortion debate between "women's choice" and the "fetus's life" intact.

Again, the roots of this "wedge" strategy to produce a two-sided political "debate" go back to the days of Goldwater, to the very beginnings of the New Right. In 1964, the Goldwater campaign created a television commercial that, according to The New York Times, "found a new way to symbolize American hopes and fears." It dichotomized political issues along the lines of "moral decay" (picture striptease joints) versus wholesome American living (picture girl scouts and lumberjacks).

What for us in the 1990s seems like the standard method of characterizing politics was then a shocking re-definition of political advertising and political discourse, a reprehensible re-shaping of complex politi-

cal arguments into oversimplistic, two-sided moral debates that would "obviously and frankly play on prejudices."

Even Goldwater himself thought it was horrific; he "disowned" the commercial "as nothing but a racist film" and "ordered it off the air." But its legacy has been undeniably powerful; the commercial had changed history. Its "wedge" strategy for creating moral debates out of political causes was practically prophetic. This crucial TV commercial was called "Choice."

As we know, "Choice" didn't help Goldwater win the 1964 presidential election. But electoral politics were forever changed by this defeat. Building coalitions is the antidote to the wedge strategy that has shaped electoral politics since 1964.

Radical women now must strive to remember how to build coalitions to resist governmental regulation, not to plead for

governmental protection. Radical women must strive to build information networks whose radar is aimed below the carnivalesque conventions and their hysteria over "moral decline"—a phrase which first gained currency through the commercial "Choice" and the 1964 elections. To ward off a palatable fascism, we must first detect the sneaky ultraright extremists who are stealthing toward a new millennium.★

Sources:

Freedman, Samuel G. "The First Days of the Loaded Political Image," *New York Times*, Sunday, September 1, 1996: 30.

Viguerie, Richard. "Ends and Means," *The New Right Papers*, edited by Robert W. Whitaker (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982).

Also see Ninia Baehr's *Abortion Without Apology: A Radical History for the 1990s* from South End Press for more on history of radical women in the 1960s.

Prisons

(Continued from page 7)

an ABC newsletter with information on many prison-related struggles. To get their newsletter or to get in touch, write to ABC Melbourne, PO Box 199, East Brunswick, 3057 Victoria, Australia. ABC Brisbane's address is PO Box 558, South Brisbane 4101, Queensland, Australia. Email: abcbris@byteback.apana.org.au

SAVE GEORGE SKATZES!

On Jan. 30, 1996, George Skatzes was sentenced to death for the murders of two other prisoners during the 11-day uprising in April 1993 at the maximum security Southern Ohio Correctional Facility in Lucasville, OH. During the uprising George acted as a peacekeeper and spokesman for the prisoners. Many prisoners credit George with saving their lives during the riot. Former hostage guards also stated under oath that George helped protect three guards. He's been sentenced to death because he refused to cooperate (snitch) with prison officials, who promised not to prosecute him if he would "cooperate." As a spokesman during the uprising, he became a symbol and thus a target. We can't let him

be killed for the courageous stand he took during the uprising. To make a financial contribution to his defense fund, or to help organize support for George, contact his outside support group: Mrs. Jackie Bowers, PO Box 1591, Marion, OH 43301-1591.

RAZE THE WALLS EXPANDS

Raze the Walls! now has a Florida contact address as well. To get their resource guide or to get more information, prisoners in that area of the country should contact Raze the Walls, 1913 S. Semoran Blvd #B, Orlando, FL 32822.

ABOLISH PRISONS—NOW, LATER, OR NEVER?

The question of whether we support the complete abolition of prisons or not has been an ongoing debate in the anarchist prison movement. There are many important questions that flow from this discussion that we as a movement need to explore more deeply. There are different views within the anarchist movement on these questions. Questions like what would an anarchist society do with people who commit real anti-social crimes (like rape or murder) if there are no prisons? And what sort of system of justice do we advocate in place of the current one? How would it work? And are we against incarceration in

Mumia Abu-Jamal

(Continued from page 7)

her testimony was a "wild card" to get Mumia's case back into the courtroom. She also insinuated that Jones had been paid for her testimony—an unsubstantiated and insignificant point that was eagerly overblown by local media.

D.A. Fisk, after her cross examination, suddenly announced that Jones had an outstanding bench warrant in New Jersey and that two detectives, who had been looming about the courtroom all morning, were ready to arrest her and take her away, with Sabo's permission. Defense attorney Leonard Weinglass objected, "This is an unusual form of intimidation. They knew where she was since May...This is exactly what happened to Billy Cook." Last summer William Cook, Mumia's brother and a witness, did not testify after the D.A. refused to promise that he would not be taken into custody because of

principle or just in the way it is practiced under capitalism? Since prisoners have the most direct experience with prisons and the criminal justice system, *Love & Rage* would like to hear from people in prison on these and other related questions. Send us your thoughts on prisons and prison abolition to either be printed in *Love & Rage* or as a pamphlet on prison abolition.★

outstanding warrants on minor charges. D.A. Fisk choreographed the arrest of Veronica Jones and Judge Sabo directed it—Jones was taken away in handcuffs.

Following outcry from the International Concerned Family & Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, bail was quickly raised. Veronica Jones was released from custody at 6:00 a.m. the next day. Her pre-dawn arraignment was directly after that of a white man who had threatened a black schoolteacher with a shotgun and yelled racial slurs in front of 28 elementary school children. In both cases, the D.A. requested high bail be set. The man's bail was set at \$5,000—he had to pay \$500. For Veronica, charged with passing a bad check four years earlier, bail was set at \$10,000—she had to pay \$1000. The arraignment court judge denied any knowledge of Jones' testimony the previous day at Mumia's hearing and the circumstances of her arrest.

At press time, Sabo's decision on whether or not the testimony on police coercion of Veronica Jones and her truthful recounting of the incident will lead to a new and fair trial has not been given. Sabo has been ordered by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court to decide within 30 days after the conclusion of the hearings.★

Info: International Concerned Family & Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal
215-476-8812

Tupac Shakur

(Continued from page 1)

more clearly feminist way than most Hip-Hop odes to "black queens" or "black goddesses." For example, in "Keep Ya Head Up," he expresses support for women on welfare, comes out as pro-choice, and says women should leave men who aren't respectful and sensitive to their needs. He had a consistent feminist streak in his nationalist aesthetic within what is overwhelmingly a misogynist culture.

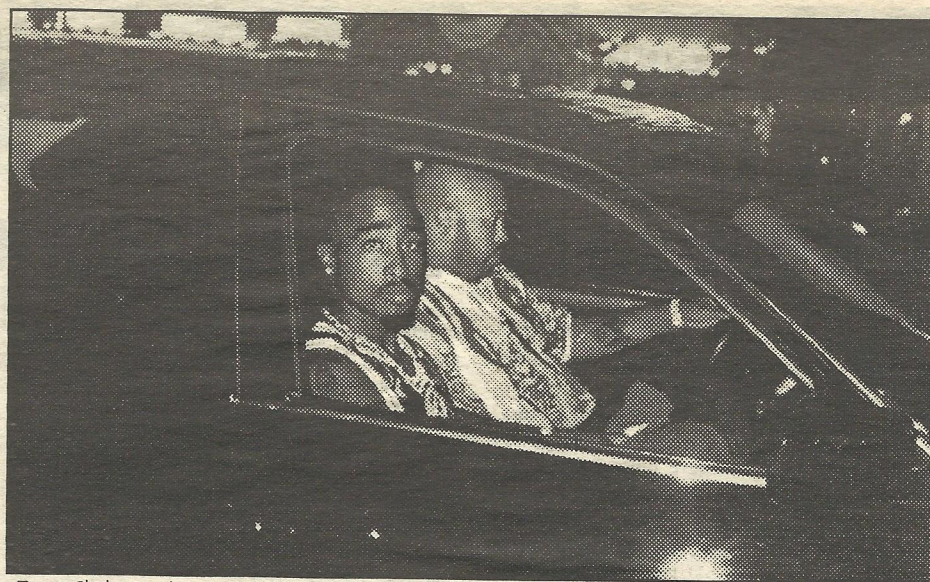
Tupac's brushes with the law were numerous and included incidents that range from noble to inexcusable. In October 1993 he was arrested for shooting two off-duty police officers in Atlanta. Credible accounts say he was un-arresting a Black man being brutalized by the cops. A month later he was arrested for allegedly participating in a sexual assault of a Black woman in his hotel. In December 1994 Shakur was convicted of sexual abuse and in February 1995 he was sentenced to 4 1/2 years in an upstate New York prison. He was released on bail after eight months, pending appeal.

Tupac's trial brought inconclusive evidence regarding his personal actions in the

sexual assault, as opposed to the clear involvement of his associates. But he showed no remorse at having the friends he did, nor their actions. Tupac's account was that he did not rape the woman or force her to perform oral sex. But after his own consensual encounter with her, he fell asleep in the next room while she testified that she was screaming for his help while being assaulted by his friends. When the woman later emotionally appealed to Tupac regarding what had happened, he dismissed it and avoided her. This glaring contradiction to his artistic politics was unforgivable to some, while ignored by others.

During his trial for sexual assault, he survived what seemed to be another execution-style hit. In November 1994, outside a music studio in Times Square, New York City, an alleged robbery ended with him shot five times at close range. One bullet grazed his head and one pierced his scrotum.

Some of Tupac's last interviews broadcast on radio stations since his death alternately renounce and retain the "thug-life" which he chose to personify, and which he had tattooed on his stomach. In one inter-



Tupac Shakur and Suge Knight leaving the Tyson fight on Sept. 7, less than a minute before Tupac was shot.

view he said he was too "skinny" to run around playing gangsta. In another, he bragged that some risk must come with the easy money he was making, as if his bloody gangsta encounters were both glory and fate, a conclusion his last video (filmed a month before his death) implies.

While this should prove a marketable myth for some fans, we should be clear that Tupac was ultimately no "victim" but the master of his own fate. Whether modeling on the runways of Milan or socializing in

the mansions of Malibu, he was no prisoner of the inner city. White supremacy and capitalism did not kill him. Implying such would be to deny a brilliant young man with radical ideas and financial security the self-determination of his own actions. Despite his machismo and low self-esteem, he had more opportunity than almost any other young Black males in the ghetto. Allowing him to be a poster child of that plight is to deny those Black men their experience, including the many who make better choices with less opportunity.

Two days after his death, in Brooklyn, the Rev. Herbert Daughtry eulogized Tupac. Daughtry remembered him as a child in the early '80s. "When he was ten years old he stood right here in front of me and I asked him what he wanted to be when he grew up. He answered, 'a revolutionary.'" But, he added, Mr. Shakur did not appear to know how to be a revolutionary. This might be a bit harsh. Many radicals recognized by history have had worse character flaws. Those should not be excused. Tupac Shakur can be seen as a revolutionary cultural worker in the absence of a mass freedom movement. The absence of that movement and the decadence of this society is responsible for his contradictions and those of Hip-Hop culture not being transcended.

That said, the Hip-Hop generation has a responsibility to struggle for self-worth if it is to avoid self-destruction. In the wake of new hollow pleas to "Stop The Violence" in Tupac's name, we must remember that Tupac Shakur's legacy should not be made into a call for self-esteem and a hollow cry of "can't we just get along." Rather if we can build a movement that's revolutionary, feminist, and that recognizes that the number one enemy in our streets is the capitalists who keeps us poor (and their police), we will foster a thriving culture based on unity and mutual respect. It is in the context of a thriving mass movement that artists like Tupac can potentially overcome their contradictions and live up to their revolutionary potential.★



Mural in memory of Tupac Shakur on New York's Lower East Side, done the night his death was announced.

Support the Indiana Six

(Continued from page 7)

gang leaders and members. Charging Us with being spokespersons of revolutionary groups opposed to premeditated murder.

After being moved back to the Indiana State Prison on 7-3-96 and given a few punches and shoves on the way up in the elevator to the lock up unit, the D.O.C. launched a full scale attack to convict Us. To send a message to the other 1,600 prisoners here. You have no right to speak! Stand up and we shall knock you down with trumped up charges! Refuse to be terrorized into silence, refuse to be terrorized into complicity with premeditated murder and we will brutalize and torture you.

As We uncovered evidence and documentation that the investigator outright hid in his report and manufactured evidence, Our staff witnesses who were to testify on Our behalf were threatened and brought up on charges by the Internal Affairs Dept. for "breaking security" and "fraternizing with inmates." As We tried to prepare a defense, the D.O.C. refused to give Us Our personal property and legal materials. As We tried to alert people on the streets to the repressive and unethical conduct of the D.O.C., all Our incoming and outgoing mail started being delayed for weeks at a time. As We persisted and still uncovered more evidence that the charges were false and evidence manufac-

tured, as We continued to collect statements from staff who outright contradicted or refuted the lies, the investigator attributed to them the D.O.C. moved to remove Our lay advocate (prison type lawyer) off Our cases and rush Us to disciplinary hearings.

Beginning on 7-22-96 to 7-24-96, less than a week after they returned Zion for approximately 80 minutes before putting him to death, We went to court and they carried out another execution. As We introduced Our evidence, poked holes in the state's case, We were told "i have to find you guilty" and that he did. Convicting six of Us and finding four not guilty of all charges. Now how can 10 people be conspiring to riot and six be guilty and four not? i'll tell you how. Because the six convicted are the same politically developed and outspoken of the 10. The six have a rich history of organizing and educating other prisoners. And five out of the six have lengthy dreadlocks.

i was given a total of four years, Akono five years, Baye three years, Idris one year, Kopano one year, and Sekou three years. All to be served in a supermax torture chamber. Why? For daring to speak out. For daring to raise Our voices against the death merchants of Indiana. For taking a stance against inhumanity, for the next several years We shall be buried alive in a supermax prison. Denied all human contact with

other prisoners, subjected to social isolation and sensory deprivation. Locked down in an all white cage with a 24 hours shining light for 23 hours a day.

People if Indiana is allowed to single out New Afrikan prisoners who are politically conscious and active because they spoke out, if the D.O.C. is allowed to frame Us on bogus charges with no outcry from the public and the political community, it will set an ugly and dangerous precedent. It will send the signal to the D.O.C. that you can single out Afrikan men for torture and brutalization whenever they dare question the barbarity of the state. It will signal to the thousands of politically conscious and active prisoners that if you take a stance and are attacked We will not support you. We will not show solidarity with you. We took a stance because Our consciousness dictated that We do so. We are not slaves to be shackled, beaten, strapped to gurneys and be pumped full of poison and say nothing! We are not beasts to be strapped to electric chairs to be fried until Our eyes pop from Our heads as the D.O.C. did to Ajamu Nassor on 12-8-94.

We refuse to allow a racist and genocidal system to systematically destroy and murder Us and say nothing! We got a right to speak! To shout! and if necessary to scream!

Support Us because tomorrow it could be you or someone you love strapped to that gurney or electric chair. It could be you who speak out only to be terrorized and tortured. The D.O.C. must not be allowed to use Us as examples to the thousands of

other prisoners, must not be allowed to carry on its racist tradition of singling out New Afrikan prisoners for persecution because they are political. They must not be allowed to terrorize into silence the hundreds of young New Afrikan men who are slowly throwing off the chains of a slave and parasitical kkkriminal mentality to reclaim their humanity.

Take a stance on Our behalf and the countless others. Take a stance because We did! Demand that these charges be dropped! Demand and investigation into why 10 New Afrikan men were snatched out of 1,600 prisoners and not one white prisoner was placed under investigation! Demand an investigation into the racially stereotypical comments of warden Al Parke that he is targeting "Black Gangs" and revolutionary leadership. Don't white gangs exist at ISP?!

Demand an investigation into why Zion Yisrayah was tortured for 80 minutes before being murdered and why did the D.O.C. try to cover up such torture by sending his body to a local funeral home to be embalmed against the wishes of his family.★

Give us freedom or give us death!

This essay, written on behalf of the Indiana Six, is the introductory essay to the pamphlet *Who Are the Indiana Six*, available for \$5 from the Brew City Anti-Authoritarian Collective (BCAC), PO Box 93312, Milwaukee, WI 53203. Funds raised will support the campaign for the Indiana Six.

WHY THE ANARCHISTS LOST THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

Response to "The Revolutionary Anarchist Tradition"

BY WAYNE PRICE

Chris Day's article "The Revolutionary Anarchist Tradition" (L&R Vol. 7 No. 4) points to the pro-organizational current in the history of revolutionary anarchism. He notes that there have been anarchists who have advocated greater organizational coherence and serious theoretical and strategic thinking by the anarchist movement. In general, I agree with him (although he rather brushes off Malatesta, the great pro-organization revolutionary anarchist; a great deal can be learned from Malatesta). This is a much better position than, for example, one calling for the abandonment of anarchism in favor of a new synthesis dominated by Marxism.

However, when pushing for more organizational structure and theory, it is possible to go off the rails and end up advocating an authoritarian and dictatorial program. The danger of this appears in Chris's discussion of the failure of the anarchists in the Spanish Revolution/Civil War of 1936-39.

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

As Chris notes, in 1936 the Spanish armed forces and fascists, led by Franco, attempted to seize power in a well-planned coup. They sought to overthrow the Popular Front government, a bourgeois liberal and reform socialist coalition administration. With almost no help from the Popular Front, the workers organized themselves and threw back the military in two-thirds of Spain. At this time, the anarchists (organized in the FAI) led a union federation (the CNT) with half the working class of Spain and most of the workers in Catalonia, the most industrialized region of Spain, and they had much support among the peasantry. Under anarchist inspiration, workers took over factories and other enterprises and ran them democratically. Peasants voluntarily collectivized their farms. Transportation and communication were run by workers' committees. Police were replaced by workers' patrols. Much of the armed forces were led by the anarchists.

In spite of this, they eventually lost the struggle against fascism. They were to abandon all their principles, joining the capitalist government (including holding the Ministry of Justice). How did this happen?

As Chris says, a turning point came early in the Civil War. After beating the fascists, for the time being, in Catalonia, two anarchist leaders met with the (powerless) president of the regional government. He offered to resign but asked for collaboration instead. Garcia Oliver, one of the anarchists, explained why they chose cooperation with the capitalist state: "The CNT and the FAI decided on collaboration and democracy, renouncing revolutionary totalitarianism which would have led to the strangulation of the revolution by the anarchist and Confederal [CNT] dictatorship... [choosing] between Libertarian Communism, which meant an anarchist dictatorship, and democracy which meant collaboration."

That is, they saw only two alternatives:

(1) The FAI-CNT takes power by itself. But the FAI was a minority even within the CNT; probably most CNT unionists were not anarchists. There were many other workers and

others who did not agree with the full politics of the FAI-CNT. In the country at large, half the working class was organized into the reform socialist union (UGT) and others were not in any union. Therefore if the FAI overthrew the state and established itself as ruler, the result would have been a one-party-state dictatorship. As far as it goes, the logic of this argument seems correct.

(2) Working together with all other anti-fascist forces, including not only the reform socialists but the various capitalist parties, and accepting the existing hegemony of the liberal capitalist state. This started them on a road which led to anarchist ministers in a capitalist government, the defeat of the revolution, and the victory of fascism in Spain (shortly before the start of World War II).

Chris indicates that the anarchists should have taken the first alternative, even though "support for the CNT was not universal." But the anarchist was right on this point: seizure of power by the FAI-CNT would have created "revolutionary totalitarianism [and] anarchist dictatorship."

There was, however, a third alternative. They could have called for the federation of the popular committees and councils (juntas): the factory councils, collectivized peasant villages, soldiers' committees, workers' patrols, etc. Federated together, these could have become an alternate power to the Catalanian government—and, spread nationally, to the Spanish state—a situation of dual power. Such a federal structure could have overthrown the state and carried on revolutionary war against Franco—without creating a party-state dictatorship.

This would have been more, rather than less, democratic than the liberal state. Different political tendencies would have been represented according to how popular they really were among the oppressed. Capitalist parties would have had representation only according to their support among the oppressed (mostly peasants). Coalitions (between anarchists and reform socialists) would have been based on the real balance of forces. As the working people became more radicalized, their regional and national representatives would be more revolutionary.

The program of a federation of councils was raised from the beginning of the Spanish Revolution to the end, by Leon Trotsky and his few Spanish followers. It is true that Trotsky's advocacy of councils was purely instrumental—as a weapon for overthrowing the existing state, not as framework for a new society. We know from the Russian Revolution that he was willing to ban non-Bolshevik socialist parties from the soviets (councils) and to turn the soviets into mere tools of the Bolshevik party. But this does not excuse the anarchists from failing to raise the program of a federation of councils as an alternate power.

FRIENDS OF DURRUTI

Chris repeats his error when discussing the Friends of Durruti. This was a regrouping of truly revolutionary anarchists in opposition to the FAI-CNT leadership. Chris summarizes their position, "The Friends of Durruti also proposed the creation of a Revolutionary Junta to be made up of themselves and other groups that opposed



Spanish Anarchist militia preparing to go to the front.

participation in the Republican government." That is, he claims that they advocated rule by their organization. Not at all.

Actually they proposed a national council elected by workers from their mass unions. Their program, "Towards a Fresh Revolution," states: "Establishment of a Revolutionary Junta or National Defense Council ... Members of the Revolutionary Junta will be elected by democratic vote in union organizations." This is similar to the program for workers' and peasants' councils (although not quite as good since it required working through the existing union structures). Of course they wanted themselves and others of like mind to be elected to the national council, but what they were proposing was a popular democratic structure, not a party-state. Unfortunately, it was too late to save the Spanish Revolution.

LESSONS FOR ANARCHISTS

Perhaps *Love & Rage* could run a series on the history of the Spanish Revolution. It has important lessons for today. Time and again revolutions have thrown up popular councils and similar structures, only to be destroyed by the revolutionary "leaders."

Christopher Day Responds:

Wayne mischaracterizes my position by suggesting that I believe the CNT-FAI should have created an "anarchist dictatorship." I agree with Wayne that by posing this as the only alternative to collaboration with the capitalist state the CNT-FAI leadership was ignoring the possibility of establishing a real revolutionary alternative in the form of a federation of the popular committees and councils. But I also believe that the responsibilities of the CNT-FAI went beyond merely "calling" for such a federation. (Wayne's reference to Trotsky underlines the impotency of simple advocacy of a revolutionary program. It is just as important to build the capacity to implement it.) As the single most powerful revolutionary organization they also had an obligation to strike as decisively against the remnants of the capitalist state as they had against the Francoists and thereby create the conditions in which such a federation could actually take power. Instead they excused their vacillation with nonsensical talk of an "anarchist dictatorship" and lost a valuable revolutionary opportunity.

I agree with Wayne that "anti-authoritarians should consciously use just as much centralization and repression as is necessary and should deliberately work to keep the communal organization as decentralized and radically-democratic as possible." But these are empty generalizations without reference to which measures we think are appropriate when and where. That is why discussions of actual historical experiences are so important. Taking

Today's radicals are divided between the reform socialists, who believe that "democracy" requires them to support the existing bureaucratic-military states and Western imperialism, and the "revolutionaries." These are mostly Maoist, or Castroite, or nationalist, and genuinely desire to overthrow the existing states—in order to replace them with totalitarian party-states. They see their parties as becoming the new states.

Anarchism (or anti-authoritarian socialism), for all its many faults is unique in placing the self-organization of the oppressed at the center of its program—the center of both its ultimate goal and of the means to reach that goal.

In the course of a revolution, a certain amount of centralization and repression (of open counter-revolutionaries) will be necessary, the point of Chris's article. But anti-authoritarians should consciously use just as much centralization and repression as is necessary and should deliberately work to keep the communal organization as decentralized and radically-democratic as possible. Exactly how to maintain this balance is a matter of political judgment, but we must have no ambiguity on our opposition to party-states.★

responsibility for smashing the capitalist state and counter-revolutionary organizations is a repressive act that would have centralized (at least for the moment) power in the hands of the CNT-FAI. Understanding the dangers inherent in such a situation, I think we should be clear that the failure of the CNT-FAI to take such action was irresponsible.

The CNT may have been a minority in Spain as a whole but in Catalonia it had the popular support to push the revolution to a new level. Its leaders chose not to. How such action might have influenced the course of events in the rest of Spain (or the world) we will never know.

Wayne accuses me of claiming that the Friends of Durruti "advocated rule by their organization" when the passage of mine he quotes clearly says that the Junta would be "made up of themselves and other groups." I certainly didn't mean to suggest that the Friends of Durruti did not believe such a Junta should be democratically elected.

Finally, Wayne is correct when he says we (as anarchists) "must have no ambiguity on our opposition to party-states." But the political organizations other than the CNT-FAI that Wayne would want to participate in the revolutionary federation of committees and councils were all statist parties. So we should also be clear that there is no guarantee against statist results except the conscious determination and ability of the oppressed classes to defend their gains against the forces of counter-revolution and to spread the revolution to the rest of the world.★



Anarchist agitator Federica Montseny addresses the Spanish people, 1936

ABOLISH PRISONS

To Love and Rage,
Greetings! Just finished the August/Sept. issue and wanted to say a few words in response to Eric Bryden of Seattle, WA and his "Down to Earth Anarchism" letter. I am a prisoner here in Pennsylvania, who's served almost nine years now, and a large chunk of that in the hole. I've done a lot of reading in that time, as well as talking to people and watching how the prison administration deals with people. I've also taken a college course in criminology. So while I carry no government certification, I feel fairly qualified to speak about crime.

Eric asks what are "we" to do with rapists, murderers, drug dealers and anti-social predators, and goes on to state that some people are locked away from society for good, legitimate reasons. I don't intend to defend murder or rape. But I can say that quite frankly, society, which Mr. Bryden seems to think needs defending, is in many ways the cause of these crimes. Folks are raised to believe that the acquisition of things is the route to happiness. And monopoly capitalism is not designed to allow much room at the top. So for the vast majority, especially blacks, Latinos and Native Americans, "the Amerikkkan dream" is totally out of reach. Everyone reacts to this realization differently. But hostility and anger are not uncommon responses. To live in a ghetto where the TV pumps a constant flow of images of all the things you're never allowed to have is a powerful stimulus toward crime. It is my personal observation that the great majority of property crimes and murders are the result of a desire for things a person is taught to desire, or of the pursuit of drugs and alcohol which are used to squash the unhappiness most poor people feel at the injustice of unequal opportunity.

It seems likely to me that a new social system is the goal of the revolution. And who better to help build it than those most familiar with the drawbacks of the old? Prison is full of people who have done a lot of reflecting on their lives. And who have great potential. Sadly, they lack a focus for their energies because they see no future. Everyone needs a purpose in life. And prisoners are among the most disillusioned of all classes.

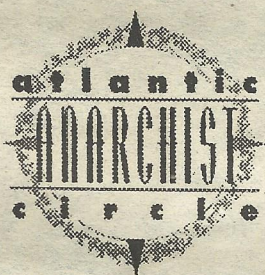
Now as to rape, I see this as a symptom of the same problems. Property rights and the possession of things are pounded into people's heads at an early age. These ideas are seldom if ever even considered by most people. They take it as a given that you can and should own things. And sadly, this attitude is even projected onto human beings. Marriage vows and expression like

"my wife," my kids," are taken very literally. Many studies have been published showing that rape is usually about power and control more than sex. And without digging too deeply into that aspect of it, I do want to say that the rapists I've encountered here were some of the most angry and hostile folks I've ever met. Long years of oppression and disenfranchisement came before their eventual crimes. A re-organization of society, it seems to me, would remove the source of this hostility and alienation for the most part. As well as the concept of ownership or property rights. Let's face it, we're born naked and you can't take anything with you.

Property rights and ownership are a myth perpetrated by the deedholders and owners to live well at the expense of the many and maintain their hegemony. You can't own spaceship earth. But it's a powerful all-pervading myth that requires all the world's governments, laws, court systems, police forces and armies to maintain and enforce. The concept of a few winners and the majority of losers is responsible not only for the anger, hatred, hostility and lack of concern for our fellow human beings so prevalent in the world today, it is the source of a great deal of insecurity, suicide, mental health problems, alienation, lack of self-esteem, unhappiness, and a general confusion over why "things," once acquired, don't bring happiness. These feelings lead to the lion's share of drug use. I don't mean to tell you that once the system is done away with and we begin to live a saner way of life, crime will go away. But since freedom is a two-edged sword, entailing on the one hand that one can do as one likes, and on the other that one must be responsible for one's actions, it seems likely that most of the time problems will be dealt with on a case by case basis as they arise. Laws and prisons must be done away with. They serve no good purpose, and are of no positive use to anyone. Society included. The causes of crime are closely tied to the current organization of society and when the causes are removed, the lion's share of the problems will go with it. And I submit to you for consideration the idea that people who still commit acts seen as atrocious when the sources of inequality are removed, may well be suffering from serious mental problems.

Hopefully, this gives you some food for thought, and I would welcome any feedback anyone might have.

Robert Wilcox "Treetop" Lewis
A.J. 3326
P.O. Box 99901
Pittsburgh, PA 15233-0901



The recently formed Atlantic Anarchist Circle is a regional political alliance based on practical applications to enhance ongoing projects, to assist the development of new projects, and to help individuals stay in touch with the larger anarchist movement. We hope that our regional circle, once organized, will lend strength to the existing anarchist federations and networks.

Currently we are conducting a "roll call" in order to better understand the nature and scope of our movement, and also creating a speakers' bureau with a network of anarchist-oriented speaking locations that will facilitate educational tours. The proposed projects include alternative schools, study groups, mutual aid systems for the personal health and welfare of members and other activities.

Individuals as well as groups living on the Atlantic seaboard (loosely defined as spanning from Montréal to Washington, D.C.) are encouraged to participate. The developing structure is based on anti-authoritarian, democratic process. We meet about twice a month in New York City.★

Contact the following address or call Alexis for more information or to participate in the roll call:
Atlantic Anarchist Circle
PO Box 42531
Philadelphia, PA 19107
215-563-8720

Mother of Slain Prison Activist Appeals for Funds, Connections

Carmetta Gentles' last appeal to charge the prison guards believed responsible for her son's death was rejected and now her legal route is thrown in doubt. For her pioneering efforts in having the guards charged, Carmetta now faces significant legal bills that must be paid, before she can make another move through the courts. But Carmetta would like all those who have supported her to know that the fight is not over yet! Not until some measure of justice has been had.

As people all over Southern Ontario have come to know, Carmetta Gentles, a single working mother of adult children, has lent her voice to any and every struggle dealing with police and prison brutality that has arisen in the nearly three years since her son's death.

Robert "Tex" Gentles died in 1993 in Kingston Penitentiary, while six guards were on top of him, one whose knee was on the back of Robert's throat, and after they had excessively maced his cell. The official cause of death is listed as "positional asphyxiation."

At the time of his death, Robert was becoming prominent among conscious Caribbean-Canadian prisoners. He was a founding member of the Prison Violence Project.

Carmetta is now hoping to make contact with any of the families of those recently shot dead by police in the Toronto area, as well as those who are struggling around issues of police brutality. If these campaigns can work together, they will be stronger.

October 24 will mark the third year since Robert Gentles' death. On this date for the last two years, Carmetta, her family and supporters held a vigil in Kingston, Ont. Carmetta intends to hold another one there this year, but is also appealing to have the campaign and the issues surrounding it represented at the next mass event protesting the Tory Government in Toronto, also planned for the weekend of October 24.★

Please send all donations
and correspondence to:
Justice for Gentles Campaign
c/o P.O. Box 57069, Jackson Stn.
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