

Haciendo un Mundo Nuevo

¡Revolución Social!

AMOR Y RABIA ES UN PERIÓDICO ANARQUISTA revolucionario producido por l@s compañer@s de la Federación Amor y Rabia en México, D.F. Lleva mucho del contenido que trae la edición en inglés, pero también ofrece contenido autónoma.

Amor y Rabia se puede conseguir en suscripciones individuales o en cantidades más grandes para distribuidores. Para un año, los precios son casi iguales que aquellos de la edición en inglés: US\$1 (o equivalente) para cada número; US\$13 anuales para una suscripción de primera clase en los EE.UU. y PR (las suscripciones de tercera clase no se ofrecerán hasta que se acumule un número más grande de suscriptores); US\$18 anuales para una suscripción internacional (fuera de EE.UU. o PR); distribuidores de 10 periódicos o más; 35 centavos cada uno (50 centavos para distribuidores profesionales). Suscripciones de *Amor y Rabia* para presos, personas con SIDA y soldados en Puerto Rico, los EE.UU. y Canadá son completamente gratis. Para distribuir *Amor y Rabia* en Latinoamérica favor de comunicarse con el grupo mexicano:

Amor y Rabia
(no escriba 'Amor y Rabia' en el sobre)
A.P. 462 Admón
Palacio Postal (1)
C.P. 06002
México, D.F. México

Actualmente tenemos varios números de *Amor y Rabia*, disponibles en cantidades pequeñas y grandes. Pueden pedir la que les interesa o mejor suscribirse para recibir todas.

[Atención presos, soldados y personas con SIDA: como no tenemos forma de averiguar su preferencia, les mandaremos solamente la edición en inglés a menos que nos avisen que quieren aquella en español. Si quieren ambas o para cualquier otro cambio en su suscripción gratis, favor de comunicarse con nosotros en Nueva York.]

—Grupo de Producción, Nueva York

Aspect Foundation
PO Box 853
Stuyvesant Station
New York, NY 10009

NONPROFIT ORG.
U.S. POSTAGE PAID
NEW YORK, NY
PERMIT NO. 5535

**AMOR
Y
RABIA**
UN PERIÓDICO ANARQUISTA
REVOLUCIONARIO

MEX
\$3
USD
\$1



Contenido:

- ★ ¡Conformando el Frente Zapatista!
- ★ Muerte y Traición en Chinameca
- ★ Clausura de la Reunión Continental
- ★ Resistencia y Lucha contra el Neoliberalismo
- ★ Mujeres Indígenas Ayer, Hoy y Mañana

8 de Marzo en San Cristóbal, Chiapas
AÑO 3, NÚMERO 2 MARZO/ABRIL 1996

¡Suscríbete a *Amor y Rabia* completamente en español!

Amor y Rabia ahora está disponible en una edición independiente y completamente en español que se edita en México, D.F. y se reimprime en los EE.UU.

- ☐ US\$13 Para un año (6 números) en EE.UU. o PR.
- ☐ US\$18 Para un año (6 números) Internacional
- ☐ ¡Gratis! para presos, soldados y personas con SIDA en los EE.UU., Canadá y Puerto Rico
- ☐ Mando \$_____ para pagar por las suscripciones gráti.

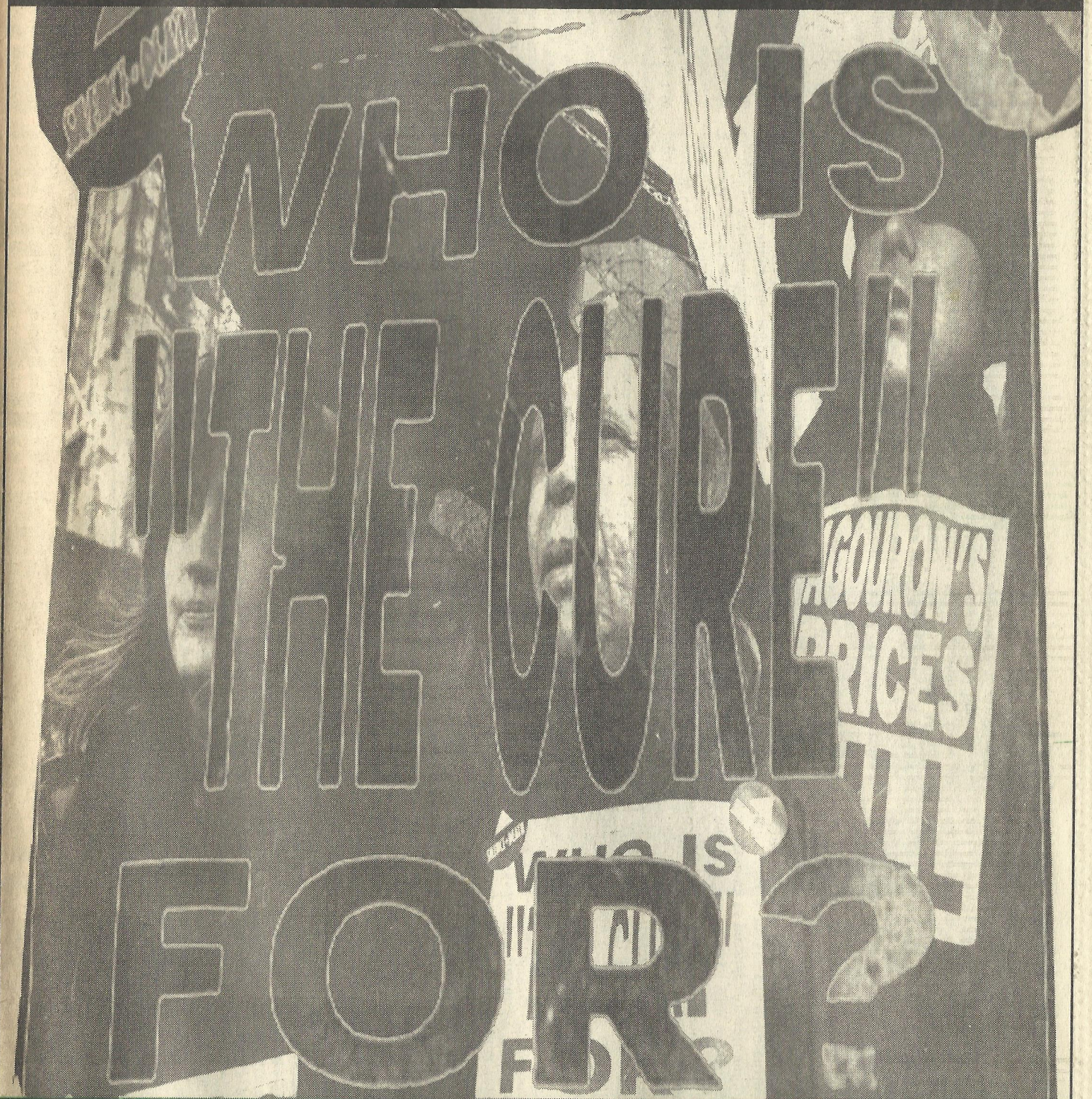
Nombre _____
Dirección _____
Ciudad _____
Estado/Provincia _____
Zip/Código Postal _____
Teléfono _____

Favor de mandar su cheque o giro postal a:

Love and Rage
PO Box 853 Stuyvesant Station
New York, NY 10009

LOVE & RAGE

REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHIST NEWSPAPER



Volume 8, Number 3

June / July 1997

\$1

ACT UP! Slams a Bully Market Marks 10 years with return to Wall Street

BY MAXX AND JESSIE

On March 24, ACT UP marked its tenth anniversary with a show of strength and outrage on Wall Street. More than

500 activists gathered at City Hall and marched downtown to "Crash the Market," stopping traffic and paralyzing Lower Manhattan for three hours. Protesters demanded an end to the price-gouging by

pharmaceutical and health care industries and affordable, effective, AIDS and HIV treatments for all. Comprised of at least ten affiliated organizations, the demonstration raised a ruckus, chanted and attempted to block the entrances to the New York Stock Exchange.

The demonstration marked ten years since the first ACT UP protest, held at the Stock Exchange building, where activists halted trading for an historic three seconds. Then ACT UP called for corporate and government action to ease the AIDS crisis, by cutting the annual price of AZT, the only FDA-approved drug treating HIV infection at that time. After further protests, the price of AZT was greatly reduced.

ACT UP also used the occasion of its tenth anniversary to reflect on a decade of activism and set a forward-looking agenda with a variety of events including a two-day conference.

During this month's action, ACT UP sought to raise awareness about the pharmaceutical companies' tremendous profits from AIDS drugs, their lack of adequate testing of AIDS drugs on women and children, and their practice of stalling the release of life-saving drugs that would replace existing highly-profitable drug combinations. They also protested govern-

ment healthcare cuts and called on the US Congress to investigate the AIDS drug industry on these abuses.

The AIDS drug industry is massive and accounts in part for the fact that pharmaceutical companies rank among the most profitable corporations. Most People with AIDS (PWAs) with access to sophisticated medical treatment take combinations of three or more anti-retroviral drugs, such as AZT and protease inhibitors, at a combined yearly cost of \$12,000 to \$20,000 per person. About 25% of HIV-positive people in the United States have no health insurance or Medicaid and are soon to be joined by the thousands now on Medicaid about to be kicked off public assistance rolls under new federal and state welfare cuts. Federal caps on Medicaid prescription payments will stop many Medicaid recipients from taking protease inhibitors regularly, a practice which can cause strains of HIV to become resistant to the inhibitors. Many AIDS activists see the high cost of HIV and AIDS treatments as the most crucial issue in the war against AIDS.

Demonstrators for the main march gathered at City Hall Park at 7:30 am, where

(Continued to page 16)



Pillbearers say Wall Street's making a killing on people with AIDS.

BY CHRISTOPHER DAY

After a lot of work and several delays the Martyrs of Chicago Direct Solidarity Encampment completed construction of a Women's Center in the Zapatista village of El Copin in Chiapas, Mexico. The Center was officially inaugurated on February 23 with a fiesta. Women from the Encampment and from the village performed a play and two songs about the Zapatistas' Women's Revolutionary Law for the inauguration.

The Women's Center is one of the main projects of the Encampment, an explicitly anarchist project initiated by Mexican members of the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation. The Martyrs of Chicago Encampment began in April 1996 as the first of what is hoped will be several anarchist encampments in Zapatista territory. It is located in El Copin, a Tojolabal village that has supported the Zapatistas for thirteen years. The first task of the Encampment was to re-open the village's school, which had been closed for years. The First of May Anti-Authoritarian School was opened on May 1, 1996. The construction of the two other main projects of the Encampment, the Women's Center and a Health Clinic, were delayed for many months by difficulties in obtaining construction materials and by the military encirclement of Zapatista-controlled territories.

(Continued to page 17)

Anarchists Open Women's Center in Zapatista Village



Celebration to inaugurate the Women's Center in El Copin, Chiapas.

Religious Right Exposed and Embarrassed in Minneapolis

BY JUSTINE/ MINNEAPOLIS ARA

Human Life International (HLI) held its 16th annual world conference in Bloomington, Minnesota, a suburb of Minneapolis, on April 16-20. HLI is a "pro-life" Catholic group founded in 1981 by Father Paul Marx. They have 53 chapters worldwide. HLI has ties to more openly militant anti-abortion groups. For example Joseph Scheidler, one of the most influential and militant anti-abortion activists in the US and founder of the Pro-Life Action League, and Randall Terry, leader of Operation Rescue, have both spoken at HLI conferences. HLI is the world's largest distributor of "pro-life" propaganda—John Salvi had HLI literature in his possession before he shot and killed clinic workers in Brookline, Massachusetts. And HLI has campaigned internationally to make abortion illegal; they claim responsibility for the defeat of legalized abortion in seven countries.



The Fight the Right Coalition holds HLI captive inside the St. Paul Cathedral.

Minneapolis's campaign of resistance against HLI targeted not only their opposition to abortion and a woman's right to choice, but their racist ideas about the Jewish community, Muslims, other communities of color and immigrants, and their blatant homophobia and fear of sexuality. The Fight the Right Coalition (a coalition initiated by Minneapolis Anti-Racist Action which included Refuse and Resist, individual activists, students at Macalester College, Love and Rage Anarchist Federation, and the SWP) came together in January to begin organizing against HLI. Our first planned action was a kiss-in on April 16 at the St. Paul Cathedral, where HLI had its opening conference mass.

As a result of the outreach work of the Coalition to various Jewish groups, particularly the American Jewish Committee, the Archbishop of the St. Paul Cathedral was

(Continued to page 8)

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 political projects together. *Love and Rage* is produced by a Production Group in New York City. The Production Group is made up of volunteers and one full-time staff person. *Love and Rage* is one of the many projects of the Federation, which also produces the Spanish-language *Amor y Rabia* in Mexico City, and supports and initiates various actions and campaigns.

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

The Federation is not a closed circle of friends. You can join *Love and Rage* 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 *Love and Rage* projects. Please contact us.

Amor y Rabia
A.P. 462 Admón
Palacio Postal (1)
C.P. 06002
Mexico, DF MEXICO
(Don't address envelope to Amor y Rabia)

Love and Rage Federation Office
1929 S. 5th Street
Minneapolis, MN 55454
(612) 580-6863 (note: this is a new phone #)

Love and Rage Newspaper
PO Box 853 Stuyvesant Station
New York, NY 10009
(718) 834-9077
email: lnr@blythe.org

Visit the Love & Rage Website at:
<http://emma.unm.edu/lnr/>

Newspaper Production Group:
Brad, Laura, Matt C, Paul, Roy
Cover by Michelle, photo by ACT UP NY
Special thanks to ChrisH.

Love and Rage is printed on recycled paper, using soy-based inks, by a union printer. ISSN # 1065-2000. If you are having trouble getting the paper, please call or write to the newspaper office.

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. 1,750 words, a full newspaper page, is a long article. We will not accept submissions over 3,500 words in length. Submissions will 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.

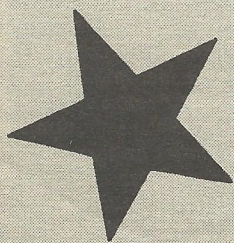


Table of Contents

- | | | | |
|---|--|----|--|
| 1 | ACT UP Slams a Bully Market
Anarchists Open Women's Center in Zapatista Village
Religions Right Exposed and Embarrassed in Minneapolis | 7 | Indigenous Autonomy-Address by Amor y Rabia |
| 2 | L&R Conference Report | 8 | Thousands Stand Against KKK in Pittsburgh |
| 3 | Editorial: Building a Multiracial Organization | 9 | Nazi Rock Outfit Raided by State
Buffalo ARA Runs Racist Rockers Outta Town
Harlem ARA Tells All |
| 4 | Puerto Rican Cultural Center Resists Attacks in Chicago
Demonstrate at UN for Puerto Rican PPs/POWs | 10 | Revolution in Zaire--New Society in Doubt |
| 5 | CUNY Students Fight Budget Cuts
Detroit Newspaper Strike Continues | 12 | Political Prisoner News
Georgia Anarchist Re-Indicted
Justice for the Minnesota 8 |
| 6 | Detroit Student Walkout
Fighting for a Newer School
Revolutionary Anarchist Youth Tour
Youth for Justice and Democracy Conference | 13 | Palante! A Brief History of the Young Lords |
| | | 14 | Monsanto et. al Pushes Hormone-Laced Milk |
| | | 19 | Letters |

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

Albuquerque Love and Rage
PO Box 25412
Albuquerque, NM 87125

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

Detroit Love and Rage
PO Box 24952
Detroit, MI 48224

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

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

Mexico D.F. Amor y Rabia
A.P. Admón
Palacio Postal (1)
C.P. 06002
México, D.F. MEXICO
(don't address envelopes to Amor y Rabia)

Minneapolis Love and Rage
1929 S. 5th Street
Minneapolis, MN 55454
(612) 580-6863

New York Love and Rage
PO Box 853, Stuyvesant Station
New York, NY 10009
(718) 834-9077

Olympia Love and Rage
120 State Ave. NE #1424
Olympia, WA 98501-8212

Phoenix Love and Rage
PO Box 1543
Phoenix, AZ 85001

SF / Bay Area Love and Rage
PO Box 3606
Oakland, CA 94609-0606

Vermont Love and Rage
PO Box 26
North Montpelier, VT 05666

Washington DC Love and Rage
PO Box 2824
Merrifield, VA 22116
lnr-dc@wizard.net

Write the Federation Office in Minneapolis
if there's no group listed for your city.

Love & Rage Had a Conference...

BASED ON A REPORT BY DUFF MCINTOSH

The Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation held its seventh annual conference March 27-30 in East Lansing, Michigan. About 60-70 people attended, including observers from Anti-Racist Action (ARA) and the Network of Anarchist Collectives (NAC). It was hoped that two major tasks could be accomplished: finishing L&R's Political Statement and deciding our strategic orientation for organizing in the coming year. Some thought one or the other more important and it was clear there would not be time to get both done fully.

After much discussion, we approved the first two sections of a Political Statement. We scrapped two Working Groups in favor of two new ones. We discussed and debated gender and sexism, as well as Marxism and anarchism. Locals and individual members updated each other on their activity. The



A Love and Rage member votes in favor of creating a working group on animal-balloon rights. Afterwards, 30 federation members piled into a Volkswagen and went for pizza.

conference discussed internal business and elected a new Coordinating Committee. And finally Jorge, a member from Mexico City-Amor y Rabia, gave a public presentation on Indigenous Autonomy and Mexican Anarchism (see page 7 for a translation of his talk).

POLITICAL STATEMENT

Important progress was made on the various sections of the political statement leading up to the conference. But due to time constraints, the only sections we were able to hash out as a group that weekend were those on Revolution and Race and Colonialism. These two sections will be published in the newspaper. Here we can only hint at the nature of the debate. On revolution we touched on some compelling issues: What is our relationship as a revolutionary organization to the movement/people at large? Some wording suggested we participate as equals, period. But many objected that this position abdicated responsibility. Instead we agreed that the role of an organization like Love and Rage (and something we already practice) is to provide leadership in movements to build power to the people.

We took out a part of the document criticizing a mostly mythical tendency in anarchism that sees bookstores and the like as a strategy for revolution. In its place we adopted positions on dual power: "a state of affairs in which people have begun to create alternatives to the power of the state both militarily and in the social institutions which can fulfill the useful functions formerly provided by the state," as well as a broad understanding of counter-institutions as a component of a revolutionary situation where we would "support and encourage the development of mass counter-institutions such as workplace committees, community organizations and popular councils."

At issue were also questions over the prominence of violence; the relative impor-

tance of insurrection versus other strategies in a revolutionary process; the extent to which revolution is a moment in time or an endless process; whether a revolution would necessarily do away with every institutional element of the status quo, and how revolutionary consciousness is developed.

The draft we elected to work with on race and colonialism approaches the issues with an historical narrative. We chose this over a version that, we determined got too mired down in the specifics of each ethnic group's experience. But what the historical draft gained in nuance, some thought, it lost in oomph and specificity. Much of the conversation revolved around making this historical analysis also take uncompromising positions against white supremacy and strategies to fight all its forms. The statement rejects narrow nationalism and the subordination of race to class issues, but also refuses a liberal integrationist approach to race and ethnicity. We all agreed that race itself is a construction that can and has been used by all stripes of people to manipulate folks for their own ends. We committed ourselves to building a multi-racial organization.

Canadian members rejected a section that inadequately addressed the specifics of race and colonialism there, and volunteered to draft a more thorough treatment.

We had some debate over how useful the concept of "whiteness" is to the fight against white supremacy. Some folks also expressed frustration at the lack of real integration in our analysis of how racism and colonialism, for example, relate to women. While there remained some rough spots and lots of revision to be made, we managed to reach a high enough level of agreement to pass the section.

Generally folks were all pretty pleased with what was a larger degree of unity than expected. But upon completing discussion and ratification of these two sections it became apparent that they were all we

(Continued to next page)

Building a Multi-Racial / Multi-National Revolutionary Anarchist Organization

We can not imagine an anarchist revolution in the United States that is not multi-racial and multi-national in character. White supremacy is so central to the workings of US society that a movement that does not involve the full participation of the masses of Black, Latino, Asian and Native peoples can not realize our vision of a truly free society. Accordingly if Love and Rage is to carry out the tasks we believe are required of a revolutionary anarchist organization, we must become a multi-national/multi-racial organization.

An organization that does not have deep roots in the communities of all oppressed peoples can not hope to develop a revolutionary theory and practice that can win real freedom for all people. Only a multi-racial/multi-national organization can hope to develop the collective political perspective necessary to take on the system we are up against. We do not want to be a multi-racial/multi-national organization just to make ourselves feel good, but rather because we believe this is a prerequisite for making revolution in this country. Building such an organization is profoundly different and more difficult than just participating in or building multi-racial and multi-national mass movements. To do so we need to confront a number of difficult issues.

With a few exceptions the experiences of predominantly white organizations seeking to transform themselves into multi-racial and multi-national organizations has not been a good one. The recurrent spectacle of self-appointed white vanguards bringing the "correct line" to people of color has given rise to a legitimate skepticism on the part of many activists of color about the project of building multi-racial/multi-national formations. If our efforts are to succeed we must be willing to learn as well as teach.

An alternative to building multi-racial/multi-national organizations is the idea of an alliance of organizations each based among different race or nationality groups. While we uphold both the right and necessity for oppressed peoples to form their own organizations, we do not think these should be the only type of organiza-

tions that should be built. We believe that large numbers of white people will need to participate in any successful social revolution in this country. This can only happen if the deeply-held loyalties to white power and privilege are broken. As history has taught us, it's been the struggles of people of color that have fractured the allegiances of whites to the system of white supremacy. It has been in multi-racial/multi-national organizations that the best fighters against white supremacy among white people have been schooled.

While we recognize the deep roots white supremacy has in the consciousness of most white people, we do not believe that only a handful of exemplary white people can be won to fighting white supremacy. We believe an end to this whole rotten system is in the ultimate interests of the vast majority of humanity, including the majority of white people. Accordingly, we reject the notion of the "white solidarity organization" that acts under the leadership of this or that people of color organization. The abdication by white people of the responsibility for thinking for themselves does not magically erase the colonial dynamic that exists between white people and people of color. The evasion of struggle over questions of principle for fear of being unpopular or criticized by people of color can only be called the politics of guilt. Moreover, the decision to take leadership from a particular organization is itself an intervention in the internal affairs of the community in which that organization is based. There is no escape from the logic of this society other than a revolutionary commitment to change it.

Since its founding Love and Rage has had a number of experiences that have taught us some valuable lessons about what it means to try to become a truly multi-racial/multi-national organization. We have committed both of the kinds of mistakes discussed above and we are still not the kind of organization we want to be. With the notable exception of our Mexican section we remain a mostly white and middle-class organization.

While we recognize that we still have much to learn from many different strug-

gles we do not think the main obstacle to winning people of color to Love and Rage is our internationalism, our anarchism or our criticisms of any kind of nationalism. Our biggest obstacle is that Love and Rage is still culturally very white and therefore not the most immediately inviting place for people of color. Many Love and Rage members came to revolutionary anarchist politics through the punk and alternative music scenes which, in the United States at least, are overwhelmingly white. People of color who join Love and Rage today will do so because of our politics and in spite of our perceived whiteness. Smashing this culture of whiteness then is a major task in becoming the kind of truly inclusive organization we are committed to building.

We have been deeply influenced by many national liberation struggles in the Third World and the revolutionary nationalism of people of color organizations in North America. But we are not nationalists and we have criticisms of many people we respect and admire in struggle. To us the historical record is clear: nationalism does not offer an adequate program for human liberation and in too many instances, so-called revolutionary nationalism has provided a justification for the maintenance of systems of oppression. And in an increasingly globalized culture and economy we question whether national liberation struggles will occupy the central place in the world-wide struggle for freedom that they have for the past century.

We support the right of all oppressed peoples to self-determination. This means the right to choose between full political separation or simply the maintenance of autonomous cultural and community organizations. We do not believe that building a multi-racial/multi-national organization is in contradiction with this principle. In practice the freedom to fully exercise the right



Communist Party-led sit-down strike, American Casting Company, Birmingham, Alabama, 1937. In the 1930s the CP built a primarily Black yet multiracial movement and organization in Alabama.

of self-determination can only be won through a revolution involving people of every race and nationality.

The people of all colors who are most likely to be drawn to Love and Rage will be those who have been influenced to one degree or another by revolutionary nationalism but who reject the nation-state and who have embraced a broader politics that doesn't subordinate questions of gender, sexuality or class to those of race and nation.

Smashing white supremacy and white privilege is a priority for Love and Rage. We see the project of building a multi-racial and multi-national revolutionary anarchist organization as a necessary part of that fight. We understand that in order to become such an organization we will have to go through some serious changes. We know these changes will not all be easy. We are fighting 500 years of racist history. We know that our responsibility is not merely to diversify our membership but to transform ourselves as individuals and as an organization. Because we are revolutionaries we have faith that this can be done.★

L&R Conference

(Continued from page 2)

would have time to discuss. We will try to finish up the statement with continued debate in locals and revision by delegates.

WORKING GROUPS

People discussed what they believed was or was not working in L&R's Working Groups (WGs) and organizing in general. The Anti-fascist WG has been the strongest in L&R, perhaps because of its clear goal of helping to build the Anti-Racist Action Network and the anti-statist and feminist work within it. Some folks expressed frustration that protecting women's reproductive freedom and fighting the Christian right never drum up the same amount of enthusiasm as facing off with Nazis.

Neither Mexico Solidarity nor Prison Abolition work benefited much from the Working Group structure. We decided to discontinue the Working Group but continue activism around prison issues on a local by local basis and to keep this as an ongoing focus in the newspaper.

And instead of a Mexico Working Group, we endorsed a proposal to encourage Love and Rage locals and other folks to form Direct Solidarity Committees to support Love and Rage Mexico members in their encampment project in Chiapas.

The group narrowly endorsed the formation of an anti-cop working group. This group will direct its efforts at directly confronting state power, separating this activity of copwatches and anti-police brutality campaigns from antifascism, which targets fascistic movements that are independent from the state.

The conference also initiated a broadly-conceived, anti-poverty/anti-neoliberalism

Working Group. This WG was envisioned to coordinate the campaigns against cuts to social services that Love and Rage members have initiated and participated in. The WG will get Vermonters involved in a campaign for a Living Wage talking with New Yorkers fighting CUNY cuts and Minneapolis folks resisting welfare cuts and workfare sentences. The hope is that we can make headway in developing revolutionary strategy in this area where people are on the move.

BOLSHEVIKS IN THE BATHROOM?

The conference also continued an ongoing debate in L&R around the adequacy of the anarchist tradition to the task of answering vital questions facing revolutionaries, such as the way to win a revolutionary conflict, politically and militarily, how to organize society on a democratic basis while also ensuring that a community can meet challenges to its decisions by its opponents, etc. Some expressed fear that other members are adopting or promoting what are considered Marxist views, or trying to open the organization to non-anarchists. Some Love and Rage members claim to have learned from Marxism without adopting a stages theory of history or an elitist outlook. To make sure the body addressed these issues in the absence of consensus around an entire political statement, one member floated a controversial proposal calling on members to affirm their commitment to anti-statism and (undefined) revolutionary anarchist principles. Many spoke out against this call as McCarthyite loyalty oath and condemned it as fanning the unhealthy flames of suspicion in the organization. Nevertheless, the debate did allow some to dispose of rumors of heresy and to condemn the idea that looking beyond an anarchist tradition for answers to hard questions is heretical. In the end, the conference voted an over-

whelming endorsement of the bottom line revolutionary anarchist position.

WOMEN'S CAUCUS

This conference saw the most productive and exciting women's caucus to date. Love and Rage women discussed the feminist work done on a local level and talked about advancing feminism in Love and Rage's organizing strategies. One obstacle to the development of feminist strategy, we concluded, has been the limited focus on reproductive freedom and anti-abortion politics. This struggle leaves us on the defensive and doesn't, at least easily, have us organizing in communities of poor women and women of color. The emerging work fighting US and Canadian austerity measures, women pointed out, tends to root us more frequently in issues and lives of those under attack—precisely poor women, and women of color. Also these campaigns inevitably force us up against the anti-woman, anti-queer, so-called family values ideology propping up the new order. The caucus planned a women's self-defense retreat for the summer time and arranged a federation-wide coordinated study of a Revolutionary Feminism reader.

MEXICO UPDATE

Amor y Rabia (AyR) in Mexico City has been keeping the Spanish-language newspaper on the back burner for a variety of reasons, including financial. They have been working with the Zapatistas' urban organization, the Zapatista National Liberation Front (FZLN), but have run into difficulties with political parties that are forever trying to take over protest movements in Mexico. In addition, the situation in Mexico City is tense, with continual militarization of different parts of the city by the army.

For eight months AyR set up and stabilized The Martyrs of Chicago Encampment in Chiapas. This project has become the central focus of their activity. In northern Chiapas it's a war situation, but they report that the situation is not as oppressive in the southern jungle.

It was agreed that communication between US and Mexico needs to improve. Two folks were picked to keep these lines of communication open. The idea of translating the internal bulletin into Spanish and English was discussed but not finalized. The idea of a US speaking tour by an Amor y Rabia member in Summer '97 came up.

STRUCTURAL CHANGES

Structurally Love and Rage moved slowly toward a more locally-based membership organization. The federation council (FC), the delegate body that carries out the memberships' mandates between conferences, was revised to be composed of delegates chosen by locals rather than of at-large members chosen at conferences. The FC was encouraged to meet face-to-face at least once a year and get some business done that clutters up membership conferences, which are now slated to happen less frequently—at least once every two years.

We rid ourselves of the provision for autonomous blocs within our organization in order to differentiate our alliances with other organizations from unity within our own. We passed a new dues proposal with the hopes of improving folks' financial commitments to our projects, and we resolved to continue building new locals.

Serious commitment abounded despite frustration at not finishing the political statement and some hard feelings over the harsh tone of some of the debates. In the end we reaffirmed our intention to keep building a multi-racial, working class organization. Get involved!★

The Cage But Not The Bird:

Puerto Rican Cultural Center Resists Attacks in Chicago

BY MIKE POIZONE

Pedro Albizu Campos, arguably the most important Puerto Rican nationalist of the twentieth century, once remarked that what the US wants from Puerto Rico is "the cage, but not the bird." That is, get rid of (assimilate, displace, ignore, replace) the people, and get the motherfuckin' land! Over the past few months, in the latest chapter in a three decade struggle for self-determination, the Puerto Rican community in Chicago has been attacked in just this way.

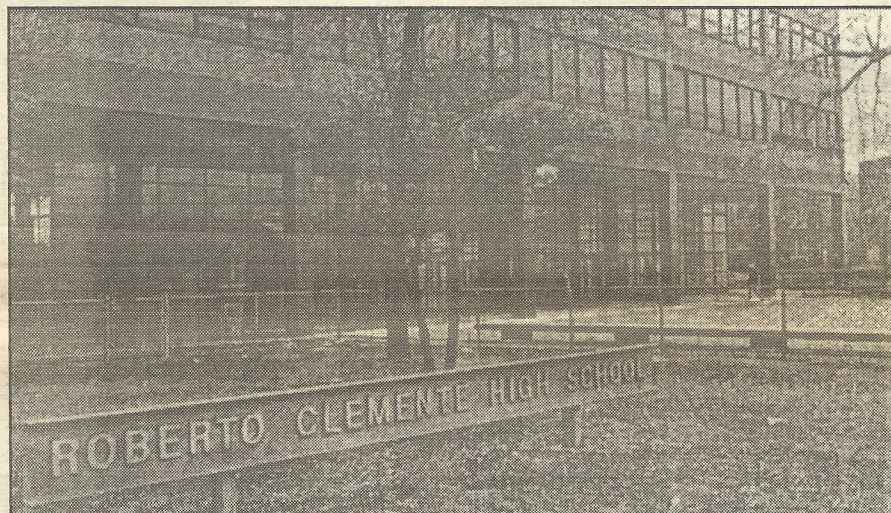
Fortunately, these attacks have not gone unchallenged. On February 4, 1997, the Chicago *Sun-Times* ran an expose headlined "School Funds Used to Push Terrorists' Release," cowritten by staff reporter Michelle Campbell and gossip columnist (!) Michael Sneed. Full of factual errors and using openly biased sources, the article claimed that Puerto Rican independentistas had taken over Roberto Clemente Community Academy, the local high school, and were using public money to fund anti-American subversion. In particular, the misused money was supposedly being pocketed by local groups engaged in efforts to have "violent criminals" released from prison. This was just the first in a series of articles, in both daily papers and the "alternative" weekly, that attempted to undermine the community's resistance to the rapid gentrification of Humboldt Park, the near northwest side neighborhood that is home to most of Chicago's Puerto Rican population.

The media coverage was also intended to

days after the first article was published, a press conference was held to denounce its red-baiting and racist content. The press conference involved both radical activists and mainstream elements of the Latino community. Even more impressive was the Vigil of Dignity held on February 12. At the end of a five-mile march in sub-freezing temperatures from Division Street, the heart of the Humboldt Park community, to the *Sun-Times* building, more than 500 protesters held a rally in support of Clemente Academy and the community it serves. Meanwhile, friends and supporters of the Cultural Center and the National Committee bombarded the *Sun-Times* with letters to the editor. The community has begun a campaign to raise awareness on the issues with tours, leaflets, and other educational activities.

THE BIG PICTURE: PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND GENTRIFICATION

Historically in Chicago, struggles against gentrification have been focused on public schools. In the 1960s, Waller High School, a near north side Chicago public school with a predominantly Black and Puerto Rican student body, was "reconstituted" as Lincoln Park Academy, which became a key institution in the gentrification of its



disrupt an international campaign to free fifteen Puerto Rican political prisoners, which in Chicago has been led by the Puerto Rican Cultural Center and the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War and Political Prisoners, both organizations accused in these articles of misusing funds. This bad press was followed by a series of investigations by various government agencies, at least two of which are ongoing.

The community's response was swift. Two

neighborhood. More ex-suburbanites were interested in an area with an "academically rigorous" high school, especially if it had few poor Blacks and Puerto Ricans. The Black and Puerto Rican population was forced to move west in order to be nearer to high schools that would accept students with lower test scores and darker skin. Today, Lincoln Park is one of the whitest, most yuppified neighborhoods in Chicago.

Many people in Humboldt Park fear that something similar is in the works for



Mural on the Puerto Rican Cultural Center in Chicago.

Clemente. In recent years the Puerto Rican community has been forced westward yet again as more and more neighborhoods are gentrified. Clemente Academy is now at the eastern end of the community, and it has also become the high school closest to the newly gentrified areas of Wicker Park and Bucktown. In other words, it sits on valuable turf.

The attempt to portray Clemente as an educational failure, where teenagers are indoctrinated to be anti-American at the expense of any gain in cognitive skills, is widely perceived as a ploy to justify the reconstitution of the school. This process would allow the central Board of Education to close and re-open the school with an entirely new staff and student body. The new Clemente could become an "exemplary" magnet school for white kids, with a more politically-acceptable staff; no more open admissions of low-income kids regardless of their academic records, to be taught by radical teachers. Further, reconstitution could strip Clemente's Local School Council of its power. The LSC, a legacy of the struggle for public school decentralization and reform is a sort of PTA with decision-making power; every Chicago middle and high school has one. LSCs have allowed community residents increased say in the education of their children, and have often won radical educational alternatives previously unheard-of in the public school system here: smaller classes, student-centered education, parental involvement, and less repressive security structures. Clemente, for instance, has no metal detectors—no small feat for a 2,000-student school in an area with heavy gang activity. If Clemente's LSC is disbanded, even such admittedly limited attempts at alternative education would be in jeopardy.

For now, the battle against gentrification is succeeding, thanks in large part to a community development scheme focused on the blocks immediately west of Clemente. Flanked at either end by the world's largest Puerto Rican flags, steel structures that stretch from one sidewalk to the other, four long blocks of Division Street have undergone something of a

renaissance in the past two years. Dozens of new Puerto Rican businesses have opened, and increasing numbers of buildings have been purchased by community residents rather than by speculating real estate agents.

THE BIGGER PICTURE: PRISONERS AND INDEPENDENCE

Until the early 1970s, Clemente was known as Tuley High School, and had a racist history of ignoring the concerns of Puerto Rican students. As more Puerto Ricans were pushed out of Lincoln Park and entered Tuley, demands for appropriate, accountable, community-controlled education grew. The Puerto Rican Cultural Center and its small alternative high school, now named after Pedro Albizu Campos, both came out of this struggle. After a series of student strikes, protests, and riots, Tuley itself was reconstituted as Roberto Clemente Community Academy, named after the greatest Puerto Rican baseball player ever.

One of the central organizers of the struggle that changed Tuley into Clemente was a young teacher named Carmen Valentin. She and another organizer, Oscar Lopez-Rivera, helped found Albizu Campos High School and the Puerto Rican Cultural Center. Twenty-five years later, Carmen and Oscar are Prisoners of War, held in US prisons with thirteen others for their efforts on behalf of Puerto Rican independence (see *Love and Rage* Vol. 7 No. 1 April/ May 96).

The *Sun-Times* piece and other articles on the Clemente situation have identified these prisoners as terrorists even though they weren't convicted of any violent crimes and in spite of the obviously political nature of their incarceration. This slander is just one of many attacks on the growing international campaign to free the fifteen through a presidential pardon.

As the campaign makes gains, it has been subject to more and more political attacks. Many of these attacks have from *El Pito*, a semi-anonymously published news-

(Continued to page 18)

Demonstrate at UN: Free Puerto Rican POWs

From 8 am Thursday June 19 until 8 pm Friday June 20, the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights will hold a vigil at Ralph Bunche Plaza, 43rd Street and First Avenue outside the

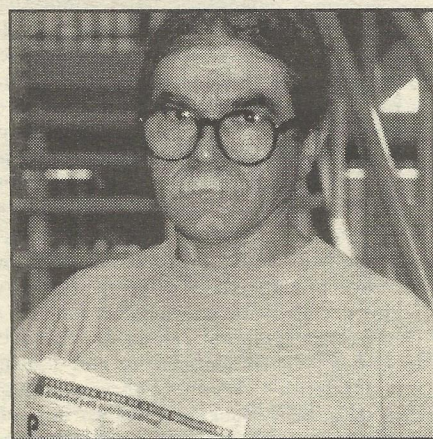


Carmen Valentin, teacher, founder of Chicago's Puerto Rican Cultural Center and POW

UN, during the UN Decolonization Committee's hearings on the status of Puerto Rico. Some present will also be fasting along with Puerto Rican Prisoners of War. The demonstration will call for freedom for Puerto Rican Political Prisoners and independence for Puerto Rico.

As a result of agitation by independistas, in 1971 Puerto Rico was restored to the list of territories that have not acquired self-determination. Since this time the Decolonization Committee has returned to the case yearly to ask the US government what it is doing to assure that Puerto Rico has self-determination. This year the committee will make a final decision after five years of inconclusive reviews. The United States is putting pressure on the Decolonization Committee to remove Puerto Rico from its list. The US is using a bill currently in Congress that calls for a referendum in Puerto Rico on its future status as evidence of its commitment to Puerto Rican self-determination. But this bill, aside from its inordinately long timeline for the

referendum, does not even come close to meeting the UN's requirements for decolonization. These would include the transfer of power to the Puerto Rican people, the removal of military bases, as well as the removal of federal obstacles such as US



Oscar Lopez-Rivera, a founder of Chicago's Puerto Rican Cultural Center and POW.

courts and prisons. Instead of a referendum on independence, the UN committee calls for a plebiscite, an international procedure that would include all Puerto Ricans including those on US soil, and especially the fifteen currently jailed for fighting for

Puerto Rico's independence.

The National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights is pressing the Decolonization Committee to make release of these Puerto Rican prisoners of war a prerequisite to any resolution of the issue. Winning this would strengthen the hand of the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights in its ongoing negotiations with the Clinton administration on the issue of clemency for Puerto Rican Prisoners of War.

This past December 20, a delegation that included religious leaders and Nobel Peace Prize winners such as Desmond Tutu and Rigoberta Menchu held a reportedly productive meeting with Clinton's cabinet on the issue of clemency for the fifteen POWs. With Clinton's recent attempts to take a stand on international human rights, the time is right to embarrass him on the issue. It was this angle that won the release of five Puerto Rican prisoners under Jimmy Carter, who made human rights a rhetorical centerpiece of his foreign policy. The National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights is reportedly finding ready allies in exposing the hypocrisy of the US. Meanwhile the US delegation wants to eliminate the Decolonization Committee altogether.

To endorse the demonstration, contribute financially, set up a table, or if you are interested in joining the fast, please call 212-427-3874.★

The Politics of Race and Class at CUNY

BY CHRISTOPHER DAY

On Thursday, March 27 about 600 students gathered in City Hall Park to protest proposed budget cuts to the City University of New York (CUNY). Students came from at least a dozen schools. This demonstration was not going to turn into a battle with the cops like the 1995 demonstration of 25,000 students. But nonetheless, it demonstrated the existence of several hundred radical students at CUNY who will turn out for a rally even when the movement is at a low point. Reflecting the composition of CUNY better than previous demonstrations, Black and Latino students were a solid majority of the crowd and the speakers. After the rally much of the crowd marched to the nearest train station and took the subway to Harlem where they joined students at City College in their campus-based "Day of Outrage" against the budget cuts.

The fight against the budget cuts at CUNY has involved complex questions of race and class. The Student Liberation Action Movement (SLAM!), which organized the demonstration, is a broad-based, open and democratic organization rooted primarily at CUNY and dedicated to fighting the cuts. March 27 was the product of SLAM's efforts to develop a principled politics around these problems. Its efforts to navigate the difficult questions of class and race offer valuable lessons for activists facing similar questions elsewhere.

BEFORE 1969

The difficulties facing the CUNY student movement today are rooted in part in CUNY's historical place in the social structure of New York City. CUNY was established over a century ago. From then until

1969 CUNY served an almost exclusively white working-class student body, and for most of its existence was free. For European immigrants CUNY offered a unique opportunity to escape the working class.

Defenders of CUNY often like to emphasize its historically working-class character, as a way of connecting its historical mission of serving the children of European immigrants with its current responsibility for the education of Black, Latino and Asian students. But this emphasis ignores CUNY's historical function as an instrument of white supremacy.

Unequal access to education has been one of the main ways of keeping people of color in poverty and in a state of social subordination in this country. Prior to 1969 CUNY had strict academic entrance requirements. This in effect excluded the students who were being shortchanged by the New York Public Schools. CUNY's almost all-white composition was the natural consequence of the de facto segregation and inequality of the New York Public Schools.

CUNY was a free ticket out of poverty available only to whites. Not every white worker's child would attend CUNY, but so long as the New York Public Schools offered a better quality education to white kids, CUNY helped assure that whites would occupy the best jobs and escape the worst ones. A free college education was one of the benefits of membership in the club of whiteness.

The glaringly racist nature of this system became all too apparent over the course of the 1960s. The civil rights movement had put equal access to education on the political agenda. But many liberal white New Yorkers owed their comfortable jobs to a University that was for all intents and purposes as segregated as any down South.

A small group of Black and Puerto Rican students were admitted into CUNY as part of the SEEK Program begun in the mid-1960s. These students were treated as second-class citizens. They were even denied the right to vote in student government elections. In 1969 a number of these Black and Puerto Rican students occupied the south campus of City College and demanded that CUNY be opened to all New York City High School graduates. They won. Their sweeping victory can only be understood if viewed in the context of the times.

OPEN ADMISSIONS AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Less than a year earlier the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King sparked urban

uprisings in over one hundred cities across the US. The almost all-white teachers union had gone out on strike in 1968 against community control of the New York public schools. The US armed forces in Vietnam were collapsing as the result of the determination of the Vietnamese people to defeat them and a student-led mass movement against the war. In France, Czechoslovakia and Mexico, student movements allied with workers and other sectors of society pushed their respective governments to the brink of collapse. The powers that be were scared and were giving away everything they could to pacify the people. Only in such a context could a radical idea like open admissions become a reality.

(Continued to page 15)



Rally at City College in Spring 1996

All the Class War That's Fit to Print Detroit's Newspaper Strike Continues

BY MIKE E.

The strike against Detroit's two daily newspapers began in the summer of 1995. On one side stood the Newspaper Guild, Teamster printing trade and distribution locals, the workers and their numerous supporters. On the other was the Detroit Newspaper Agency (DNA), a front uniting management companies, Gannett and Knight-Ridder, for the *Detroit News* and *Free Press* respectively.

In February, the new reform leadership of the AFL-CIO and Teamsters, in conjunction with local union bosses, officially ended the strike after 19 months. The unions announced an unconditional return to work offer. Management "accepted" the unions' willingness to send workers back without a contract or grievance procedure. From the unions' standpoint, the fate of the strikers fired by the DNA newspapers for acts resulting in arrest was to be left to negotiation. Management, however, continued to say no to any return for "those guilty of criminal acts."

As expected the DNA took only a handful of workers back, citing a commitment to the replacement workforce who produced the scab dailies. Returns were only allowed if they filled attritional openings or increased production needs.

In response, the unions declared this action a lockout and violation of collective bargaining law. The workers' struggle was declared revitalized. All focus turned to gaining a ruling from the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to force the news giants to return the union workforce and save the unions from defeat.

In fact the strike had been a lockout for some time. The unions had essentially folded up all strike action long ago. High-level political pressure, reliance on the neutrality of government bodies and building a public consensus of sympathy for the strikers as victims had been part of union strategy from the beginning. Now it was the only defense.

Early in the strike the national and local union structures called workers to mass action and organized civil disobedience to reverse the decline of the labor movement. The strikers and their supporters infused

these calls to action with a spirit of unbridled resistance and direct action. Labor's "new" leadership wanted massive political shows of solidarity coupled with orderly arrests generating P.R. photo ops portraying workers as victims of the big bad corporations. The strikers and their supporters however, were hell bent on shutting production and un-arresting their comrades. With intensified battles and growing bitterness came generalized attacks on company property and the DNA's piggish hired security forces. There were many instances of class warfare.

The unions used their authority to pull workers back from the mass battles at the print plants in late summer/fall '95. They retreated in the face of court injunctions and pitched plant gate warfare. Then began a winter of Saturday night guerilla war at distribution centers throughout the metro area. The target was the big DNA money-maker, the joint Sunday paper, especially

the Holiday editions. These actions were sanctioned by the unions but it was the Metro AFL-CIO, a subordinate part of the consumer and advertiser boycott, that was putting massive effort into it.

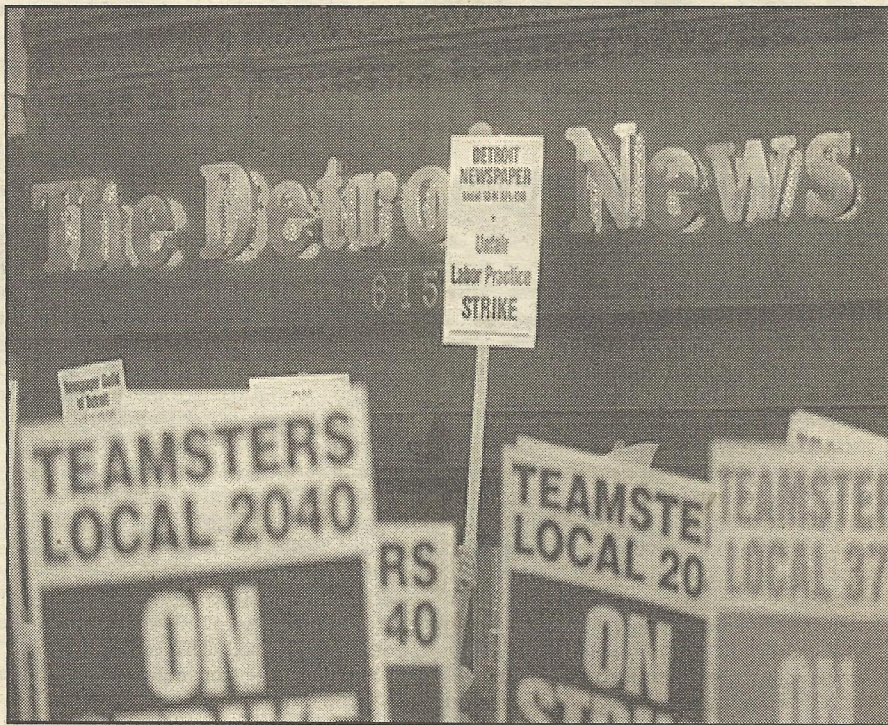
During this time the local labor movement launched their own paper, the *Sunday Journal*, as a centerpiece to their boycott strategy. Worker-consumers and advertisers not wishing to alienate Detroit's large union constituency now had a paper. Soon after, actions directed at the distribution centers were suppressed. The striking and allied unions feared the state, and upper and middle-class opinion was turning against the strike due to the intensity of attacks on the centers. The DNA brought racketeering charges against the unions and the UAW called off its Rapid Action Deployment force (RAD) in the face of such charges. They signed a commitment to non-violence before the NLRB.

For some time things drifted and dissipated. The boycott and the *Sunday Journal* were virtually the only activity. The unions hoped that the fact that the mayor, the city council, the Catholic Church and several corporate entities were critical of the DNA would translate into something.

The most recent phase of the strike centered around the activities of the Action Coalition of Strikers and Supporters (ACOSS). ACOSS included some of the most active strikers and numerous leftist labor activists. Formed last July, it doggedly refused to give in to the DNA. Late this winter, in an attempt to revive the strike and win a national labor march on Detroit from the AFL-CIO, ACOSS launched a teach-in at Wayne State University and a subsequent Shutdown Motown campaign. The campaign involved numerous well planned disruptions and propaganda actions during the North American Auto Show. Actions were taken against corporate meetings, at DNA officers' homes, against prominent stockholders and board members, like former First Lady Rosalyn Carter. The Ambassador Bridge to Canada was blocked in another action.

Since its inception ACOSS has pushed for a national labor march on Detroit. Meanwhile, the unions dragged their feet, fearing to bring large numbers of workers together in Detroit. They couldn't forget what had happened when they had done so on Labor Day '95 and things had really busted loose for the first time. As ACOSS was preparing to raise this before the February AFL-CIO board in L.A., the unions announced the return to work offer in Detroit. Days later in L.A. the AFL-CIO endorsed a march now meant to be a rally to simply pressure the NLRB.

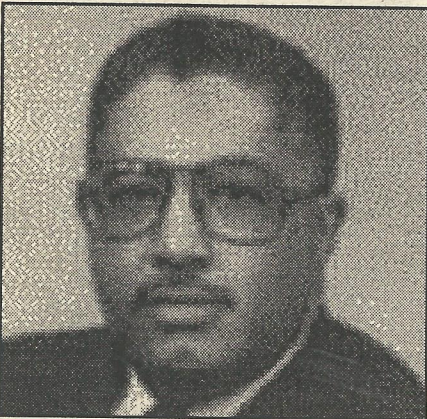
True to its history, the NLRB is once again siding with the bosses. The NLRB has postponed any rulings on the unions' charge of unfair labor practice/lockout. In fact, on March 15 the NLRB issued an unfair labor practices judgement against the unions. The unions were found guilty of illegal secondary boycott tactics involving advertisers. The march is still on for June. ★



Getting UPSET with Detroit Schools

BY JENA

Last fall, the Detroit Public Schools (DPS) made national news when it was discovered that high school students were being denied use of toilet paper in the schools. Before the t.p. scandal, students were expected to do homework without textbooks, get to school on time without adequate transportation, and learn in overcrowded and violent environments. Despite these conditions Superintendent of Schools



Superintendent David Snead.

David Snead announced \$25 million in additional cutbacks while promising that no students would be affected. But in early January, it came to light that 375 teachers would be removed from high schools, many programs would be cut, and some seniors would not be able to graduate at all. As the storm of protests began to mount, Snead announced at the January 28 school board meeting that all planned cutbacks would be canceled—a promise he repeated at a press conference the next day. But events over the next few months proved otherwise.

The 1996-97 school year began with a bang when a young woman was gunned down on the first day of classes outside a Detroit public high school. While students face extreme violence, lockdowns, and little education, courses like gym music and art classes, that make high school somewhat tolerable, are being cut.

The ongoing lack of textbooks has become a big issue. Most schools are so underfunded that not everyone gets textbooks. Students are not allowed to take textbooks home, making it virtually impossible to do homework or study. So negative images of youth, particularly Black and Latino youth, as shiftless criminals or brainless idiots are accepted as the norm while the state pushes these stereotypes by taking money away from schools and putting it towards the construction of more prisons. Really, high schools, like prisons, serve as a holding cell for many youth—no one is educated and everyone is told they'll end up in jail anyway.

UPSET (United Parents, School Employees and Teachers) is a grassroots coalition that formed in the fall of 1996 to address the deteriorated situation in the DPS. It is composed of mainly Black mothers and a handful of teachers, and also some youth and other activists.

To date, UPSET has been the most active force preserving public education and exposing corrupt school officials. Their first action against the school board and for education was a recall campaign to remove some of the worst school board members. After the recall campaign most of the old board members remained. UPSET began pickets at school board meetings demanding they open the accounting books, and calling on Superintendent Snead to face up

(Continued to page 17)

Revolutionary Youth

BY JAMES CREEDON

Building the Youth Revolution as part of the Atlantic Anarchist Circle's project to bring together the east coast anarchist movement, I have spent the last two weeks travelling to different cities talking about Revolutionary Anarchist Youth (based in western Mass.) and the reason for, and tactics of, building a youth revolutionary movement.

WHY A YOUTH MOVEMENT?

The young people of the United States are potentially the most powerful revolutionary force in the world. Considering US economic and cultural imperialism, what happens in this country has an immeasurable effect on the rest of the planet. Furthermore, young people (with the exception of those few who are part of the oppressing class) have a huge stake in making revolutionary change. As minors they suffer under youth oppression, which includes systematic brainwashing (school), forced labor, abuse (physical, sexual, emotional) at the hands of adults, police harassment, having no basic freedoms, etc. This abuse sets up patterns of forced acceptance of the status quo, patterns that are much harder to change as people get older and more resigned to them.

What's more, young people have ALWAYS been at the forefront of revolutionary struggles, pushing for a more radical approach, lending their passion to the debate and to the front line battles. They have been and are more willing to cut at the root of oppression, rather than trim away at the dying limbs.

There are a surprising number of youth-organized projects in the areas I have been to, ranging from the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade to Food Not Bombs to RAY. These groups and others are advocating revolution in one form or another, and often times have a fair amount of support from other young people in their communities. But splits based mainly on ideology, ethnicity and class have prevented the growth of a larger movement and also limit the discussion about revolution and its possibilities.

Some groups are starting to overcome this by building coalitions focused on single issues (such as police brutality) which bring people together around a common topic, and usually lead to more combined projects.

Divisions based on subcultures are another obstacle to building a youth movement. There is a tendency to see subculture and political ideas as directly related. One only has to look at the skinhead subcultures to find that this isn't the case: their ideologies range from neo-Nazi to anarchist.

Police harassment and the school system seem to be the biggest foci of youth organizing. The depth and severity of the harassment corresponds with ethnicity and class, but the fact that the harassment exists is something that many young people can rally around.

The school system is another issue the brings young people together. For some, the answer is to create alternative institutions or to drop out and self-school. While these are great options, they are not open to the majority of young people, especially minority and working-class students for whom dropping out is a much larger risk, and who oftentimes cannot afford an alternative school. In response, while still talking about alternative institutions, anarchist youth groups are now also pushing to democratize the schools.

WHAT CAN I DO TO GET INVOLVED?

Look around for groups that are based in your area. Start talking to people in your town and find out what their biggest issues are. Make a flier, call a meeting, and start a group! There are a million and one resources out there, it just takes a bit of looking.

So... The tour went well. I met lots of great people, got inspired, and learned a lot about what the word revolution really means—community. The more people hook up with each other, the more we find common ground to fight our oppressors, the sooner we'll see the free society that impassions us all.

For more information contact: Revolutionary Anarchist Youth PO Box 249 Hadley, MA 01035 or jcreedon@burn.ucsd.edu★

Fighting for a Newer School

BY MATT BLACK

Students, faculty, and staff at New York City's New School for Social Research are battling the administration for greater diversity, living wages, and greater participation in decision making. As of this writing a group of students, representing a broad coalition of groups, have been on hunger strike for over a week. Their efforts are slowly paying off, embarrassing the administration with bad publicity and waking the university up to the depth of frustration and resentment over its snail's-paced efforts to change.

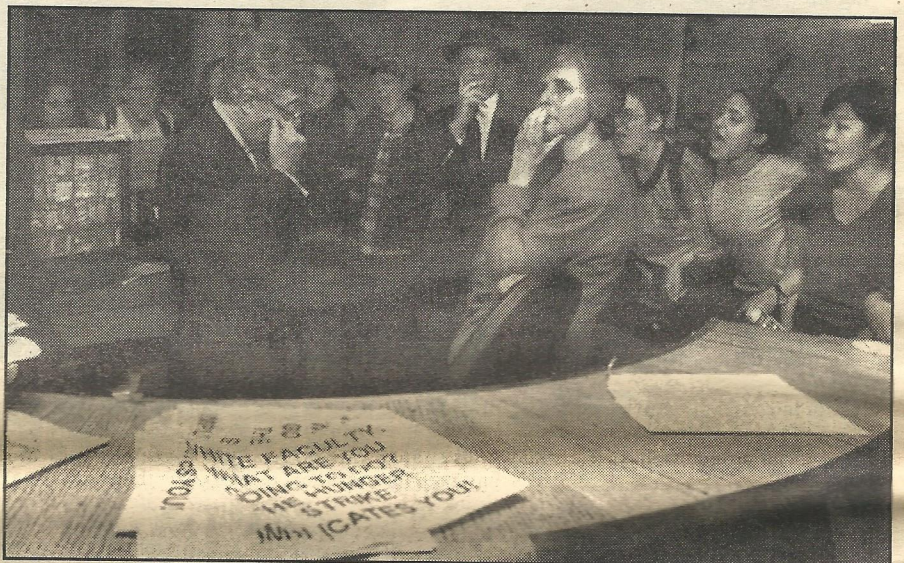
The New School proudly claims a radical heritage. The school was started in the early years of this century by progressive thinkers. During World War II the school became a University in Exile for European intellectuals persecuted by the Nazis.

The school continues that radical tradition in its curriculum and its advertisements. Unfortunately, the school's commitment to discussing issues of social justice is rarely translated into its own practices. Only one tenured faculty member in the entire university is a person of color from the US. The school recently lost a suit by a former female faculty member who charged that the school systematically pays its

female faculty less than male faculty. As if losing the suit weren't bad enough, the administration is appealing the decision, infuriating current faculty and students. Finally, the school's decision-making process includes almost no formal student input or votes, relying instead on informal conversations, forums, and publications.

The demands of the coalition represented by the hunger strikers reflect both anger at the school's hypocrisy and a challenge to the school to rise to its own rhetoric. Given its intellectual commitments, the New School could perhaps set a new standard for the way schools deal with inclusion, diversity, and social justice. Instead, the New School hides its shameful practice behind its increasingly dusty history.

The New School is a commuter school, with no central campus and very little campus life. Overcoming this problem, the strikers have engaged the whole university in a discussion about its problems. Hundreds of students, faculty and staff are wearing purple ribbons in support of the strike, and thousands are discussing the strike in classrooms and cafeterias. The strike has already succeeded in raising consciousness about the problems of the school. The next step is to solve them.★



Protesters at the New School in New York City detained two administrators for five hours, as part of their campaign to demand more faculty of color and an end to other institutionalized vestiges of white supremacy.

Youth for Justice and Democracy

BY MARK

The first annual Youth For Justice And Democracy National Conference was held April 19 on the campus of Connecticut College in New London, CT. For the entire day, 45 young anarchists from Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey filled the Blaustein Humanities Center with workshops, open discussions, street theater, and plenary talks.

Youth For Justice And Democracy is a youth organization established in September 1996 by students at Connecticut College who were tired of organizations that failed to address the root causes of social ills. As committed social-anarchists, the students formed YFJAD along non-hierarchical, egalitarian principles. Since September, YFJAD has educated the members of the college and New London communities about social injustice in the US and abroad and reached out to young people elsewhere to help them organize themselves and establish new YFJAD chapters.

Locally, the YFJAD chapter at Connecticut College rallied against police brutality, held a mock trial of Christopher Columbus, dressed as the Seven Dwarfs of Oppression, staged a protest of Haitian sweatshops outside the local Disney outlet, and held teach-ins on anarchism, Marxism, Christopher Columbus, and political prisoners.

YFJAD chapters have been established at

the University of Rhode Island, Nassau Community College (NY), Tidewater Community College (VA), and Western Connecticut State University. Other chapters are in the process of developing at Stonington High School in CT, a Saginaw public high school in Michigan, and at the University of Connecticut in Hartford. The founding members at Connecticut College have put together a start-up kit for new organizers and have a long list of contacts.

At the national conference on April 19, members of the different chapters, as well as members of the Revolutionary Anarchist Youth came together to learn from each other and to plan for the future of YFJAD. Workshops were conducted on the basics of anarchist thought, the IMF/World Bank, political prisoners, sweatshops, and direct action. The group formed a National Coordinating Center which will facilitate communication between chapters and outreach to create new chapters.

YFJAD stands in solidarity with all organizations who are struggling for freedom and justice. The goal of YFJAD is to mobilize youth into non-violent, subversive direct action with an understanding of revolutionary thought and history and to educate people about global injustices.

For more information about YFJAD contact John Hirsch, YFJAD National Coordinating Center, PO Box 1332, Redding, CT 06875 - fax (203)938-8531 earthhouse@pobox.com.★

Indigenous Autonomy And Revolutionary Resistance

The following speech was delivered to the April 1997 Love & Rage Continental Conference by Jorge on behalf of Amor y Rabia-Mexico City. It was translated into English by Matt Black.

On the eve of a new millennium, we meet once again, to look for the correct paths in the endless struggle to transform this society into a world of justice, of freedom, and of hope. Today, more than ever, in the presence of the possibility and the conditions for participating in a revolutionary process in Mexico, in the presence of the idea of changing the current forms of human community into new forms, more aware and therefore more egalitarian, and in the presence of the challenge of being ourselves part of this transformation, once again, for these reasons and many more, we allow ourselves to dream that utopia can be realized.

As a collective, *Amor y Rabia* has wanted to address the theme of Indigenous Autonomy, because we understand that in this time, as in other eras of history, it is the best model for organizing a movement of resistance and struggle that includes not only indigenous people, but also everyone who is convinced of the need to live in a different world.

Indigenous struggle and resistance is the daily and permanent will of the people to systematically preserve the unique aspects of the cultures with which they identify. This concept includes the refusal of domination and a refusal to conform to its imposition, in an attitude of creative defense of themselves, facing the invaders, and, of course, in the desire to be able to live freely themselves.

INDIGENOUS RESISTANCE

The indigenous people have developed a profound analysis of how to resolve the great problems that oppress them. The strategy of the Mexican state, to create economic and social programs, has clearly shown us over five centuries that their plans have never included indigenous participation. Rather, the indigenous people are misled by those same authorities into believing that the programs are in their best interests.

The innumerable discussions, reflections, and exchanges that have occurred around the country have concluded that the solution of these problems requires the establishment in Mexico of a regime of autonomy.

The current model of the state—centralized, exclusive, authoritarian, homogeneous and opposed to pluralism—shows us its inability to transcend its own contradictions (racism, repression, corruption, and drug trafficking, among others). Consequently the process of autonomy irreversibly becomes the strongest option for organizing a new society.

Since the National Indigenous Convention, suggested by the EZLN, one of the most important forums in which there is discussion about autonomy is the Plural National Indigenous Assembly for Autonomy (Asamblea Nacional Indígena Plural por la Autonomía (ANIPA)). The indigenous prospect is not a new project of exclusion, nor does it put itself on the margins of the great hopes of the non-indigenous people who desire freedom. On the contrary, their proposition is to enter for the first time into a truly dynamic relationship with all of non-indigenous society, resulting in a new society, more just and more humane. This is to say that we should examine the regions or zones composed of diverse socio-cultural groups and the possibility of living together in unity and diversity, under principles of equality and respect, which we can point to as instances of multi-cultural and multi-ethnic life. In this sense, the indigenous demand fully identifies with the aspirations we have as libertarians: a commitment to an integration of struggle and collective effort that includes the greatest possible ethnic diversity.

ELEMENTS OF AUTONOMY

Now then, with respect to what form the indigenous autonomies should adopt, as well as considering the ethnic aspect, to try autonomy from the territorial point of view



Indigenous participants at the International Encuentro in Chiapas, Summer 1996.

is perhaps the most recurring demand we are aware of. Nearly 100 years ago, Ricardo Flores Magon used to say that communalism: "is the organized manifestation of the indigenous way of life; in other words, the basis of the survival and the struggle of the people to preserve their identity" and that it was composed of four fundamental elements: (1) land; (2) representation; (3) work; (4) and communal benefit or welfare.

Basically the idea of this Mexican anarchist at the beginning of this century is the same as that held by indigenous representatives of our time, concerning the communal character that the territories must have and that is the foundation of the feeling that they belong to a place that is theirs collectively, but that can benefit each individual community member without fracturing its collective character. Further, that there are things used by the whole community, such as natural resources and public works (schools, hospitals, common stores, etc.).

The existence of a truly autonomous community would imply, to our understanding as a collective, a full recognition and exercise of the following faculties by the communities:

In the economic sphere:

- ∞ Control and determination of the use of communal land and natural resources.
- ∞ Planning and carrying out communal development projects.

In the political sphere:

- ∞ Electing and appointing representatives through their own mechanisms, without the intervention of political parties of any other authority.
- ∞ Making decisions in assembly that affect the public life of the community.

In the social and educational sphere:

- ∞ Developing, maintaining, and modifying the norms of collective life in the community, when there is the will to do so.
- ∞ Deciding on plans for education, as well as which teachers may come into the community.

However, to want the communities to decide their own rights, solely in terms of themselves alone, is to have the idea that the communities are completely formed, which

victory, if only because the world has as yet no model for more humane social relations. Resistance and liberation are two distinct goals, complementary, but not identical.

Resistance is not an ideal state in which we want to live; it is only a state of development of the forces that will make it possible to live how we want. If the objective of indigenous resistance is liberation, that gives it a double character: because it has the organizational base and the capacity to be able to imagine the future. We believe that beginning a movement for liberation without also reconceiving society is impossible.

Many organizations have based their work in goals of resistance, without having in mind the next step in the process of liberation.

The original logic of the indigenous utopia coincided with the discourse of the government, and the result has been a domesticated utopia—a comfortable and attractive solution for those who do not have time to imagine the future, but prefer an immediate exit from the present. Until now this has been the biggest success of the Mexican state in repressing politics: cutting off free imagination about our own future, discouraging thought and reflection, "keeping it in the closet," in other words: separating resistance from liberation. Fortunately, things have changed.

What we want to make understood is that we should not fall into the error of idealizing indigenous communities, while still recognizing their very real merits, and while making clear that despite centuries of attacks, there remains in indigenous communities a long tradition and a strong insistence on doing thing collectively. The communities that really exist are an irreducible and instructive fact for us. The most serious challenge made to neoliberalism in Mexico has come from the indigenous communities of Chiapas.

The Zapatista insurrection of 1994 catalyzed the development of a new indigenous movement, although this also had earlier roots. In its modern expression, as a series of ethno-political, agrarian, worker and civil organizations, the movement has existed for more than 20 years. It has been since September 1989 that the new movement began to develop the shape that it has today. It was then, over the course of three days, that more than a hundred indigenous representatives met in the city of Matias Romero, Oaxaca, to seek the defense of their human rights and recognition of their collective rights, coinciding with mobilizations of other peoples of Latin America with similar demands.

From this moment, and until October 1992, there would be a series of meetings and conferences, under the umbrella of the campaign of 500 Years of Resistance, that served to systematize the lines of communication and to articulate platforms about the indigenous question. Then, in the ardor of the days of struggle, a continental network was started, and the formation of an ethnic consciousness was begun. They discussed equally the spiritual ideas of the tribes of the United States and Canada, as well as the radical indianism of the Bolivian Kataristas.

The struggles do not have a single organizing center, and their demands are diverse, differentiating themselves from the traditional mobilizations for land and the battle against poverty, in particular the struggles of the '70s and '80s on the left. The focus is now the recovery of ethnic identities and autonomy. Their members no longer thought of themselves as campesinos, but as indigenous.

Thus, as examples, in Sonora near the US border, one still feels the free breezes of the beginning of the century, in the Yaqui and Triqui areas that continue the rebel tradi-

(Continued to page 16)

RECONCEIVING SOCIETY

With regard to the question of resistance: for several years our differences with various indigenous organizations have been based on this: The resistance of the people is only that: resistance without real possibilities of



Mural at the Chiltak human rights office in San Cristobal De las Casas.

ARA EVERYWHERE

Anti-Racist ACTION Reports

Thousands Stand Against KKK in Pittsburgh



A Pittsburgh woman and her grandmother among the anti-Klan ranks.

By K-Dog

April 5, downtown Pittsburgh was the site of one of the largest anti-Klan demonstrations in recent years. Some 3,000 people, mostly young and equally numbered Black and white, filled the streets in and around a massive "pen" set-up by police to cordon off protesters from 39 members and supporters of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, who rallied with a permit on the steps of the City Court Building.

Though mostly contained by the "pen" and a massive

police presence complete with riot gear, shot guns, body armor, horses, dogs, surveillance teams and snipers—the anti-Klan demo was able at times to express its militant opposition to the fascists. Over 100 projectiles were hurled at the KKK speakers from the "pen." Anti-Racist Action and others confronted Klan supporters and nazi bone heads outside the "pen" and challenged the police protection of the Klan.

The Klan had originally planned a march in suburban Pittsburgh in support of white police officers on trial for murdering Johnny Gammage, a Black man. The Gammage case sparked a large movement against police and racism and brutality in Pittsburgh (see *Love and Rage* Vol. 8, No. 1). The Klan's support for the killer cops increased peoples' anger at the injustice and helped build the anti-racist counter-demonstration.

The American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan have consolidated themselves as the major, most aggressive Klan group in the country. They have continued the wave of rallies in cities and small towns all across the midwest, started nearly four years ago.

The American Knights make no attempts to dress up their genocidal politics with talk of "white rights." At their rallies they spew racist, homophobic, and anti-Semitic rhetoric, openly threaten violence and make calls to race war. The Pennsylvania Grand Dragon, C. Edward Foster, comes out of the biker scene and is a total maniac. In Pittsburgh, the American Knights covered their faces with the traditional nightrider Klan hoods, a first for one of these demos, and another mark of their militant posture.

As is often the case in cities where the KKK plans to rally, two separate coalitions formed to oppose the Klan. One coalition, backed by the mayor's office, the NAACP, the unions, and other mainstream organizations called for a Unity Rally some five blocks away from the Klan rally and waged a media campaign to urge people to stay away from the Klan rally out of their fear of confrontation with the KKK or the police.

The Grant Street Anti-Klan Coalition called for a counter-demonstration closer to where the Klan was to rally. This coalition was made up of several University of Pittsburgh student groups, the local Free Mumia committee, and the Socialist Workers Party. While the Coalition stood for a same-time/same-place counter-demonstration, opposed the police-run "pen" (where anti-Klan demonstrators must pass through a metal detector into an area surrounded by seven-foot fence and riot police in order to get close to the KKK) and called for "Justice for Gammage!" it also had some weaknesses.

For one, the Grant St. Coalition officially tied itself to

non-violence and legality, no doubt due in part to the Socialist Workers Party's influence. This led the Coalition to meet with the cops prior to the demo, back-off their starting point to a block away from the pen, and worst of all, announced that their marshals would expel anyone from the demonstration who tried to engage in direct action.

As it turned out, the crowds numbers were so overwhelming, and the mood among youth militant enough, that the Grant St. marshals only factored as an annoyance. In many cases their de facto pacifism actually encouraged more militant youth to go into the pen, to look for more action.

In the days leading up to the demo there was a sharp debate between some within the Anti-Racist Action Network over how to relate to the Grant Street Coalition. Detroit ARA put out a statement in support of the same-time/same-place action but thought that it was a mistake to make a pledge of non-violence and legality before hand, and instead supported staying tactically flexible.

Detroit ARA also opposed the Coalition's cop-like attitude toward marshaling. A few ARAs endorsed the Grant St. Coalition and Kent, OH ARA even participated in the marshaling.

On the day of the demo ARA folks from Detroit, Columbus, Ann Arbor and a few others formed a small loose contingent that was active in the crowds outside the pen distributing ARA literature and stickers, and initiating chants with some bite.

On two occasions this multi-racial ARA contingent intercepted and confronted small groups of KKK supporters in the anti-racist demo. While it was not possible to start outright wailing on the fascists due to the heavy police presence, ARA did expose them, get in their faces, push and generally intimidate them.

In the first instance three Klan bikers were forced to flee, and later a group of nazi boneheads were surrounded by ARA and others including bandanna-masked gangsters until riot police threw them behind their line for protection. This caused the most tense moments of the day as anti-Klan protesters began facing off with the cops. Eventually police brought in reinforcements mounted patrol and K-9 units to clear the crowd.

Overall the Pittsburgh demo was important for its size, its multi-racial composition and the small but significant impact ARA was able to have.

In the future ARA could have a bigger presence by bringing banners, flags and leaflets, and having speakers ready and able to outline ARA's direct action approach. Sending organizers to cities in the days and weeks before a Klan rally to make contacts and scout the demo area would also increase ARA's effectiveness.★

Minneapolis to HLI: Kiss Off!

(Continued from page 1)

pressured to take a stand against the anti-Semitism of HLI. Archbishop Flynn finally decided to back out of his commitment to

Jewish supporter, Rabbi Yehuda Levin, who has defended Reagan for visiting an SS cemetery in Germany and is an active Patrick Buchanan supporter. Also in their letter HLI warns Archbishop Flynn that he



HLI founder Paul Marx and unsuspecting models.

participate in the mass (although he unfortunately publicly affirmed his own pro-life position).

In response HLI took out a full page ad/letter addressed to Archbishop Flynn in the Minneapolis *Star Tribune*, in which they attempted to defend themselves against the accusations of anti-Semitism. Yet the letter never explains why they refer to the abortion as a holocaust against the unborn perpetuated by Jewish doctors. Included in the HLI ad is a letter from their token pro-life

is being influenced by radicals, "We beg you to tone down your rhetoric. Pro-abortion anarchists, gay activists, and radical feminists already threaten demonstrations against the thousands of peaceful pro-lifers who will assemble with us next week...." Well, they got something right.

The kiss-in was a huge success. HLI was met with a serious, excited, and militant wall of "pro-abortion anarchists, gay activists, radical feminists," men in drag and more, right on the steps of the Cathedral. We wait-

ed for two hours and had about 10 kiss-in sessions as HLI supporters weighed their options and prayed. They could either proceed with their candlelight vigil at the state capitol, which would mean walking through a gauntlet of angry demonstrators, or go back to the Radisson Hotel, pray, and call it a night. Surprisingly, a large number of HLI supporters walked the gauntlet. At the lead were Father Paul Marx and Rabbi Levin. Needless to say Marx looked a little freaked. The St. Paul Police had a major crowd control problem on their hands as HLI and protesters mingled into the street together. We marched alongside HLI chanting, and loud, all the way to the capitol and back.

On Saturday morning April 19 we defended our clinics. The Fight the Right Coalition organized teams to scope out every abortion clinic in the Twin Cities area. HLI chose the Robbinsdale Clinic as a target and mobilized about 40 people from the conference to harass women at the clinic gate. Pro-choice forces were on hand in case the antis tried to pull off a blockade.

The culmination of our activities was a rally on Saturday, April 19 at the Radisson Hotel in Bloomington MN, the location of the HLI conference. When we arrived we found that the police had ever so graciously set up a "free speech" zone in the parking lot where we were supposed to demonstrate. But we weren't there for long when a section of the demonstration mobilized to move out of the so-called free speech zone. The cops weren't happy with this so they threatened to steal our sound system if we used it. So all 200 of us were forced to rely on our lungs and we made quite a racket.

We had a speak out and marched around the perimeter of the Radisson Hotel.

The strongest result of the organizing efforts of the Fight the Right Coalition was that we were able to bring a lot of new faces out to these actions (most spectacularly all the cool folks from District 202, a community center for queer youth, who came out to both actions) and to make some deeper political connections with people interested in doing ongoing anti-Christian right and anti-racist work. We also helped to foster a growing public awareness of the dangers of groups such as Human Life International.

Groups like this are part of a growing network of far-right organizations whose agendas promote violence against our communities. We continue to witness their handiwork in the assassination of abortion doctors and clinic workers, in the bombing of abortion clinics and gay bars and, on an everyday level, in street attacks or harassment of people based on their nationality or sexuality. Just as we are willing to take on the KKK and nazi skinheads we must also be willing to take on other kinds of oppressive grassroots groups that are part of the Christian right.

As they try to gain more power in our society we should be prepared to take them on wherever they try to organize. Beyond opposing them with spirited and creative action and exposing their hateful politics when they come to our towns, we should be out-organizing them and building a movement bigger and stronger than theirs. For us locally in Minneapolis this weekend was hopefully a part of that process.★

Nazi Rock Outfit Raided by State Agents

BY ONE LOVE

Just before 10am on Wednesday, April 9, fully armed and body armored cops kicked in the doors to Resistance Records operations center northwest of Detroit. The location had been under surveillance since January 22.

The 1,200 square foot residence in Highland Township served as a shipping and receiving warehouse for the Nazi music/youth organizing project.

A task force comprised of Michigan State Police, Oakland County Sheriffs Deputies and Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) carted off 100 boxes of materials and business records. The cops announced they had seized three computers, 10,000 cassettes and CDs as well as t-shirts and other paraphernalia. They also confiscated a 5,000 address international subscribers' list for Resistance magazine.

The next day Michigan State cops used a warrant to confiscate the records of all financial transaction related to the business from a Novi, MI bank.

CANADIANS RAID TOO

Also on April 9 at 10am, across the Detroit River in Windsor, Ontario, the OPP raided another nerve center for the Nazis' operation. This was the office/residence of George Burdi, architect and main spokesman for Resistance. Burdi has been behind bars since February, serving out the balance of a one-year sentence for assaulting an anti-Nazi protester. In Windsor authorities seized more documents, discs and computers.

These seizures dealt an undoubtedly sharp blow to Resistance. On the US side,

warrants allege a failure to properly pay sales taxes and file required tax documents. Ontario authorities accused Canadian nationals of shipping materials via US postal companies that are prohibited under Canada's anti-hate laws into the country.

HIT THEM HARDER

Resistance's secretary, Jason Snow, and general manager, Eric Davidson, have denied the tax charges. They condemned the use of an unannounced raid as opposed to an open request for information and investigation. They also denounced the Michigan/Ontario raid as an act of political repression designed to cripple Resistance Records.

In this struggle between the government and the Nazis, we should support neither side. But it is important for the anti-fascist movement to continue to harass Resistance as we have been. In fact we need to hit them harder.

If Resistance does go down, the Nazis will attempt to shift resources to another front. They should not be unopposed. It is time to target the other "White Power" labels including Stormfront, White Terror and Blood and Honor/Wolfpack. All presently engaged in activity against the Nazis and KKK must also reject any notion of organizing mass pressure for government laws and action to suppress the fascists. Despite the state's present ability/willingness to strike at Nazis, their efforts can never be more effective than our own.

To either de facto rely on or call for government action politically disarms peo-

ple and builds consensus for a stronger police state. It enforces passivity and delays the necessary steps towards community self-defense and building a combative mass movement against oppression and for liberation from the state and the system it defends.

Our revolutionary goals and our ongoing street actions against the Nazis put us in the crosshairs of the political police. With the attacks on the Nazis, sections of the Canadian and US States were asserting their monopoly on combatting racist and anti-popular violence. Through their raid on Resistance, the system slapped the racist right for their present pseudo-revolutionary stance against the system. Between us and this system of exploitation, racism, sexism, and homophobia there is a dispute of a more fundamental nature.★



George "Burd" Hawthorne, enemy of the people.

Buffalo ARA Runs Racist Rockers Outta Town



Resistance Records, the leading international white-power music label, suffered another defeat when Buffalo ARA succeeded through media and community pressure in canceling a major neo-Nazi concert scheduled for April 19-20 (to coincide with Hitler's Birthday).

Resistance had heavily promoted the show, which was to feature bonehead bands from across North America, as well as a professional light show to "rival Nuremberg." Hundreds of racist youth from the US and Canada were expected to attend, as have in previous Resistance shows in Detroit, Cleveland, and Racine, WI.

But Buffalo ARA, with assistance from

other ARA chapters and local activists, made sure it did not go down in their town. After finding out the location of the Nazi gig and the redirection point (where ticket holders get directions to the secret location) Buffalo ARA released the information to the media and pressured the club owner to cancel the show.

On the day of the show, while Nazi organizers scrambled to find a new venue, Buffalo ARA held its own successful anti-racist concert, featuring local hardcore bands. To add injury to insult a couple of stray boneheads were chased from the redirection point by ARAers, and the night before two Nazis from the St. Paul, MN band Bound for Glory landed in jail for fighting,

Harlem ARA Tells All

Harlem ARA was founded in November of 1996 as an anti-authoritarian, multi-racial organization with a neighborhood orientation. We want to build a copwatch against police brutality and to advocate upfront politics which expose patriarchy and homophobia in our community.

On February 26, Harlem ARA had its first event at City College: a viewing of Marlon Riggs's film *Tongues Untied*. In a very artistic, loving and humorous way, the film discusses some of the political and social issues facing the Black Gay community. What we hoped to accomplish by showing *Tongues Untied* was to meet a group of people who oppose homophobia and want to build a movement that respects the humanity of everyone regardless of their sexual orientation. In Harlem, just like everywhere else, overcoming homophobia is crucial to building a powerful movement. The event drew a nice mix of people—students from different colleges along with people from the community. We discussed reasons why this society, and even social movements otherwise for the struggle for freedom, have such a deep hatred for the Gay and Lesbian community.

Some talked about their own personal strategies for effecting change at a small level. We tried to point out that just as white folk have a special responsibility to fight white supremacy so do those folk who consider themselves to be heterosexual have a responsibility to confront homophobia. We don't think there should be an exception to challenging this within communities of color nor between them and white folk on this matter. Overall, the event was a success—although we need to get sharper as a group explaining simply but not simplistically our opposition to homophobia while being honest about any contradictions we may have ourselves.

At our second event on March 24, also at

City College and without the video we had planned to show, Harlem ARA improvised so masterfully, we would have made John Coltrane proud. The turnout to this event was smaller and no students showed up, but everyone who did attend was a resident of Harlem. The discussion was lively. By seriously discussing the possibility of holding the police accountable to the people and initiating a copwatch in our community, clarity about the overall role of police in society emerged. People who on the surface were relatively conservative and only for society being reformed came to the conclusion that the police are an inherently corrupt, authoritarian institution which cannot be reformed. We also discussed larger issues like the politics of Black capitalism and Empowerment Zones, which has been a hot topic in Harlem lately. It was not easy to convince some of our conclusion that ethnic capitalism is not a collective endeavor but a slogan which unites the poor falsely with middle-class people who aspire to be rich while exploiting this alliance.

We got a sense that while people would love to see the police get confronted in a militant way right now, folk at our events have real fears and don't see this as something that can be done effectively. We know that support for a copwatch exists and we are confident that we'll meet people who feel the same and want to build it through persistence and by overcoming our fears. At our second event, one young brother was visibly shaken when Malcolm declared "The price of Freedom is Death!" He was seriously grappling with the responsibility of revolutionary commitments which could affect his life if he chose to take them on. We hope that our neighborhood orientation, while waking up folk to their humanity (not just their oppression), will provoke just such introspection even if it does not translate to direct action right away.★

ARA NETWORK DELEGATES' MEETING Saturday JUNE 7th and Sunday JUNE 8th, CHICAGO, IL

At its last meeting, the ARA Network adopted a decision-making body called the Network Committee (NC). The NC consists of two delegates/votes from each local group. Only active ARA or ARA-type groups can send delegates to the NC. Political networks, federations, etc are not eligible to send delegates.

The NC will make decisions during this meeting that relate to the Network as a whole. If you want to make a proposal and it has not already been published in the internal bulletin, bring lots of copies.

Other members of the ARA Network are encouraged to come and participate in discussion. For further info call Columbus ARA.★

ARA Network Chapters

Atlanta ARA
PO Box 5685
Atlanta, GA 30307

Baltimore ARA
PO Box 39156
Baltimore, MD 21212

Chicago ARA
c/o A-Zone
1573 N. Milwaukee #420
Chicago, IL 60622

Columbus ARA
PO Box 82097
Columbus, OH 43202
614-424-9074

Detroit ARA
PO Box 321211
Detroit, MI 48232
313-730-3555

Edmonton ARA
#29, 10024-82 Avenue
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada T6E 1Z3

Harlem ARA
PO Box 3388
New York, NY 10027
212-388-8503

Houston ARA
PO Box 6537
Katy, TX 77456

Louisville ARA
PO Box 496/973
Louisville, KY
502-485-0410

Minneapolis ARA
PO Box 80239
Minneapolis, MN 55408
612-649-4586

Pennsylvania ARA
PO Box 407
Couders Port, PA 16915
814-274-2228

Philadelphia ARA
PO Box 31831
Philadelphia, PA 19104
215-569-2477 #8

Toronto ARA
P.O. Box 291, Station B
Toronto, ON M5T 2T2
416-631-8835

Tulsa ARA
Box 3212
Tulsa, OK 74101

For a complete listing of more than thirty ARA groups contact the Columbus ARA chapter ★

BY MATTHEW QUEST

I know, and I feel in my heart, that sooner or later my people will shake off their enemies, inside and outside our land, and that they will rise as one man to say "no" to the shame and degradation of colonialism, and to assume once again their dignity under clear skies.

Patrice Lumumba's Last Message, 1961

[Editors' note: This article was completed before the rebel victory and the renaming of Zaire as Congo.]

A chain of spectacular rebel victories across eastern Zaire has transformed the political landscape of that country and

potentially much of central Africa. For the past seven months, the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire (AFDL), an armed force led by Laurent Kabila, has defeated with little resistance the troops of Mobutu Sese Seko's thirty-one-year old military dictatorship; bringing to many tears of joy, and hope for a new society.

The fall of Mobutu's tyrannical and corrupt regime is a matter of days. The AFDL, who occupy almost half the country, are advancing west on Kinshasa, the capital of Zaire. Throughout his offensive Kabila has begun giving speeches to crowds of thousands, not only promising freedom and democracy, but decreeing that the price of fabric, electricity, water, and beer will be cut in half. "I want you to be totally free," he said in Swahili at one emotional address in mid-March, delivered a week after capturing Kisangani, Zaire's third largest city. Yet throughout his assault on Mobutu's rule, the imperialist governments, and the powers of Big business which rule them and Africa, do not seem to be concerned. They squabbled some initially but overall the industrial powers have been downright apathetic to this emerging social revolution. This begs the question: "What kind of revolution is this?"

Zaire has been a victim of neo-colonialism. In other words they, like other former colonies, won "independence" for their nation-state but in fact never obtained political sovereignty and remain dependent economically on their formerly more direct exploiters. Will this social revolution give birth to a "second independence"? A historical approach to the present conflict will illustrate not just Mobutu's path to power and Kabila's life of struggle, but the evolving revolutionary consciousness of a people.

A SHORT CONGOLESE HISTORY

Zaire measures about the size of the US east of the Mississippi River, and hosts a population of about 43 million of over 200 nationalities. These include the Luba, Kongo, Ngala, Bwaka, and some 300,000 Banyamulenge (Tutsi) — a group which Mobutu's government has systematically denied citizenship, essentially treating them like illegal immigrants. It was the Banyamulenge struggle to

defend their citizenship that sparked the October 1996 AFDL offensive in eastern Zaire, although preparations for the conflict began in the middle of 1995.

The Banyamulenge first settled in the Congo (Zaire) as far back as 1800 when the African slave trade was almost over and long before any systematic European colonization took place. By the time of the arrival of the first Europeans in 1642, there existed powerful kingdoms such as the Kongo, Luba, Kuba, and Lunda. While none of these societies resembled a modern state, their

authoritarian and brutal methods of enforcing "law and order" largely served the ruling elite.

With the creation of the Congo Free State (1874-1908), under the absolute and ruthless rule of King Leopold II and the formal Belgian colonization of the interior (1908-1960), all these nationalities became "Congolese." The

Belgian monarch never visited the Congo personally and ruled by extension of poor mercenary Belgian whites. They administered his colony by cutting off the hands, ears, and breasts of Congolese who did not produce their quota of what was the cash crop at that time, natural rubber. Using a missionary culture of fear and relatively minor personal profit incentives, these whites created a class of Congolese co-conspirators called "evolues" who they considered less "savage" than other Africans and almost as "civilized" as themselves.

The Congo was the only private colony in the world (1885-1908); Leopold's ownership was consolidated, with US support, at the 1885 Berlin Conference. There European colonizers drew what are basically the current nation-state borders of Africa. The US brokered the Congo's territory and borders as a sort of neutral zone for the Portuguese, British, and French. The goal was to prevent war between Europeans and divide their spheres of influence for their bordering colonies. This would also be an important indication of an emerging world where neo-colonial exploitation by big business interests would be both multi-national, and in some ways loyal to no nationality.

Zaire is extremely mineral rich, though the people live in great poverty. Much of the world's cobalt, copper, tungsten and substantial deposits of gold, diamonds, and uranium can be found and are mined there. Multi-national capitalists, including the French, Belgian, British and US ruling classes (notably the Rockefeller and J. P.

Morgan families) financed and developed mining conglomerates before "independence" from colonialism. The economy was organized not for the Congolese people's development but to export raw materials for the profits of the international capitalists. From Leopold's time, as in Mobutu's, the people of the Congo were left with few paved roads, and a few decrepit hospitals and schools.

In the 1950's Joseph Kasavubu led an early Congolese nationalist movement, the Alliance des Bakongos (ABAKO) that fought



for the political, religious, and labor rights of the Congolese. But the dominant movement that sparked the demand for independence was the National Congolese Movement (NCM), led by Patrice Lumumba. Lumumba was a revolutionary nationalist and a Pan-Africanist, whose friendship with Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Gamel Abdel Nasser of Egypt had the West thinking he was a "communist." He signed an agreement with Nkrumah and Sekou Toure (leader of Guinea) to unite their countries with the consent of their people in a future Pan-African federation with the hopes that the whole continent would be one nation-state.

Despite his brief political career and tragic death—or perhaps because of them—Lumumba entered history through the front door: he became both a flag and a symbol. He skillfully maneuvered his people to the

brink of liberation. The African leader became a role model to Malcolm X, and his words, like Malcolm's, live on and inspire movements to this

day. In the wake of his demonstrations in October 1959, elections were held.

Independence was achieved on June 30, 1960. Lumumba was elected Prime Minister over Kasavubu and appointed him to the more ceremonial position of President. Within a few days of independence, Moise Tshombe, who had the support of Belgium and Britain, declared the mineral-rich Katanga province (now Shaba) independent, and seceded. Tshombe was head of a federation of ethnic elites from Katanga called CONAKAT which was widely considered a front group for imperialist interests. Tshombe's secession sparked off a bitter civil war in which European mercenaries played a critical role. The southern part of the diamond-rich Kasai province, led by Albert Kalondji, decided to secede as well. In response Belgium increased its military operation (supposedly to protect 85,000 Belgians).

LUMUMBA A COMMUNIST?

Lumumba and Kasavubu promptly requested the United Nations to come to protect the sovereignty of the Congolese nation-state. After two days of intensive debate the first UN peacekeeping mission was sanctioned, "to take necessary steps in consultation with the Government...to provide [it] with such military assistance as may be necessary."

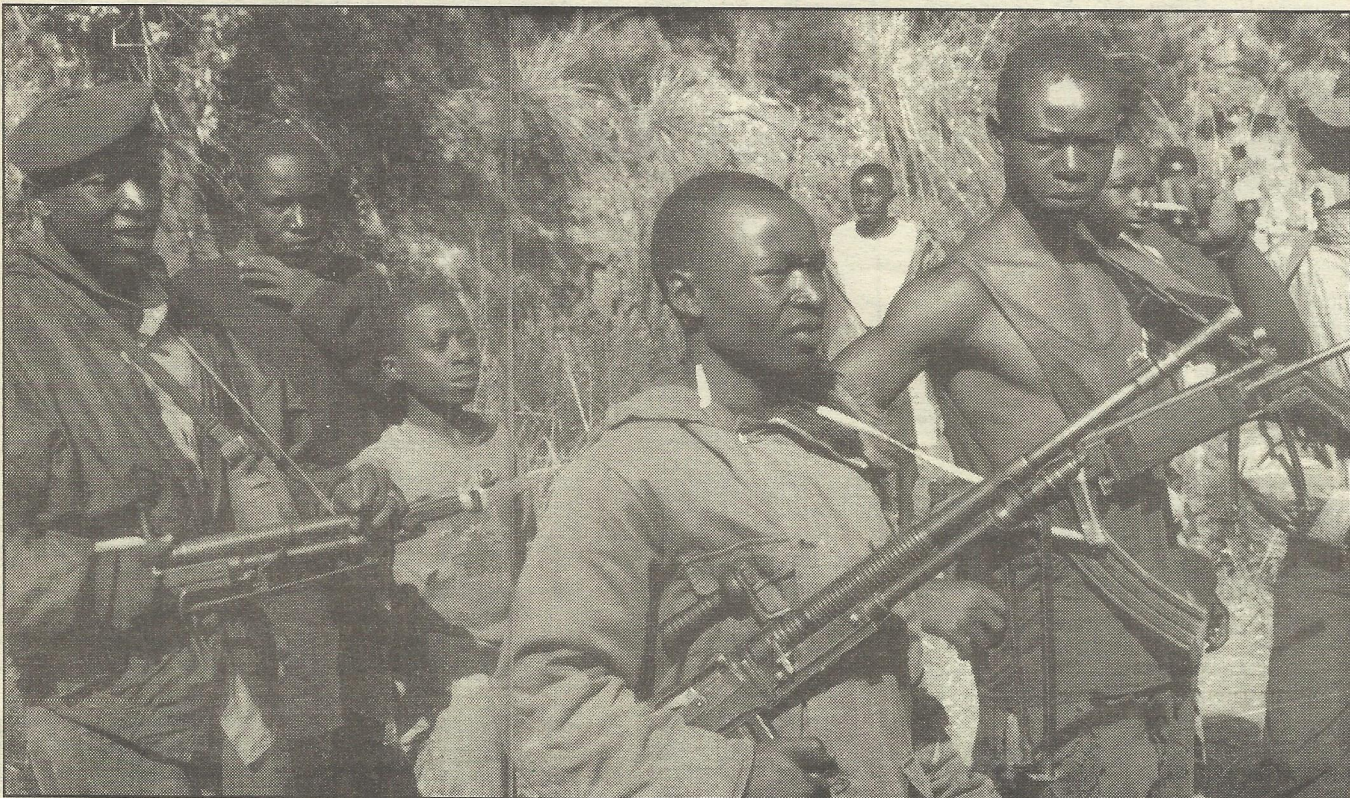
In July 1960, Lumumba visited the US to meet with President Eisenhower and ask for military support. When he was denied, Lumumba asked the Soviet Union, which provided a few planes and trucks. Eisenhower from then on plotted with Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) chief Allen Dulles to eliminate Lumumba, who was seen as falling under the influence of Communism. Lumumba did advocate putting the country's resources to better use on behalf of the people. Yet he did not expel the Morgan and Rockefeller families who controlled the banking system of his country. He had also just signed an agreement which granted the Congo International Management Corporation, an American-owned company, the exclusive right to exploit the Congo's mineral and hydroelectric resources. He told Detweiler, the executive of that company, that he did not want to be perceived as "anti-capitalist," "anti-white," or "pro-communistic." Pressure from other African nations, however, encouraged him to void the agreement with Detweiler and created fears among the Rockefellers and Morgans that their interests would soon be in jeopardy as well.

Lumumba was a Pan-Africanist who tried to practice a policy of neutrality or what was then called "non-alignment" by navigating the Cold War between the Western capitalists and the Communist Bloc. One reason the Soviets provided such paltry military aid was that they didn't get the mining contracts for which they and six other countries competed. Lumumba's united appeal with Kasavubu to the UN proved to be a mistake; it was an invitation to the unseen hand of US imperialism.

THE CIA STEPS IN

The US, using the UN as a front and the CIA behind the scenes, destabilized the Congo, with the intention of isolating Lumumba. The goal was to first get him out of official power, then murder him. The CIA gathered a group of conspirators which included Tshombe, Kalondji, Kasavubu and Lumumba's military chief Joseph Mobutu. Mobutu was very close to Lumumba and was promoted by him from the ranks of the Belgians' surrogate native army, known as the Force Publique. The promotion of colonial African military officers was a disastrous trend in post-colonial politics throughout the continent. It was from this base that imperialism consistently mounted its support for counter-revolutions against national liberation struggles.

Within five months Kasavubu officially deposed Lumumba in Parliament and, with the help of Mobutu and UN/US forces, staged a military coup under the premise of protecting the Congo from Soviet intervention. Lumumba appeared before Parliament and made a fool out of Kasavubu; he refuted



Banyamulenge (Zairian Tutsi) at arms.

New Society in Doubt

point by point the terms of his dismissal. Lumumba attacked the UN, saying the Congo was not really free if UN military forces controlled its military, airports, and radio facilities. How could the UN justify intervention if it refused to liberate Katanga?

Mobutu ordered the Soviets to leave within 48 hours of UN intervention (the US stood behind him with military support and a steady stream of checks in his wallet). Eisenhower stressed that Lumumba must be eliminated. On January 17, 1961 the CIA provided a vat of acid to liquidate Lumumba's body, after he was kidnapped and shot in the head.

Lumumba's state centralist program, while progressive in comparison with imperialist-sponsored ethnic secessionist movements (led by Tshombe and Kalonji) did not, however, solve the question of self-determination of oppressed nationalities. Lumumba's Congolese nationalism was in many ways devoid of revolutionary social content despite his not being an ethnic partisan. Lumumba's nationalism was based on an idealistic conception of the nation-state rather than a social program of an anti-authoritarian workers' and peasants' revolution. Such a program would not attempt to impose Congolese state "unity" through force of arms—least of all through the armed forces of the (neo)colonial state—but would systematically mobilize people against their imperialist and local exploiters. It would uphold democratic local government as a

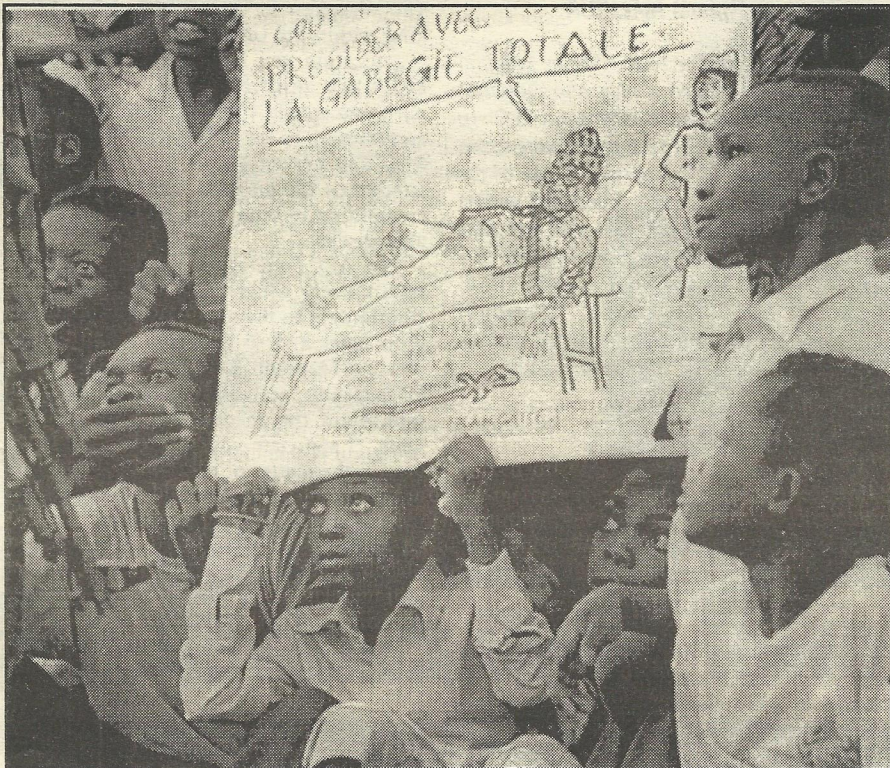
Maoist trained in guerilla warfare in China, Mulele is credited with introducing these ideas into the national struggle. In 1963, Mulele began the first guerilla front known as the "Simba" revolt in the Kwilu (now Bandundu) region. He was murdered by state security agents in 1965.

A second group, the Popular Liberation Army (APL), operated from eastern Zaire, and went under the leadership of Laurent Kabila and Gaston Soumialot, who launched their movement from the bordering country of Burundi in April of 1964. This group was supported by Ernesto "Che" Guevara and scores of Cuban internationalists. Many Congolese received guerrilla warfare training in Cuba as well.

A SECOND MOBUTU COUP

Within a few months, large areas of eastern Zaire were liberated, including north Kasai and Katanga (Shaba) provinces. In May 1964, Kabila's forces liberated Uvira and in August they wrestled Stanleyville (now Kisangani) from Mobutu. A month later Kisangani was declared the capital of a "People's Republic" under the leadership of Antoine Gizenga. By the end of 1964, the APL controlled half of the Congo and seven provincial capitals.

The People's Republic fell in early 1965 to Belgian and French mercenaries led by the US. Following more imperialist-manipulated elections in 1965, big business briefly



Children in Kisangani mock Mobutu.

state managed capitalism in which cash flowed directly into his pockets. Later Mobutu signed joint agreements with multinational corporations and the state, which was in effect himself. His trademark clothing, such as his leopard skin hat, framed the image he pushed in propaganda: that of an African king whose destiny it was to rule. He shamelessly built a parasitic native ruling class and told MPR loyalists that it was OK to steal, but to just steal a little at a time, and don't get caught.

Mobutu recognized that, despite his personal audacity, if he periodically instituted constitutional reforms to allow political participation through labor unions and opposition parties, he could keep them on a short leash and take away their rights to organize when they became too critical. In essence he became a constitutional monarch. He has survived up to now by building a strong network of supporters, including Western governments such as the US, France, Belgium, and several multinational corporations. He also counted on post-Nasser, pro-US Egypt, Morocco, and China. China trained Mulele's forces but soon turned to defend Mobutu through a key intermediary, Jonas Savimbi. Savimbi, of Angola's CIA-sponsored UNITA group, trained in China as well as Zaire.

KABILA'S MINI STATE

During the late 1960s and early '70s resistance to Mobutu was necessarily armed and Laurent Kabila was again in the mix. He started a new guerrilla movement around the Popular Revolutionary Party (PRP) in the mountains of Uvira along the shores of

Lake Tanganyika. The PRP set up a mini-state with collective farms, schools, and health care financed in part by gold mining. When agents of Mobutu came to attack they were paid off in gold to leave in peace.

In May 1975, Kabila's forces kidnapped three American students and a Dutch researcher from the Gombe Stream Research Center in Tanzania. (This center was made famous by Jane Goodall's research with primates). The PRP demanded \$500,000, release of 30 POWs, and a shipment of arms for ransom. Paid an undisclosed amount and granted the release of prisoners, the rebels freed the hostages unharmed after 67 days. Mobutu's troops forced Kabila's group to flee to Tanzania two years later, but Kabila continued to openly organize for the overthrow of Mobutu until the late 1980s when he went into hiding. It is the old leadership of the PRP, with the Banyamulenge, that constituted the initial base of the AFDL.

In the 1980s Mobutu ruled absolutely without serious challenge and with little pretense of civilian political participation. Human rights groups like Amnesty International fussed about conditions but the international powers who continued to extract Zaire's mineral wealth didn't care. Hundreds detained without trial were held under house arrest or died in prison. Independent journalists disappeared into the night never to be seen again. Students who tried to protest were tortured and shot. President Reagan received Mobutu several times during this period and praised him as "a voice of good sense and good will." President Bush called him "one of our most

(Continued to page 19)



The Congolese masses.

concept and sponsor the overthrow of corrupt ethnic elites who might dominate at this level. Such a program would encourage the free development of diverse ethnic cultures among the Congo, preserving different languages and positive aspects of cultures which don't reinforce authoritarian rule. This basic method can be drawn from some of the insights of Amilcar Cabral, the class struggle Pan-African revolutionary from Guinea-Bissau, who developed his ideas after observing these historical events unfold.

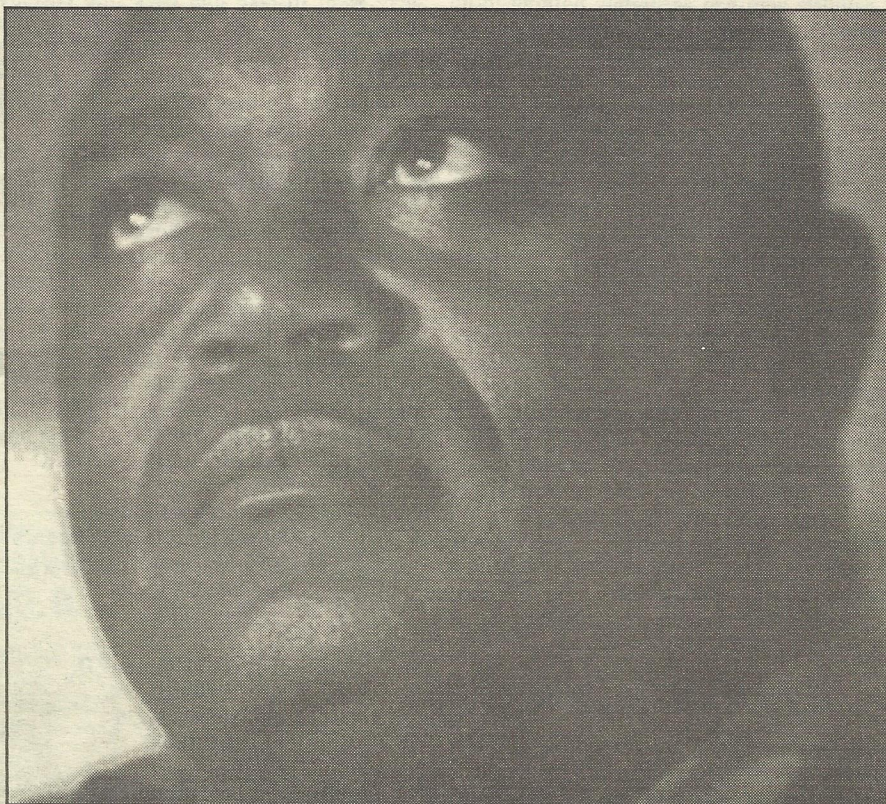
SECOND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

Following the assassination of Lumumba, the first significant organized armed resistance to the neo-colonial nation-state in Africa took place between 1961 and 1968. This was led by Patrice Lumumba's compatriots: Pierre Mulele, Antoine Gizenga, Gaston Soumialot, and Laurent Kabila. The imperialists forged a government of false national unity around Cyrille Adoula at the 1964 Louvanium University Conference on the outskirts of Leopoldville (now Kinshasa); Lumumba's supporters still got half the seats in the cabinet and made sure that this fraud was not respected. Familiarly known as the "Second Independence Movement," this group went under the official title of the National Council for Liberation (CNL). Its main objective was to organize the overthrow of the neo-colonial government.

The CNL was led by Pierre Mulele, a former minister of education and ambassador to Nasser's Egypt under Lumumba. A

united around Moise Tshombe. Then Kasavubu, the opportunist politician, turned on the Tshombe government of which he was a part and opposed intervention of mercenaries. This facilitated Mobutu's second coup in November 1965. It was then that Mobutu began to consolidate his regime. But Mobutu was already the favorite of US imperialism over Tshombe. As early as 1961, President Kennedy welcomed him to Washington as the leader of the Congo. (Kennedy also gave him a US Air Force plane for his own personal use and a crew to fly it for him.)

Mobutu instituted military dictatorship and banned party politics and grassroots organizing for five years. The West did very little to challenge Mobutu's flouting of democracy and in fact politically and economically supported his regime. In 1966 Mobutu formed the Popular Movement for Revolution (MPR). At first he had some success in presenting himself as a civilian politician. Many college students supported his coup with radical rhetoric. But in 1967 these students were back in the streets protesting Mobutu's repression. The MPR used brutal methods to crush any political organizations it did not control. Several opponents were tortured and executed. In the late 1960s and early '70s Mobutu would use nationalist rhetoric such as "Africanization" of the economy and "authenticity" in culture to mask his consolidation of absolute rule. He changed the name of the country from Congo to Zaire, ironically a Portuguese name. Mobutu nationalized certain industries, cementing a



A pensive Laurent Kabila.

Political Prisoners

"JERICHO 1998" MARCH FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS IN NORTH AMERICA

Jalil Muntaquin, a New Afrikan Political Prisoner, has initiated a rally and march at the White House in Washington D.C. to demand amnesty for North American Political Prisoners. The tentative date of the march is March 21, 1998. Interested parties are encouraged to form regional meetings to discuss the best way the region can organize for the national mobilization. Contact the following National Coordinators for Jalil's proposal for regional supporters and for more information.

RNA-NY
PO Box 330476
BROOKLYN, NY 11233
212-928-4349 EXT. 2

NALF
PO Box 340084
JAMAICA, NY 11434
718-949-5153

ABC WARCHEST APPEAL

The Warchest is a financial aid program of the Anarchist Black Cross Federation. It sends monthly checks and emergency aid to Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War (PP/POW's) in the United States. Funds are available only to those prisoners who were originally sent to prison for their political and revolutionary contributions to legitimate political movements. Those in the most financial need are prioritized.

Though currently able to support seven PP/POW's with regular checks of up to \$60, we have recently received two more applications from PP's who are in great need of financial support.

However, the ABC Federation is in need of more regular contributors to the program before they can begin to be supported by the Warchest program.

Serving a much neglected function, the

Warchest has provided consistent and reliable financial aid to PP/POW's since 1994. The Warchest is the only program of its kind within the United States. If you, or an organization you are a part of, agree that PP/POW's deserve regular financial support, you should consider making a regular contribution to the effort. Contributing \$10, \$15, \$20 per month or more will greatly strengthen the program, better suiting it in committing to send more monthly and reliable checks.

The ABC Federation prints a financial report every other month that is sent to contributors so they can monitor the money they send, and to which prisoners it was sent. As Marilyn Buck, an anti-imperialist PP currently receiving a monthly check has said about the accountability of the program, "I appreciate you for your scrupulousness in the matter of money." The prisoners' addresses are printed so that endorsers may hold us accountable to our claims.

We also print a brochure of biographies about the prisoners who receive funding and the roles they played in the struggle prior to becoming PP/POW's.

To send money, or to receive more information about any of the above, contact:

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

SUPPORT ROD CORONADO

Rod Coronado is an imprisoned activist from the Animal Liberation movement. He is a member of the Yaqui nation. He has recently published a zine, which is available from his support committee.

Rod Coronado Support Committee
3245 E. Patricia
Tucson, AZ 85716

Georgia Anarchist Framed and Re-Indicted

ADAPTED FROM INFO. ON THE INTERNET

Leading up to the 1996 Summer Olympics in Atlanta, Georgia, there was a frightening heightening of "security" to protect the Olympics from "terrorists." As we all know, there was a bombing of the Olympics despite all the security overkill. But what many people don't know is that the security precautions for the Olympics included such travesties as clearing all homeless people out of the Atlanta area for months in advance of the Olympics. It also included spying on and harassing many progressive and radical activists in the Atlanta area.

When the bomb went off at the Olympics, the pigs not only felt like they needed to "get their man," but they also used the opportunity to harass many activists who had absolutely nothing to do with the bombing at the Olympics.

Foremost in this regard is a young anarchist in suburban Atlanta named Jason Moreland. Moreland was arrested supposedly as a suspect because of a zine he had made and distributed at some punk shows, called *Rise Above*, that was a fairly standard anarchist punk zine. It included information on Food Not Bombs (a nonviolent international group that provides free vegetarian food to homeless people and confronts issues of homelessness, poverty, and police brutality) and other activist projects, as well as anarchist tracts against state oppression.

Whatever his views on the state, Jason clearly had nothing at all to do with the Olympic bombing; the government doesn't even claim that he did. Their pursuit of him is totally opportunistic grandstanding. But after the hype around the Olympic bombing died down, the charges against Moreland seemed to be quietly laid aside, and that seemed to be the end of it. But now he is being harassed again.

NEW NEWS ISN'T GOOD NEWS

The State of Georgia has decided to indict Jason again. In January the D.A. changed the charge against Jason from the "advocation of the overthrow of the government of Georgia" to the "unlawful training in the

use or making of dangerous weapons," because of anti-state writings and a picture of a molotov cocktail in his zine! A month later word came that the D.A. dropped the indictment only a few weeks after the Grand Jury decided that the State's case against Jason would go to trial.

Then we were informed that the charges had not been dropped and that the D.A. could attempt to indict him two more times, and almost a month later they decided to do so. After a few phone calls to his lawyers and to the Clayton *Daily News*, which reported the re-indictment, we found out that D.A. Robert Keller decided to try to re-indict Jason after increased pressure from the Clayton County Police Department to do so.

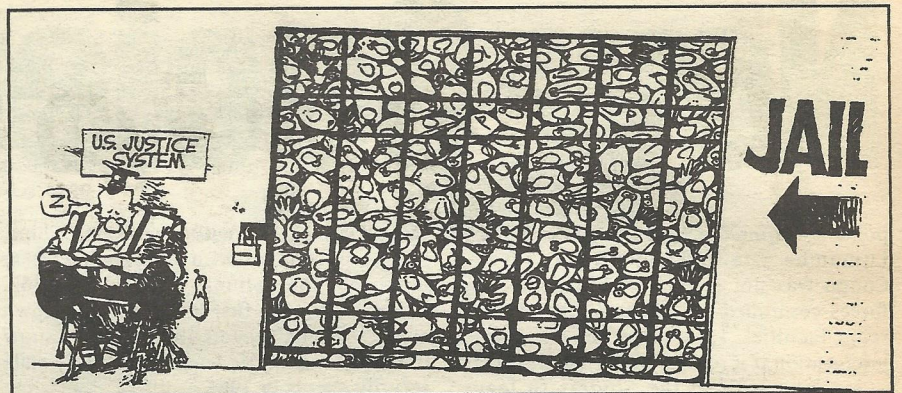
Jason has been informed that the police may want to take him back into custody. He's already \$3,000 in debt from the first time. This is completely ridiculous. If they do take him into custody there's a good chance that he may lose his job cleaning rooms at a motel near where he lives.

According to Jason's lawyer the Assistant D.A. has been pressuring D.A. Robert Keller to drop the charges. He's reportedly sick of the deluge of letters and phone calls, so keep it up! Jason's arraignment on April 16 was postponed a month for the reason mentioned above. We're sick of the harassment of Jason by the State. We're asking for you to write more letters, make more phone calls, get more petitions signed, drive the D.A. batty! If they think that it was bad before, let's show them how annoying we can be. However, be nice.

Make calls and send letters to:
Robert Keller, Clayton County D.A.
200 Annex Clayton County Courthouse
Jonesboro, GA 30236
(770) 477-3452

Lt. Gibson, Clayton County P.D.
7930 N. McDonough St.
Jonesboro, GA 30236
(770) 477-3747

For more info or to send solidarity letters:
Circle A Magazine
PO Box 80967, Chamblee, GA 30366



Justice for Minn. 8

BY NINA

The Committee Seeking Equal Justice for the Minnesota Eight filed post-conviction relief briefs on April 23 on behalf of Adl El Shabazz, Larry Flournoy, Nantambu Kambon, and Mwati McKenzie, four of the prisoners known as the Minnesota 8. These men were railroaded in connection with the killing of a white police officer in Minneapolis, MN in September 1992. The briefs raise issues not previously argued in trial or on appeal, including judicial misconduct, insufficient assist of council, recanted testimony, among others.

These appeals could have several results. Obviously, in a just system, the cases of the Minnesota 8 would be dropped or the men would be offered new trials. However, this is unlikely for a number of reasons. First, these briefs are brought before the same trial judges that convicted each of the defendants. Secondly, even if these issues are recognized as violations of constitutional and state rights, they could be judged as "harmless errors." And third, as we've discovered firsthand, the function of the "judicial" system is to serve the ruling class and maintain white supremacy. This is done by incarcerating over 1.5 million poor people, over half of whom are of African descent. Incarceration guarantees a large slave labor pool and confines those who, oppressed by this system, have reason to tear it down. It is this system that sent the Minnesota 8 to prison to serve life sentences. Although we continue to file briefs, the Committee Seeking Equal Justice is aware that we can not rely on the courts to

serve justice to the people. We also clearly understand that anyone can be railroaded if it serves the interest of the state. If you think that this could not happen to you, consider the "facts" in the cases of the Minnesota 8: A white police officer, Jerome Haaf, was shot in Minneapolis, MN in September 1992. There were no fingerprints, no weapon, and no identifications of defendants by lineup. The killing was ruled "gang related" based on the description of the shooters: Black young men wearing baseball hats, jackets, and jeans. Every person who testified against the defendants was either working for the state, paid by the state, or later recanted their testimony. Defendants were charged with two counts of first degree murder for the death of one man. The main eyewitness, a police reservist, testified that it was not McKenzie or Kambon who shot Officer Haaf. Since that time, her house was firebombed and she is being charged with welfare fraud. One of the defendants, Mwati McKenzie, was found guilty of killing police officer Jerome Haaf but not guilty of killing "human being" Jerome Haaf.

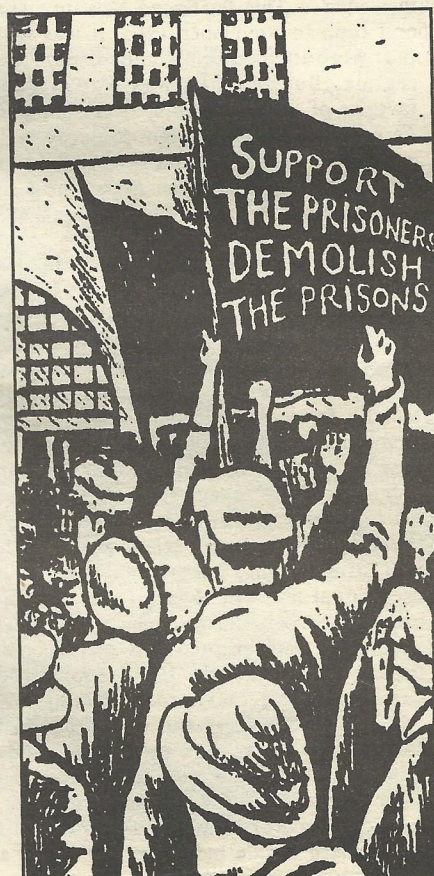
For further information contact:
Committee Seeking Equal Justice, Inc.
PO Box 40355
St. Paul, MN 55104
(612) 930-7514

Or write to: Nantambu Kambon #172686
Mwati Papi McKenzie #155221
Adl El Shabazz #172123
Larry Flournoy #139795
MCF Oak Park Heights, Box 10
Stillwater, MN 55082

Raze the Walls!

Raze the Walls! is an anarchist prisoner support project with local groups in Seattle, WA, Orlando, FL and Savannah, GA. They currently send material aid to prisoners, build support campaigns, publish and distribute writings by and for prisoners, and educate the public about prison issues from an anarchist perspective. They plan to expand campaigns around prisoner study groups, supporting women in prison, forming legal committees, and networking with other prison activists. They also publish a newsletter, *Fire in the Sky*. To find out more or get involved, contact:

Raze the Walls!
PO Box 720418
Orlando, FL 32872



Prison Activist Periodicals

ABC Federation Update
c/o NJ-ABC, PO Box 8532
Paterson, NJ 07508-8532
<http://www.jaxnet.com/~yamjabc/index.html>
Updates on the work of the North American ABC Federation.

Black Flag
BM Hurricane
London WC1N 3XX
black.flag@qnet.org.uk
Long-time anarchist prison support magazine from England.

Bulldozer
PO Box 5052, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1W4
Canada
Formerly Prison News Service, now focusing exclusively on Canadian prisons.

California Prison Focus
2489 Mission St #28
San Francisco, CA 94110
New magazine covering prison conditions and prisoner support activism in California.

Prison Connections
c/o AFSC, 140 Pine Street
Florence, MA 01060
<http://persephone.hampshire.edu/wmpig/prisoncon.html>
Covers prison conditions and activism in Massachusetts.

This Just In...
103 Bartlett Avenue
Pittsfield, MA 01201
Bulletin of news on PPs/POWs.

Palante!

By CAROLYN

It started on a Sunday in the streets of El Barrio (East Harlem), New York City, 1969. Piles of rotting trash had been left to decay in the Puerto Rican community, even though the Sanitation Dept. was just up the block. For weeks the people patiently swept up the streets and bagged the trash themselves, waiting for the city to do its job. The community tried every avenue and gave the city every chance to fulfill its most basic functions. But the city

on the communities in which they had actual roots: the Puerto Rican communities on the Lower East Side and in East Harlem. The Young Lords organized both on campuses and in their communities. They continued to build an autonomous student movement, while at the same time training students to be community organizers. They recognized that the community needed to feel ownership over institutions of higher education, and fought for colleges that served their needs. And the Young Lords realized that building a revolutionary orga-

forms of racism, cultural marginalization and colonial exploitation. Puerto Rico has been a colony of the US since this time.

TENGO PUERTO RICO EN MI CORAZON

In the barrios of the US, Puerto Rican people suffered severe economic exploitation. There Puerto Ricans faced filthy and dangerous tenement housing and a school system that denigrated their language and culture and offered little opportunity for higher education. In the streets they faced an occupying army, the New York City Police Department, which was openly racist and used violence liberally. Puerto Ricans were good enough to die in the jungle of Vietnam but were treated like the Viet Cong on the streets of New York.

SERVE THE PEOPLE

Behind every action of the Young Lords was their method of community-based

highly peculiar incident in 1970. The Young Lords responded by occupying the People's Church for a second time, this time armed to the teeth. But while their revolutionary program included armed struggle, the Young Lords' most far-reaching actions were the serve the people programs.

Health care was one of the basic issues of the Lords. They organized the Health Revolutionary Unity Movement (HRUM), a mass organization which was made up of Puerto Rican and Black medical workers based in Gouverneur Hospital on the Lower East Side and other hospitals in Harlem. The Young Lords did door-to-door TB testing, and when they saw the city had a TB testing truck that somehow never made into the barrio, they "liberated" the truck, and took chest X-rays of hundreds of people in the community.

After a young Puerto Rican woman died from a minor surgical procedure, HRUM took over the old Lincoln Hospital on Nov. 10, 1970. Over 600 people joined HRUM in

A Brief History of the Young

bureaucracy didn't respond.

Young and old, hospital orderlies, students and store owners began dragging the trash that had been left rotting in the summer sun into the middle of the street, building barricades four feet high. And to make sure traffic on Third Ave. wasn't going to move, they set the trash on fire. When the city finally came, it was the NYPD and the Fire Department, not the Sanitation Department. The community greeted them with a hail of rocks, bottles and trash. The Young Lords had been involved in organizing the street cleanup for weeks, and now they were leading the offensive. "The streets belong to the people! The moon belongs to the people! Power to the people!" the community cried. As the hapless cops tried to drag the smoldering trash away the Young Lords celebrated their first victory, winning the hearts of the Puerto Rican community and the ire of the NYPD.

The New York City Young Lords Organization (later the Young Lords Party), was founded by a group of mostly Puerto Rican students from SUNY-Old Westbury, Queens College, and Columbia University. They were inspired by the Black Panther Party (BPP) and a group called the Young Lords in Chicago, Illinois. The Chicago Young Lords were a former street organization that had gained national attention when they took over a local church in order to provide child care, a breakfast program and other community-oriented programs.

A TIME OF REVOLUTIONS

Many of the original Young Lords had been involved in the student and anti-war movements and wanted to apply the skills gained in that work to creating a community-based revolutionary organization. At first they came together and formed a student group called "La Sociedad de Albizu Campos," named after Puerto Rican nationalist Dr. Pedro Albizu Campos. This was more or less a study group that analyzed the issues facing the communities they identified with and the broader implications of their experiences. They decided to focus their energy

nization means investigating the issues that the community is already struggling with in some way. As revolutionaries they sought to make tangible gains on the issues the community found important. And this was done not simply to win the trust of the community so that they could make "The Revolution," but out of a desire to change the day-to-day conditions of the people in their community. Finally, the Young Lords recognized that building a mass-based revolutionary organization means earning the respect of the community. This respect would only be earned through struggle. The Young Lords also had to establish and prove themselves as a real community organization, which meant that community people were not foot soldiers, but leaders of struggles.

A COMMUNITY ON THE MARGINS

Puerto Ricans living in the barrios of New York, Philadelphia and Chicago in 1969 were a part of the massive migration from Puerto Rico to the US between 1948 and 1958. They came to the US, as citizens, in search of stable jobs and decent housing.

The Spanish landed in Puerto Rico in 1493, where they found a Taino nation with its own complex social, economic and political structure. The Spanish began to import African slaves to the island in the 1500s, in part because of the massive resistance to slavery by the indigenous population. By the end of the century the Tainos were virtually wiped out as a distinct people. The African people were stripped of their social and family structures, and immediately forced into slave labor with other African peoples who spoke different languages—making organizing resistance more difficult. For Spain, Puerto Rico functioned as a launching pad for expanding their plunder and conquest of Latin America.

In 1898 the US invaded Puerto Rico under the auspices of ousting Spanish colonialism. Expecting freedom or at least a better standard of living, Puerto Ricans were instead subjected to even greater

revolutionary organizing. The Young Lords' first action—to clean the streets of the barrio—was decided after conducting a survey in the community, asking people what they wanted and needed most. The Young Lords understood that the Puerto Rican community's desire for clean streets was connected to a broader set of community concerns, and that by cleaning the

streets they could create the momentum needed to sustain a movement. The Young Lords, having established a name for themselves as people who listened and got things done, together with the community, were able to translate a revolutionary vision into a movement for transforming the society from the ground up.



Free Clothing Drive, Bronx, July 1970.

streets they could create the momentum needed to sustain a movement. The Young Lords, having established a name for themselves as people who listened and got things done, together with the community, were able to translate a revolutionary vision into a movement for transforming the society from the ground up.

After the garbage campaign, the Young Lords developed a series of successful community projects or serve the people programs in the Puerto Rican community. They held organized breakfast and day care programs for children and did door-to-door lead-poisoning testing. They also seized a local church that was empty six days of the week. The First Spanish Methodist Church was transformed into La Iglesia de la Gente (The Church of the People), a vibrant community center where local residents gave testimonial speeches, describing their lives in El Barrio. Music, art and poetry filled the air, as people worked around the clock creating for the Puerto Rican movement. People who had never done anything "political" before began to see themselves as revolutionaries. And revolutionaries who originally thought that they had all the answers because they had read Marx, Che, Fanon or Mao realized that the people understood what was needed because they were already in the struggle. Collectively from pain, desire, isolation, and fighting spirit they were able to develop a plan of action.

Though the church takeover lasted only eleven days, its impact was far-reaching. It brought the Young Lords national attention and won many more young people to the movement. Young Lords chapters cropped up in Hoboken; Newark; Jersey City; New Haven, Connecticut; Philadelphia; and Boston. On the West Coast a similar process was taking place with the rise of the Brown Berets out of the Chicano student movement. These movements also caught the attention of the FBI, which began trying to infiltrate and disrupt the Young Lords. The Young Lords were hit by the FBI and NYPD, as when Julio Roldán was "suicided"—hung in a prison cell after being arrested in a

THE YOUNG LORDS' POLITICAL CULTURE

The Young Lords also sought to change the consciousness of people in the process of making revolutionary change. With the Young Lords' cry for revolution many Puerto Rican women began to see the opportunity for new choices outside of the traditional family structure. Women's liberation was by no means immediately taken up by the Young Lords. Women had to struggle to be heard on equal terms with their male comrades. They criticized the Party's tacit support of male chauvinism in its ranks and the organization's stated support for "progressive machismo," demanding that the Party oppose machismo and support women's liberation explicitly in their thirteen-point program. It took time, but changes were made. The Young Lords developed a theory of patriarchal gender roles and recognized how historically in national liberation struggles, such as those in Algeria, Cuba and Vietnam, male chauvinist ideas taught colonized men that the only way to regain their identity was to dominate women. These discussions opened up the space for lesbian, gay and transgender members of the party to lead discussions of queer liberation. Sylvia Rivera, a Puerto Rican drag queen who had participated in the Stonewall rebellion, was a member of the Young Lords' Lesbian and Gay Caucus and a founding member of Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (STAR). The Young Lords built alliances with the Gay Liberation Front and the Third World Gay Liberation because, as Young Lord Pablo Guzmán said, "they were on the same road we were." This positive response to these newly-emerging movements cannot be underestimated.

What accounted for the Young Lords' openness and flexibility is not clear. However, their conception of racial identities may offer us some insight. In the Young Lords, Puerto Rican identity was not defined narrowly by race. The Young Lords

(Continued to page 18)



Young Lords march to the UN, October 30, 1970.

Monsanto to School Kids: Have a Nice Big Glass of Pus. On Us.

By MITCHELL COHEN

In mid-April, the New York City Board of Education announced that it will continue to buy milk and dairy products from companies that inject their cows with genetically-engineered Bovine Growth Hormone despite widespread protests. "The FDA has given us assurances milk is safe if it contains this growth hormone," said board spokesperson David Golub. "This is a non-issue."

But Maris Abelson, a student at New York University who helps coordinate the BioTech Working Group of the Green Party of New York, challenges that assertion: "Recombinant Bovine Growth Hormone is a genetically-engineered drug injected into cows, which increases levels of cancer-causing and other dangerous chemicals in milk," she says. "It is the first genetically-engineered drug to be widely marketed through the food supply. We've got to stop it, now. And we can."

"What's more, there's pus in the milk!" sang out the purple-haired Abelson at a "No rBGH, Free Ice Cream" parade and rally in Brooklyn last February. (The ice cream was donated by Ben & Jerry's.) Protesters carried, among other inventive signs, altered ads from the Dairy Council's "Got Milk?" campaign, reading "Got Pus?". Farmers must buy heavy doses of antibiotics to treat rBGH cows' frequent infections, which leak pus, blood, bacteria and increased levels of antibiotic residues into the milk. High levels of antibiotics can impair immune system development in children, cause the growth of resistant strains of bacteria and viruses, and lead to serious health problems.

Other than causing certain cows to increase the amount of milk they produce—on average from 10% to 25%—there really is no benefit to rBGH and lots of drawbacks. Monsanto, which has hundreds of millions of dollars invested in bio-technology development, knows that the market is flooded with too much milk as it is, driving prices down below cost and bankrupting dairy farms throughout the country in record numbers. Some farmers have even had to kill their cows because it cost them more to feed and maintain them than they got back in sales. So the company keeps its public relations machine whirling with ever-newer rationalizations and pressure tactics. "Think of what you can do with the money from the sale of the extra milk," propagandists for the product tell dairy farmers, who are caught between a rock and a hard place. On the one hand, they know that the so-called "extra" money they're promised for squeezing more out of each cow with rBGH is a delusion; with the market already glutted, how could increasing the total volume of milk possibly help them compete with giant agribusiness conglomerates who can afford to pay lower prices per gallon or even go into debt for a time and absorb the cost of antibiotics and more frequent replacement of their cows? On the other hand, without some miracle how could they stave off bankruptcy and the looming shadow of bank foreclosure?

Monsanto has no sensible answer. Instead, it swings its mighty stick: Fear. "Soon everyone else will be using rBGH. It's like any new machine employed in production. It will lower the price of milk even more, and increase the quantity. If you don't use it, you'll go bankrupt. But," and here's the carrot, "if you start using rBGH now, before everyone else, you'll do all right."

To counter this threat, green activists have joined dairy farmers and local consumer groups in coalitions across the country to stop Monsanto from achieving that "critical mass" and applying its new genetic engineering techniques to milk production. Once Monsanto reaches that point, farmers fear they will be driven by market forces to use any means available—including rBGH—to increase the amount of milk their cows produce just to chase the ghost of breaking even as the price per quart plummets.

IS RBGH SAFE FOR COWS?

Recombinant Bovine Growth Hormone is like "crack" for cows. It "revs" up their systems and forces them to produce a lot more milk for perhaps a few years, and then their milk production declines dramatically. It

also makes them sick. Their udders swell and develop painful, bloody lesions—an infection known as "mastitis," which is "treated" by giving cows huge doses of antibiotics. The cows suffer through shortened life spans, and increased birth defects, rates of metabolic disease, infertility and stress.

The use of rBGH intensifies the already unhealthy confinement of animals in industrial-scale dairy production. Factory farming of animals is immoral; some cows spend their whole lives tethered to machines. Increasingly, they're viewed as "units of production" instead of sentient beings. Even in death—which, in general, comes earlier to rBGH-injected cows—the animals are seen as part of the machine, the "production process." In recent years the industry has taken to "rendering" animal carcasses, which means grinding up dead milk cows into animal feed and other meat products. Approximately 40% of "rendered" beef is used to make hamburgers. The rest is mixed into cow feed, along with sheep's brains and other "rendered" animal. Just a short time after this practice became widespread, health officials began to note a dramatic increase in the rate of spongiform encephalopathy—"mad cow" disease—which is caused by feeding animals high protein "renderings" of animal products. Recent studies indicate that mad cow disease is linked to the devastating Creutzfeldt-Jakob disease in humans.

Forcing cows to eat rendered meat is disgusting enough. But now, with meat being derived from diseased rBGH-treated cows, each burger or bucket of feed contains a higher percentage of antibiotics, synthetic hormones, viruses, bacteria, and chemicals. The ratio intensifies each time around the cycle of death.

The situation is compounded by genetically-engineered hormones. rBGH-injected cows require more protein than normal. So they consume even more meat in their feed,

concentrating the amounts of synthetic hormones, antibiotics and other chemicals even further. All of this has severe environmental, economic and health consequences. Groundwater becomes even more polluted, as mutated, drug-resistant viruses, fungus and bacteria develop in response to the increased use of antibiotics and genetically-engineered chemicals and, through waste run-off—often used as fertilizer—enter the water supply and soil. Ever-greater quantities of herbicides, fungicides, pesticides and other dangerous toxic chemicals are applied to the land to deal with the new strains of resistant germs, blights and diseases, further contaminating soil and water. These pesticides are manufactured by the very companies that produce rBGH and other genetically-engineered products, as are the antibiotics and tranquilizers sold to dairy farmers to combat the "side effects" of rBGH. For Monsanto, as with other corporations, the name of the game is profits, profits at any cost.

IS RBGH SAFE FOR PEOPLE?

Monsanto claims rBGH is perfectly safe. Just as the

company once claimed for Agent Orange, another Monsanto product—but where are the long-term studies? Strangely, there have been no studies on the long-term environmental impact of rBGH or on its long-term effects on the health of people. Legislation requiring labeling of dairy products derived from rBGH cows has been introduced in state after state across the country, only to be resisted by Monsanto and blocked, as often by Democrats as by Republicans, as both major parties fill their war-chests with campaign contributions from the pharmaceutical industry.

Unfortunately, there are virtually no laws regulating or even requiring labels on genetically-engineered foods or those derived from genetically-engineered hormones, such as rBGH. President Clinton and Vice President Gore are two of biotechnology's biggest proponents. New legislation being proposed in Congress limits the liability of corporations; it will most likely be passed and signed by President Clinton this year. The legislation is receiv-

ing fervent support from the pharmaceutical industry, wary of consumer lawsuits against genetically-engineered products. Taking her cue from Washington, so-called progressive Democratic candidate for Mayor in New York City Ruth Messinger has also spoken out strongly for genetic engineering, and has remained silent on labeling.

Of course, cows' milk and other dairy products have been associated with all sorts of serious health problems even before rBGH was given the go-ahead by the Food and Drug Administration in late 1993. Atomic bomb tests caused radioactive isotopes like Strontium-90 to enter cows' milk in the 1950s and became the subject of heated protests and national debate, which played a role in winning the first comprehensive test ban treaty on nuclear weapons. The issue was raised again following the disastrous accidents at Three Mile Island in 1979 and Chernobyl in 1986. For the first time, statistical evidence was gathered directly relating the large increases in total and infant mortality that occurred across the United States in the summer of 1986 to the heightened amount of radioactive iodine, cesium, strontium, and barium in rain and milk—fallout from Chernobyl halfway around the world. Radioactive isotopes in milk have, by now, compromised the immune systems of an entire generation. While protests have forced a few of the most dangerous chemical sprays, like DDT, off the market, chemical, hormone, and radioactive residues in dairy products continue to contribute to the rise of asthma, cancer, AIDS and other illnesses.

The direct injection of rBGH into cows raises the issue once again. As long as kids drink milk or eat butter, ice cream, cheese or yogurt, they are especially susceptible to radiation, pesticide residues, impurities, and, in the case before us, the high levels of antibiotics and increased hormonal levels found in rBGH-derived dairy products. rBGH-derived milk contains dramatically higher levels of IGF-1 (Insulin Growth Factor). It is no wonder that milk from cows injected with rBGH is banned in Europe and Canada. It is worth pondering why it is not banned in the US as well.

Yet New York City public schools continue to contract with Tuscan and other milk companies who, for the most part, refuse to sign rBGH-free contracts. Monsanto continues fighting tooth and nail against consumer demands to require appropriate labels on dairy products. And now, the giant pharmaceutical companies are gearing up for the real battle, in which rBGH is only the opening salvo: The right to patent, own, and profit from the very substance of life itself.

WHAT IS GENETIC ENGINEERING?

Genetic Engineering is the process of redesigning DNA molecules to create new forms of life. Scientists are recombining genes from plants, insects, bacteria, animals and humans to more fully exploit the commercial possibilities of agricultural and pharmaceutical production.

Genetically-engineered foods are unlabeled and, mostly, untested. According to the USDA, only two percent of genetically-engineered foods are developed to enhance taste or nutrition. Ninety-eight percent are artificially designed to make food production and processing more profitable for big corporations, while causing viruses and other germs to mutate inside our bodies into more virulent strains for which we've developed no resistance, and which, for the first time, could also spread across species. Already there has been some crossover between pig and human viruses.

Genetically-engineered foods also subject us to higher levels of toxins and allergens. Genes from peanuts implanted in other foods can cause severe allergic reactions, even death. Yet the products containing peanut genes have no warning labels. Genes from flounder implanted into tomatoes to keep them from freezing, and genes from chicken spliced into potatoes to keep them from bruising, raise all sorts of ethical problems for vegetarians. The manufacture of synthetic vanilla is already playing havoc with the economies of Madagascar,

(Continued to page 17)



CUNY Movement

(Continued from page 5)

Open admissions at CUNY was an enormous victory for people of color in New York City. Starting in the late '60s the government and a number of major corporations were initiating Affirmative Action programs. More than any other school in the country CUNY has produced the educated Black and Latino people to fill the jobs opened by civil rights and affirmative action. Within a few years after open admissions began CUNY was graduating more Blacks than all of the historically Black colleges combined.

While open admissions helped create a Black and Brown middle class that helped "subdue" the insurgencies of the '60s and '70s, it had other effects as well. At the 1969 City College takeover students also demanded and won the creation of a Black Studies department. As students of color poured into CUNY, Black, Latino, and Asian studies departments expanded.

Open admissions and affirmative action were designed to transform insurgent young people of color into loyal servants of the system. The various ethnic studies departments and similar programs have at times undermined that mission and have given crucial assistance to student struggles. Many of the faculty hired to staff the ethnic studies departments were veterans of the liberation struggles of the 1960s and '70s and sought to use their positions to open up even more political space. Three CUNY campuses located in Black and Latino communities—City College, Medgar Evers and York—effectively became organizing centers for those communities.

THE LONG BACKLASH

Almost from the moment open admissions began at CUNY there has been a backlash against it. Disguised as a defense of "standards of academic excellence," the underlying thrust of the backlash has been the restoration of the old CUNY that had been an instrument of white privilege. In 1976, the same year people of color became the majority of CUNY students, CUNY began to charge for tuition. The Tuition Assistance Program (TAP), a state program that paid the full tuition of the poorest students and a portion of tuition for other students in need, was also established then, to guarantee that charging tuition would not effectively end open admissions.

Since 1977 there has been a relentless effort to roll back open admissions and more recently to reorganize the university to make it a better servant of the ruling class. Yearly layoffs and program cuts have been overwhelmingly directed at the CUNY campuses with the most Black and Latino students. City College in particular has taken the biggest hits. As if to underscore the white supremacist nature of the cuts, in the early 1990s while it was forcing deep cuts on the rest of CUNY, the New York state legislature allocated \$400 million to build an entirely new campus for the College of Staten Island, CUNY's whitest senior college.

In 1995 the New York state legislature passed cuts to TAP that meant for the first time the poorest students would not have all of their tuition covered. Part-time students lost all of their TAP funding. These two measures were a direct attack on the poorest students. The students affected are overwhelmingly Black and Latino.

The pressure to roll back open admissions has increased dramatically during the 1990s. Affirmative action has become a convenient scapegoat for the economic beating that many white folks are currently taking. Every year that CUNY graduates students of color it creates more job competition for increasingly anxious whites. Bashing CUNY has in this context become a popular sport for much of the white working class and for politicians seeking their votes.

BUILDING A MULTI-RACIAL STUDENT MOVEMENT

The key to beating back the attacks on CUNY is building a broad but militant, politically independent and multi-racial student movement. No single race or nationality predominates at CUNY. In order to mobilize large numbers of students on campuses across CUNY it is necessary to build multi-racial unity. But that unity can't be built on the basis of simplistic slogans like "Black and White, Unite and Fight!" It must be based on an understanding of the white supremacist character of the attacks on CUNY and open admissions.

One of the biggest obstacles to building

the kind of multi-racial movement that can win is the temptation to build the movement on the basis of the lowest common denominator and the narrowest of demands such as simply opposing the tuition increase. The problem with this approach is that it doesn't deal with the fact that the cuts are coming down differently on different people.

The core of the movement at CUNY has always been Black and Latino students because they are the ones paying the highest price for each round of cuts. For a white student from Staten Island going to CUNY because it is cheaper than SUNY (the state university system), a \$400 tuition increase will make them \$400 poorer. For a Dominican student from Washington Heights, a \$400 tuition increase may mean they can't go back to school next year. Fighting the cuts has a different sort of urgency for different students. In order for white students to help build a multi-racial movement they need to acknowledge the way that white privilege operates within CUNY and the larger society and commit themselves to fighting it even when it goes against their own immediate interests.

POWER AND PRIVILEGE IN THE MOVEMENT

The movement needs to deal not only with the workings of white power and privilege in CUNY and in society but also within the movement itself.

White students are more likely to have the time to go to lots of meetings than students of color because they are generally better off. They are also likely to bring to those meetings skills and resources that enable them to maneuver more easily and to make sure that their voices get heard and their ideas get acted on. More broadly there is a sort of white leftist political culture that is profoundly alienating to many students of color. So the question isn't just who can go to meetings, but who feels comfortable at them and who gets heard.

These inequalities are clear in the patterns of attendance at CUNY-wide SLAM! meetings. Four of the senior colleges are pretty consistently represented—Hunter, Brooklyn, Staten Island, and City College. The community colleges, which are mostly people of color, are consistently under-represented at CUNY-wide meetings.

WHITE CHAUVINISM ON THE LEFT

Building a multi-racial movement is made doubly difficult by the white chauvinism of many of the supposedly radical or revolutionary groups that hover around the student movement. "White chauvinism" refers to the ideas and practices that consciously or unconsciously give priority to the interests of white people at the expense of people of color.

Because it is rooted in the racist nature of this society, practically all white activists engage in some form of white chauvinism at one time or another and many activists of color have internalized white chauvinist thinking. No organization or individual is immune from white chauvinist errors.

At CUNY white chauvinism is often expressed in the form of slogans and demands that don't deal explicitly with the selectively racist nature of the cuts to CUNY. It can mean refusing to see why defending ethnic studies programs is a priority even when other programs are under just as serious attack.

THE TROUBLE WITH TROTS

Within the CUNY movement, white chauvinism has been expressed most clearly in the political perspectives and practice of several Trotskyist organizations. The main Trotskyist groups active at CUNY have been the International Socialist Organization



Brooklyn College students at the huge March 23, 1995 demonstration to stop the budget cuts.

(ISO), the Spartacist League (SL), the Bolshevik Tendency (BT), the League for a Revolutionary Party (LRP), and the Revolutionary Socialist Group (RSG—a now-defunct collective based at the College of Staten Island). In different measures, for each group Trotskyism has provided an ideological framework for the defense of white chauvinism in the student movement. Much of the criticism of the theory and practice of the Trotskyist groups active at CUNY that follows often applies in other circumstances to groups with other perspectives. Trotskyism just provides a particularly naked example of what is a much deeper problem on the broader left. It should also be said that not every Trotskyist group is equally guilty of all of the following charges. For example, another Trotskyist group, Solidarity, also has members at CUNY but plays a much more constructive role in the movement. The extent to which Trotskyist groups do good things is the extent to which they have distanced themselves from Trotskyist methods described here and learned lessons from actual struggles taking place around them.

CLASS REDUCTIONISM

The first problem with Trotskyism is the practice of reducing all questions down to class struggle. Racism, sexism and homophobia are treated simply as "tools of the bosses" used to divide the working class, rather than systems of oppression with their own logic that intersect with class oppression and with each other. But in the real world the working class is divided along lines of race, nationality, age, gender, and sexuality. Those divisions are not simply the reflections of ruling-class ideology. They reflect concrete and material contradictions within the working class itself. White working-class men, for example, obtain benefits from patriarchy and white supremacy that undermine the basis for their solidarity with the rest of the class.

In CUNY the Trotskyists emphasize the class nature of the cuts and the fight against them. But the cuts don't come down equally on the whole class. Pretending that they do leads to a very wooden understanding of the basis on which to build an effective movement against the cuts. For example the 7,000 students threatened with being pushed out of school in order to fulfill their workfare assignments are overwhelmingly women of color with children. Who should those students turn to to get their needs met first? Certainly not the unions which have only given lip service to organizing workfare workers. In practice they will largely turn to their communities, and in particular their sisters, mothers, aunts and grandmothers who share their experiences trying to raise their kids on welfare. When the LRP or the RSG doggedly argue that our first task is

to reach out to the rank and file of organized labor and call for a general strike, they promote a mechanical view of who the working class is and where its power lies. This view cuts those 7,000 students out of the picture entirely.

The currently unionized sectors of the working class are for the most part a relatively privileged minority of the working class. If they are ever going to go out on strike in support of CUNY students or welfare recipients, it will only happen when CUNY students and welfare recipients organize themselves first. To abstractly call for a general strike in this context is empty posturing that obscures the importance of building independent organizations like SLAM.

THEORY AND PRACTICE

The white chauvinism of the Trotskyists results from their view of the relationship between theory and practice. For the Trotskyists the "correct line" exists independent of its actual practical application and can be derived from the writings of a handful of great leaders (Marx, Lenin and Trotsky). These geniuses have supposedly distilled the main lessons from the class struggle in general and the all-important Russian Revolution in particular. The Trotskyists differ among themselves on the precise interpretation of the lessons and their exact application in the present. But they have in common a method: their practice is based on an already fully-developed body of theory derived from a hard core of principles articulated by their great leaders.

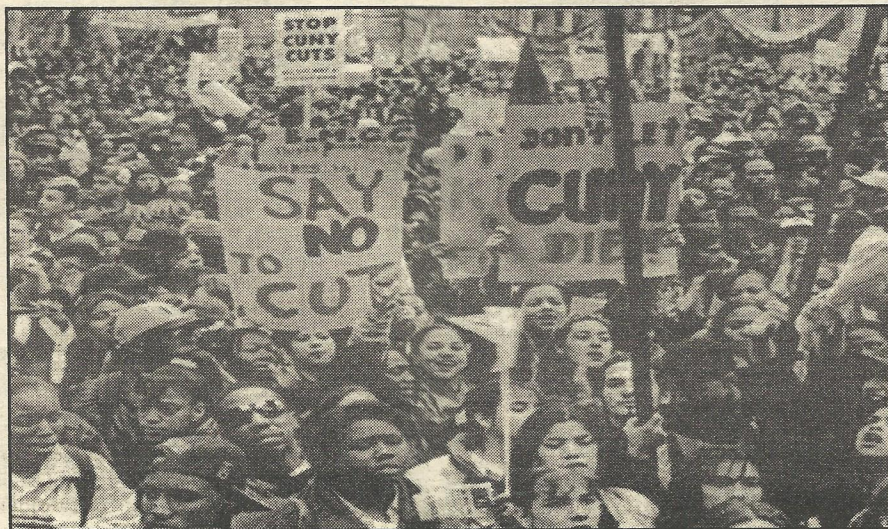
This "method" contrasts with any notion that the development of revolutionary theory is an ongoing process intimately wrapped up with the course of the actual struggles of living, breathing human beings. In general Trotskyism has not incorporated the insights of the anti-colonial movements, the New Left, the Black liberation movement, feminism or the other social movements of the latter half of the 20th century. Revolutionary theory, if it is to remain revolutionary, must always be a synthesis of the lessons of the past and the struggles of the present. It must be informed by a profound willingness to learn from others. The Trotskyists' mechanical insistence on particular tactics like building a labor party or calling for a general strike flows from their vanguardist self-conception as the leaders who bring the accumulated wisdom of the past to the ignorant masses.

Revolutionaries should not be shy about arguing for their ideas within mass movements. But our responsibility is not so much to bring ideas from outside the movement as to assist the movement in summing up its own experiences. Sometimes historical experiences like that of the Russian Revolution can help clarify a particular point. But the richest source of insights is always the struggles of the people themselves. We must always be as open to learning from the people as teaching them.

DEMOCRACY IN THE REAL WORLD

There has been an ongoing struggle over SLAM's structure. This struggle shows well how the Trotskyists' method undercuts the revolutionary tendencies of the mass movement. The Trotskyists have consistently opposed SLAM's federative structure, which seeks to guarantee equal representation for each participating campus group. Instead they have argued for an open city-wide coalition operating on the basis of "one-person one-vote" for whoever shows up at the city-wide meetings.

In many circumstances the structure the



(Continued to page 18)

Indigenous Autonomy

(Continued from page 7)

tion, in denouncing and ending the slave practices that persist in private farms on the Pacific coast. In Oaxaca, the Frente Unico was formed in the Mazateca mountains to respond "to the indifference and lack of attention of the government." These are the direct descendants of the Magonista struggle, reproducing in its essence the ideological heritage of "land and freedom." It is not only in these regions with a libertarian tradition that there are large scale movements: in Guerrero, the Mixtecos; in Jalisco, the Huicholes; in Michoacan, the Purepechas, among other ethnicities, are organizing

actions that are stronger each time, that are not simply about resistance, but move closer to direct action.

Particularly in our experience, during the past year we have had direct contact with indigenous communities in rebellion thanks to the Anarchist Project of Southeastern Mexico (The Spirit of Magon Direct Solidarity Encampment). The creation of the direct solidarity encampment, the work of anti-authoritarian education in the school, the construction of community centers, and the giving of workshops in them, have all allowed us to come to understand, from the inside, the situation that the comrades in struggle are living.

Their organization, their work, their beliefs, their traditions, have made us realize that, despite the lacks and defects, indigenous communalism, without being a perfect state, nor with the population being in paradise, is in essence the location of the potential for the utopian

organization of life.

The indigenous autonomies and the development of a political and social indigenous subject represent the liberatory alternative to the corporate structures of the system of the party-state, and the official policies of indigenous charity.

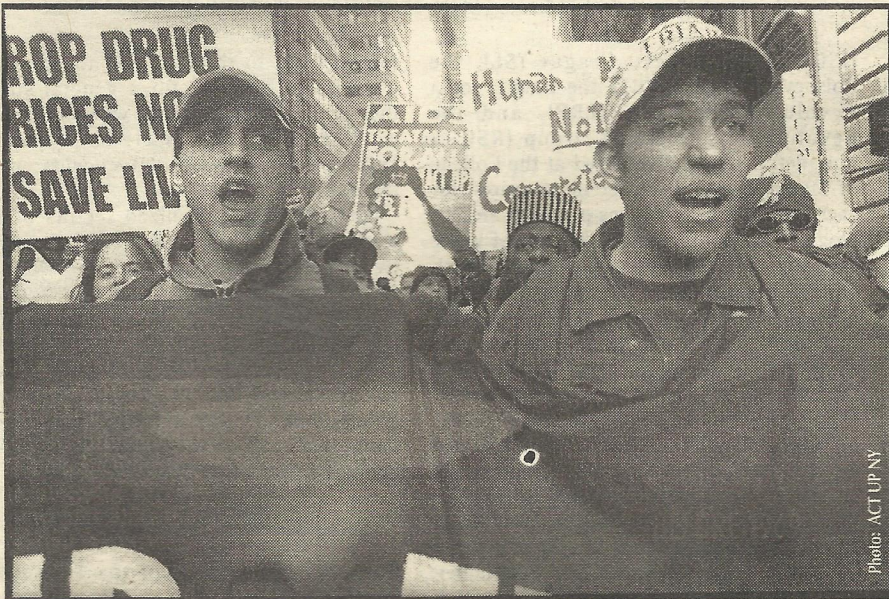
AUTONOMY SUBVERTS THE STATE

This is the essential conquest of those years that the government seeks to return to, because for it the existence and political actualization of subjects independent of its control and mediation is unacceptable. The EZLN, the National Indigenous Conference, and civil society constitute a challenge that threatens the survival and reproduction of the party system and the state. For this reason, the government is trying to consolidate a policy that guarantees, by beguiling other considerations, the stability and safeguarding of the system and the economic

model currently in effect.

The paradox that the indigenous movement and the EZLN encounter, because of their proposal of autonomy, is having been accused of seeking isolation and stimulating ethnic hatreds, when it is precisely the ruling class that has sought associations with international finance capital to put up for sale our natural resources, our factories, and our labor power to benefit a small group of the Mexican and international oligarchy.

Autonomy is not a panacea or a formula for solving every problem. It is the beginning of a path: the basis for a strategy of participation, of development, and of struggle against exploitation and marginalization. Autonomy could be the instrument to combat racism—never yet recognized as a huge problem in Mexican society—and above all to recognize a fundamental right of all people: the right to free self-determination.★



ACT UP takes on Wall Street, March 24, 1997.

ACT UP Turns 10

1(Continued from page 1)

police were ready with barricades to contain the protesters within the park. But protesters grouped outside of the barricades and proceeded down Broadway blowing whistles, beating drums and carrying signs, escorted by a disgruntled police presence right to the Stock Exchange. The march arrived at the corner of Broadway and Wall Street amidst waves of affinity group actions aimed at blocking the entrances to the stock exchange.

With the help of cellphones and pre-planning, affinity groups launched their attacks in waves and targeted various entrances to the NYSE building to create the biggest disturbance possible. Demonstrators sat or lay down in front of entrances to the Stock Exchange and blocked police checkpoints, forcing the shutdown of several entrances.

Other groups chose bolder approaches to blockading the building and raising awareness. City AIDS Action produced and distributed the *All Greed Journal*, a broadsheet of facts about AIDS and HIV/AIDS treatment issues that mimicked the *Wall Street Journal*.

The Perverted Anarchist Queer Nuisance (PAQN, pronounced "packin") covered themselves in fake blood and aimed to chain themselves to the main stock traders' entrance to the building. PAQN members ran past police barricades carrying IV bags filled with corn syrup and red dye. Four members

reached the targeted doors and, although they were not successful at chaining the entrances shut, they sprayed fake blood in a nine-foot high splash across the white marble walls at the front of the Exchange.

The Pillbearers, comprised of many ACT UP and other longtime AIDS activists from New York, dressed as mourners and carried a fake coffin filled with pill bottles through the march. When the march arrived at Broadway and Wall Street, the Pillbearers spilled 600 pill bottles into the street—stopping traffic for hours as police attempted to sweep up the debris. Seventy-three activists were arrested with a variety of civil disobedience charges for affinity group actions.

A decade of AIDS activism has produced not only well-seasoned organizers but practiced police ranks. Police responded to most departures from the expected scenario with violence. The police barricaded the entire area surrounding the Stock Exchange building and set up several checkpoints to admit only building workers to the area. In their attempts to arrest and/or eject protesters from the area, police used brutal force. At least three protesters were carried face-down by their handcuffs and ankles for several yards, despite vocal complaints that they were in pain. A member of YELL was pulled from the ground by her hair then carried by her handcuffs to the police van. A PAQN member was tackled from behind by either a police officer or NYSE security guard, thrown to the floor, and a boot forced down on her neck, while her attacker screamed that he was going to "break her fucking neck". She sustained neck injuries

from the attack. A few other protesters were kicked by police. Several members of the press reported that police attempted to expel media from the area.

One of the worst police attacks of the day was against ACT UP Golden Gate member Bill Thorne. Near the end of the demonstration, members from ACT UP Golden Gate, ACT UP Philadelphia, and ACT UP New York walked around barricades to sit in the middle of the street as a nonviolent act of civil disobedience. Thorne was then tackled from behind by police wielding a barricade; his head was intentionally banged against the ground. "I was instantly subdued by six officers, all holding me face down, one on each of my arms and legs, one holding me down by the neck, and one by my head. I had suffered a wound at the time, and was bleeding profusely from my forehead," said Thorne. "I was subsequently kicked by several police officers, who shouted blatantly anti-gay and AIDS-phobic remarks at me, then dragged me face down into the police van." Thorne was subsequently hospitalized for head injuries, as was an activist from Philadelphia who was injured in a separate incident.

Two arrestees, members of one of the affinity groups, were separated and taken to the Criminal Court Building to be processed through the court system. The police claimed they were singled out because of their out-of-state identification but members from several out-of-state ACT UP groups did not get this treatment. During their detention, they were illegally strip searched by police. An anonymous member of the New York Gay and Lesbian Anti-Violence Project said that strip searches had become a commonplace form of harassment against lesbian activists. The two women were released a few hours after the strip search with desk appearance tickets that listed no charges.

Several major media articles covering ACT UP's tenth anniversary discussed the demise of the group at length. They cited low turnout at meetings, and claimed that the work ACT UP formed to do has been accomplished. The New York Times in particular praised government and pharmaceutical company actions in response to AIDS and called on ACT UP to hang up its placards and acknowledge all of this hard work.

True, the formerly united front of ACT UP has, since the early '90s, subdivided into factions which give the appearance of a lessening movement. Of the people radicalized by the AIDS crisis who swelled the ranks of ACT UP in the late '80s and early '90s, many have mainstreamed the AIDS struggle and in some cases find themselves

buddying up with governmental and industry figures they formerly ACTed UP against.

Treatment Action Group, the product of wrenching splits over the issue of mainstreaming in 1992, is a glaring and high-profile example of pure cooptation: they now accept donations from pharmaceutical companies. While the *Times* is partly correct in its assessment of ACT UP as a movement which, like many others in the history of the US, in the end has been coopted, their pronouncement at the moment of ACT UP's modest revival seems designed to demoralize the group. The mainstream media is much to blame for ACT UP's low profile. Mainstream journalists turn not to ACT UP but to TAG as spokespeople for PWAs, refuse to report ongoing direct actions and fail to acknowledge that the gains in the struggle against AIDS were forced through militant action. Not surprisingly, the *Times* agrees with many coopted AIDS activists who view grassroots activism and direct action as one long adolescent temper tantrum. Cooptation, to them, is just another word for maturity.

Into the mainstream was not the only destiny for the literally dozens of projects and organizations spawned by ACT UP. Some managed to maintain, to one degree or another, the group's grassroots, and confrontational qualities. And even the most staid AIDS organizations like Gay Men's Health Crisis continue to be deeply influenced by the ongoing frontline activism of ACT UP.

As for ACT UP New York, in some ways, as longtime agitator Bob Lederer argues, the group's politics have become more sharply defined and more radical since the splits. On the treatment front, for example, once TAG folks left, the AIDS Cure Project proposed legislation that called for a truly independent and interdisciplinary AIDS research group without ties to the pharmaceutical companies or the NIH that would be accountable to PWAs and have the power to seize patents—a proposal that would have been impossible with TAG in the mix.

All this goes to say that rumors of ACT UP's death are grossly exaggerated. In fact, the Wall Street action has launched ACT UP into a modest revival, and brought out activists who deserted the group during its periods of cantankerous debate. But still, the core group has held firm throughout, and with the collaboration of affiliated groups, continues in true strength to be active in the face of the AIDS epidemic. Their legacy honors all of their members who have died and should inspire all activist groups present and future.★

Women's Center

(Continued from page 1)

A brief look at the situation surrounding the Women's Center gives a strong sense of the material obstacles that face the Zapatista revolution. The women's center includes a space for meetings, a sewing workshop and a private shower. The shower is an important contribution to the hygiene of women in the community who previously bathed fully clothed (out of modesty) in a nearby spring. A major project that now confronts the community is getting electricity. While hydropower from Chiapas provides most of Mexico's electricity, the majority of people in Chiapas have no elec-

tricity themselves. The Women's Center is in particular need of electricity in order to provide gynecological exams and to use the sewing machine they have had, but have been unable to use, since August.

The Women's Center provides a physical space for the women to meet alone. This is a crucial foundation for any struggle for women's liberation in the village. One of the first things the women from the Encampment did in preparing for the opening of the Center was to call for an assembly of the women from the village. While the Women's Revolutionary Law (see *Love and Rage*, Vol. 8 #2) profoundly challenges the oppressive power of men in words, on the ground the situation is very different. While women do the vast majority of work in the community, that work is devalued and viewed as supplementary to the "real" work performed by the men.

It is common for women in the community to say "we don't know how to do anything, only the men do, it's just how it is."

But in a typical day the women rise before dawn to grind corn, make tortillas, cook the beans, clean the kitchen, go to the mountain to collect firewood (about 40 kilos per trip) two, three, or four times a day, prepare lunch, haul water for the kitchen and to clean the animals, clean the corn, boil it, grind it, and serve dinner. This work is often made more difficult by pregnancy or by having to carry a nursing child. Older girls also assist in the work. During planting and harvest seasons the women work in the corn fields and pick fruits and vegetables. The women also sew items of clothing for their families as they are needed.

The Women's Center is intended to lighten this burden, to provide women the space to meet and discuss their situation and that of women everywhere and thereby to develop their self-consciousness, critical thinking skills, and capacity for taking action to resolve their problems. Another important objective of the Center is to provide the women of the village with practical knowl-

edge about their own bodies so that they have greater control over what happens to them.

The women from the Encampment and the village have made plans for future activities for the Center. Two priorities are to establish a permanent women's health workshop and to teach the women of the village to read. They also hope to make several murals and to obtain a tape recorder so that they can listen to music.

For people in the United States the accomplishments of the Encampment (opening a school, constructing a shower, and so on) might seem minor. These are things we generally take for granted. But in the social and economic context of Chiapas these projects make real changes in the quality of people's lives. They demonstrate the potential for people to take matters into their own hands and they show the people of Chiapas that they have allies around the worlds. Each project completed is a blow to the Mexican state and an advance for the Zapatista revolution.★

Detroit Schools

(Continued from page 6)

to his actions.

While the school board claims to have no money for school supplies, it seems to have plenty to spend on efforts to silence opposition. The board filed a suit against prominent school activist and UPSET organizer Helen Moore, asking a judge to issue an order that would permanently ban her from attending public school board meetings. The school board targeted another activist, Marie Thornton, and took her to court after they had her handcuffed, maced and dragged from a school board meeting last year. Bill Gilbreth, a teacher at Detroit City High and an ARA activist, was suspended from his job for his involvement in school struggles. He was physically removed from school grounds and arrested for handing out leaflets at his school about the cutbacks. These agitators and many others simply spoke out against the injustices and crimes of the so-called education system.

The dismantling of public education is happening all over the U.S. In Detroit, it is part of a process to further marginalize Black and Latino youth and to weaken the prospects for young people getting decent jobs. It's also part of the larger gentrification process that shoves poor and working class people out of their communities in order to make room for wealthier people

from outside the city. This gentrification process is a racist process which presumes that Black Detroit has failed and that white corporate supremacy must resume power. Detroit is being used as an example by Governor John Engler of how to disempower communities and begin the privatization process. Meanwhile, the Black school board hides behind a nationalist cloak and tries to justify their own corruption by pointing out the racism in the attack on the DPS. In fact, school board member Margaret Betts is on the board of directors of Teach Michigan, Engler's privatization monolith that is leading the charge against public schools in Michigan.

Teach Michigan, and its tax-exempt arm, Teach Michigan Education Fund, are the main forces committed to destroying public education. The promotional brochure reads: "We believe the Michigan Education system must be restructured to give all K-12 students and parents equal educational opportunity: parents and students should be able to freely choose an education facility—public or non-public—with appropriate state and/or local tax dollars following the child to the school of the parents' choice." In other words, they want public funds to be allocated to private schools. Since so many public school districts already have money problems, if private schools can vouch for cash too, then public schools get even less. This causes a shift from public to private; giving less money for public schools means the schools can accommodate fewer students. What about the kids who can't afford the private tuition or who don't get one of the few select tuition vouchers from the state? They remain in a crumbling public school system.

Detroit is ripe for corporate investment. Now that the corporations are satisfied with having spent 30 years beating the city into submission, they're getting bold and moving their interest back to the city. They believe that we won't riot again. They think they can easily shut down the schools. The vouchers for charter schools are being dangled before the faces of a select few Detroit parents, and students are shut out of the picture altogether. The corporations are competing for the chance to own the schools, and hence own a whole sector of the workforce, before it has ever begun to work for wages. The corporations, private charities, and Christian-rightist groups can now decide which schools to fund and what kind of education students get. This privatization saves money for Engler and his crew, since they no longer need to put state funds into schools and can put it elsewhere (in their pockets). But first the state must assure investors that the city and schools are secure, that is safe for middle-class white suburbanites. This means stepping up police presence and shutting down all opposition. The few functioning public schools that are left will soon be on permanent lockdown for Detroit youth. The DPS has its own armed police force that roams school halls looking for kids to fuck with. Metal detectors, pat downs and random searches are the standard, preparing students for the eventual likelihood of prison.

One of the most backward aspects of school is not the lack of books or lack of transportation, or even lack of toilet paper. It is that students are given no space to voice concerns about any of these things.

ARA's response to the cuts in the schools



has been to organize our own crew of high schoolers and other concerned folk who want to take action. So far we've come together to discuss what's happening in the schools and why. Some ARAers who have been active in UPSET have been pushing the concept of youth liberation. The students must gain control not only of education—but also of their right to make their own decisions on it free of parental rule.

We want to organize with high school students, middle school students, all young people and anyone else who wants to help. We support the student walkouts and feel that direct action is an important part of any struggle. We want a school system that is in the control of those who participate in it and is a free and welcoming environment to all—not another prison.★

Milk/Pus

(Continued from page 14)

the Comoros Islands and Réunion Island, which depend on natural vanilla exports as their primary source of income. As the industry grows more sophisticated, genetic engineering will become a powerful weapon in imposing the IMF, World Bank, and USAID's "structural adjustment programs" on the Third World. Genetic engineering reduces everything in nature to objects for commercial manipulation—the commodification of life itself.

In the global capitalist system, "research and development" means the public takes all the risk and private corporations gain the profits. Human health and safety, and environmental degradation, are rarely factored in determining corporate costs. In such a system, genetic engineering makes monocropping the cost-effective option. It fills acre after acre with the same kind of crop so as to more easily utilize certain kinds of machinery and chemicals, "speeding up" production the way Taylorism assembly-lined industry. Monocropping also reduces diversity and makes it easier for diseases to spread quickly across an entire field. Disease wipes out enormous quantities of crops and spurs on scientists to engineer ever-newer ones, in a race to outpace the blights before bacteria, viruses and fungi are able to modify their capacities accordingly.

With genetically-engineered soybeans, corn and corn syrup, potatoes, strawberries and cotton slated for market this year along with rBGH, Monsanto is tying purchase of "its" patented seeds to that of its best-selling herbicide, Roundup. And what if crop plants genetically-engineered to resist herbicides transfer those genes to the surrounding weeds, making plants' natural herbicides ineffective? Not to worry; it would simply (and temporarily, until bacteria, viruses and other infestations develop immunities) force reliance on artificial herbicides (and thus, even higher profits), although permanently disrupting the ecological balance of the planet.

WHY DIDN'T THE GOVERNMENT JUST SAY "NO"?

Nevertheless, rBGH continues to be the spearhead of the new genetic engineering technologies which are overturning the previously unbreachable biological boundaries between species, and even between the plant and animal kingdoms. And Monsanto, and such huge transnational corporations as Novartis (recently invented by combining Ciba-Geigy and Sandoz) and Eli Lilly, remain unregulated warlords in the field. How could this have happened?

In 1993 the Food and Drug Administration approved for use in milk cows without performing the required long-term health studies. The FDA official who "fast-tracked" rBGH approval, Michael Taylor, had previously worked as a lawyer for Monsanto. He, in turn, appointed a number of others from Monsanto to positions at the FDA, with President Clinton's approval. The FDA's Margaret Miller is also a former Monsanto employee. She published papers on rBGH co-authored by Monsanto flacks even as she was writing the FDA's opinion on why milk from rBGH-treated cows need not be labeled.

The conflicts of interest between government and industry are appalling—and dangerous. In fact, the doctor who originally supervised the rBGH target animal safety studies, Richard Burroughs, was fired because he insisted on stringent animal health standards in rBGH research. And so, a few companies that had invested hundreds of millions of dollars developing a product which poses a severe health risk and has absolutely no consumer benefit, were able to foist their dangerous product on an unprotected populace with the help of the government.

WHAT CAN WE DO?

There is a growing movement to fight the use of rBGH, and to force New York City public schools, which buy 750,000 half-pint containers of milk each day, to buy milk only from companies that do not use rBGH-treated cows. The same is true in most of the nation's school districts.

1) Boycott school milk and all rBGH-derived dairy products. In New York City, we have been regularly leafleting parents coming to pick up their kids at public schools, and they have flooded the appropriate bureaucrats with phone calls and letters. The same can be done anywhere; it is an excellent way of getting out there and mobilizing a huge grassroots constituency. That is an effort easily overlooked by activists, who are often so intent on directly communicating with the policy-makers that they lose sight of building an alternative power base to force changes. In leafleting schools, I have found that people, in general, are outraged that their kids are being used as guinea pigs, that there never was any long-range testing, and that there's no need for rBGH to begin with; they are beginning to raise a ruckus.

In New York, we're about to begin phase two: leafleting high school kids directly to get them to set up organizations in their schools, and then link those schools with each other, take them to candidates' forums, and raise hell. The point is to turn individual concern over what one is putting in one's body into political concern for what is being produced and how to stop it—that is, a mass movement.

2) Demand mandatory labeling of all dairy products derived from rBGH cows. Even more, we need to fight for legislation banning rBGH-dairy products and genetically-engineered foods altogether. In the course of that fight, stores can be leafleted and eventually targeted for more militant action if they continue to stock dairy products derived from rBGH cows; petitions can be circulated at PTA and Community School Board meetings; contests can be held for the best parody of the "Got Milk?" advertisements. Put up posters or deface existing ones. Organize your building, school, workplace and neighborhood.

3) Finally, every college now has some connection to pharmaceutical corporations and biotechnological research and development. These provide sitting targets, just as ROTC buildings and Department of Defense research and recruitment do. The issue of rBGH in milk is so straightforward that it is an ideal place from which to launch a much greater campaign against the genetic engineering of foods, vaccines and medicines,

privatization of knowledge through "intellectual property rights," patenting of synthesized genetic sequences, and, in general, the growing domination of corporations over our lives.★



For more information, contact:
BioTech Working Group, Green Party
c/o Peter Dietrich
338 E. 15th St., #4B
New York, NY 10003
718-670-7346 bardo@waonline.com

or Pure Food Campaign
1130 17th St., NW, #300
Washington, DC 20036
(212) 226-4155 purefood@aol.com



**Give
neoliberalism a
kick in the
rump.
Subscribe to
and distribute
Love and Rage.**

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State/Province _____ Zip/Postal Code _____

One Year Subscription (6 issues)

☐ \$13 Fast Mail ☐ \$9 Slow Mail

☐ Free to GIs, PWAs, and Prisoners

Distribution

☐ I would like to distribute _____ copies of each issue of *Love and Rage*.
Enclosed is \$_____ (35 cents not for profit, 50 cents for professional distributors x number of copies) for my first bundle.

Send check or money order to:

Love and Rage
1929 S. 5th Street
Minneapolis, MN 55454

CUNY Movement

(Continued from page 15)

Trotskyists advocate might make sense. But for the CUNY movement it has been a disaster. The problem is that few CUNY students have the time to attend city-wide meetings in addition to going to meetings on their own campuses and doing any sort of organizing. This means that open city-wide "one-person one-vote" meetings are easily dominated by determined sects that couldn't be bothered with the day-to-day work of building a movement on the campuses but who are pleased as punch to shoot their mouths off (and vote) at city-wide meetings.

The decision to organize SLAM! on a federative basis with delegates for each campus group was not derived from some abstract principle that federative structures are always preferable. Sometimes they aren't. But many participants in the 1995 CUNY upsurge concluded that the prospects for building a lasting movement were wrecked by the lack of any structure accountable to people doing the work on the campuses. The Trotskyists weren't interested in any such summation process. Their conclusions just recapitulated their established doctrine.

The federative structure has been far from perfect. But as a principle it has kept SLAM! conscious of the conditions on the campuses and has prevented many of the abuses that took place in 1995.

BUILDING AN ORGANIZATION THAT WILL LAST

SLAM! was born in 1995 as a result of the successes and failures of the 1995 CUNY Coalition. Rather than the "United Front" of leftists sects imagined by the Trotskyists, SLAM! sought to be a different kind of coalition, composed of open and democratic campus-based coalitions. If the sects wanted to participate they would have to get involved on the campus level. If they wanted a voice in city-wide decisions they would have to earn the trust of the campus-based coalitions and get elected as delegates to the city-wide meetings.

SLAM! was also founded on the idea

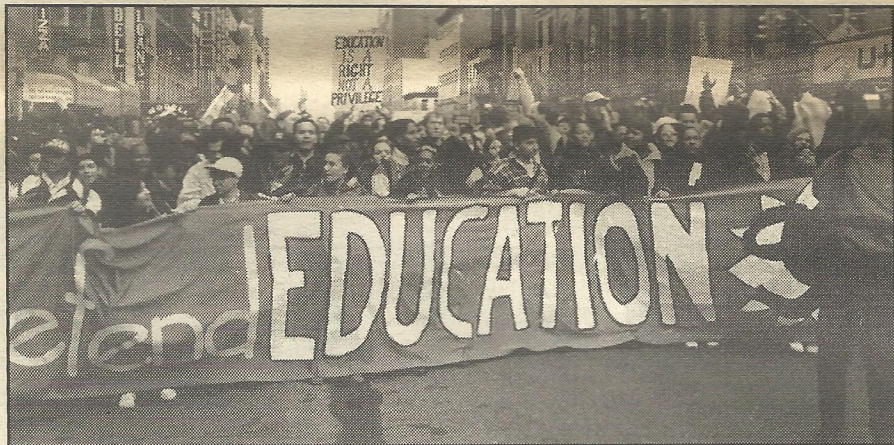
that the fight against the budget cuts is long term and won't be won by ad-hoc coalitions brought together around a single demonstration. Accordingly SLAM! is committed to functioning in between budget crises and to participating in other struggles like the fights against welfare reform and police brutality. SLAM! is still a coalition in the sense that its members come from a variety of political perspectives. But SLAM! isn't ad-hoc—it is committed to building ongoing independent radical student organization.

This commitment made SLAM! an unwelcome place for groups like the ISO that put building their own party ahead of building lasting independent and democratic mass organizations. The ad-hoc coalition is their preferred vehicle precisely because they can always ditch it when the struggle reaches a low point—which is exactly what they did this Spring at Queens College.

This year the ISO and other Trotskyist groups insisted that SLAM! was an organization and not a coalition and offered as evidence for their position the fact that they weren't part of it. While self-serving, there was however an element of truth in the ISO's claim. As long as SLAM! defines itself as a coalition instead of as an organization it is vulnerable to the efforts of the Trotskyists or others like them to roll back the advances it had made in terms of structure, continuity, and a multi-issue orientation.

SLAM! has kept together a collection of activists from a bunch of campuses who, while ideologically diverse, share a commitment to building an independent student movement. This may not seem like a tremendous accomplishment—after all our goal is to stop the cuts to CUNY and win back free tuition and open admissions.

But the existence of an ongoing independent radical student organization at CUNY is going to bear fruit once the movement picks up again, and will play a crucial role in the political development of the broader movement. We may see the results of our work next semester or it may be years from now. But the work we do now lays the groundwork for the next mass movement, as well as training generations of future organizers. These are the tasks that SLAM! is taking on as it continues to mature, develop, and fight for our educational future.★



CUNY students rally on March 26, 1996

Clemente Center

(Continued from page 4)

paper full of vicious smears on the prisoners, the campaign, the Puerto Rican Cultural Center, and (surprise) Clemente Academy. One of the editors of *El Pito* is Rafael Marrero, a former employee of the Cultural Center now widely believed to be a paid FBI operative. Surprise again, Marrero is one of only two named sources in the *Sun-Times* article making false accusations about the misuse of funds at Clemente.

Since the FBI's attempts to cripple radicalism in the US, the Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO), began with the disruption of the Puerto Rican independence movement in the early 1960s, it is perhaps unsurprising that similar things are going on today in Chicago. The week of the *Sun-Times* article, a "flow chart" with standard *El Pito* layout was anonymously faxed to most mainstream media in Chicago. Entitled "The FALN/MLN Connection to Clemente," it purported to demonstrate political corruption and terrorist infiltration at the high school. The FALN (Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional/Armed Forces of National Liberation) was an armed clandestine group that produced many of the fifteen political prisoners held today, while the MLN (Movimiento de Liberación Nacional/Movement for National Liberation) is a legal political organization with close

ties to the Puerto Rican Cultural Center.

In recent days, a new graffiti sticker has appeared on *Sun-Times* boxes in Chicago, reading "Sneed—FBI Gossip Tool." An informational brochure is being distributed throughout the city that outlines the history of COINTELPRO and the significance of the *Sun-Times* article. Tours of the community and workshops on the issues are being organized by the Cultural Center. And a number of public events in support of the campaign to free the prisoners have been well-attended by both Puerto Ricans and others. While the smear campaign may have set the campaign back slightly, it only redoubled the resolve of its organizers to free the fifteen.

ANARCHIST ISSUES

The issues raised by the attacks on Clemente are of great importance for anarchists all over North America. Not only is this sort of government repression something we'll have to get used to as our work gets more successful (and more threatening), but in many ways the response of the Puerto Rican community to these attacks should serve as a model for radicals everywhere. Building broad-based resistance without supporting or begging for support from liberal politicians is quite an accomplishment these days, and one to be imitated as frequently as possible.

Further, issues of gentrification confront many urban anarchists, and the situation in

Young Lords

(Continued from page 14)

openly embraced and celebrated their Afro-Indio roots. The Lords saw the multi-racial character of Puerto Rican nationality and thought of themselves as a multi-racial organization. Denise Oliver (a Black woman on the Central Committee) described the Young Lords as, "not locked into a very tight cultural definition of who you had to be to be a Young Lord." The Young Lords included Blacks, Cubans, Dominicans and Mexicans. They were committed to confronting anti-Black prejudice in the larger Puerto Rican community.

THE LEAN YEARS

By the early 1970s, the massive social movements of the late 1960s began to ebb at the same time the main organizers of many of the movements were coming to revolutionary consciousness. This caused a crisis, as the leaders began to pull out of the mass movements that weren't purely revolutionary and search for a social base that had come to similar conclusions as them. Many well-meaning revolutionary minded people made serious mistakes in this period that we can still learn from today.

In 1971 the Young Lords, experiencing the decline of mass movement activity, began frantically searching for the ideal social base that was ready to make the revolution and internally began a self-destructive process of weeding out anyone who doubted the scientific truth of the organization's leaders. In March of 1971 the Young Lords decided they had to move the organization back to the island of Puerto Rico. After quickly realizing that the Lords were a Nuyorican phenomenon, they returned to the US, causing the first of a succession of bitter splits. The Young Lords then concluded that they needed to drop their community organizing orientation in favor of Marxism's supposedly scientific focus on organizing workers at the point of production. At this point the Young Lords became the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (PRRWO), an explicitly Marxist-Leninist organization. While many in the organization began to see the necessity of building a specifically-proletarian revolutionary organization that would include Asians, Blacks and white people from other Marxist-Leninist formations, others began to accuse those who didn't agree with the move to the island as not being sufficiently Puerto Rican.

Failing to find a perfect revolutionary social base, the Young Lords or PRRWO disappeared from the public eye completely. Having won some victories at Lincoln Hospital and elsewhere, the PRRWO thought that only by organizing workers at the point of production, where they supposedly have the most social power,

could they advance the revolutionary movement. This undermined the Young Lords' appeal towards the actual base that they had already established in the streets and stemmed from a narrow reading of class struggle as it was actually taking place in the barrios in the US. This wooden and mechanical Marxism was a major error of much of the communist left in the 1970s. It led the majority of the New Left away from campus organizing (historically a hotbed of radical politics and a catalyst of broader social movements) and generally dismissed the feminist, queer liberation and environmental movements of the 1970s. For many the move toward workplace organizing reflected a genuine attempt to transform the class and racial composition of their revolutionary organizations, which were mainly made up of middle-class college students. But the Young Lords had much deeper roots in working-class, people of color communities than the whiter communist groups. Their shift to point-of-production organizing undermined the revolutionary consciousness they had nurtured in the community where the potential to expand struggle, even in the lean years of the '70s, was far greater than in the factories.

CONCLUSION

The history and contributions of the Young Lords have been obscured in popular histories of the New Left. In New York among younger activists there has been a growing interest in the lessons they offer us, largely due to the important work of the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights and Iris Morales' new documentary of the Young Lords, *Palante Siempre Palante!*

The Young Lords played an important role in the social movements of the 1960s and '70s. People become convinced that only a total transformation of this society—a revolution—is necessary during the course of struggles around issues that have a direct impact on their lives. This doesn't always or even usually happen spontaneously. It happens when revolutionaries like the Young Lords are consistently working with ordinary people to sum up the lessons of the day-to-day struggle.

Oppression breeds resistance. But resistance doesn't necessarily build movements and organizations sufficient to actually change this society. That requires the deliberate organization of a revolutionary movement. The serve the people programs of the Young Lords and their willingness to learn from regular people in the course of struggle represent principles that revolutionary anarchists should embrace. Their decline into rigid and doctrinaire politics represent a danger for all revolutionaries, and warns us that revolutionary ideas and principles must be tested in the practice of day-to-day struggles if they are to be of any value. In both their strengths and their weaknesses the experiences of the Young Lords show us that there are no short cuts to revolution.★

BACK TO THAT BIRD METAPHOR

If Albizu Campos was right about the aims of US imperialism, perhaps it is because the bird in his metaphor is a pitirre. A pitirre is a small bird, roughly the size of a sparrow and native to Puerto Rico, which frequently attacks much larger birds (hawks, eagles) in pursuit of its goals. There is a saying popular within the independence movement, "cada guaragao tiene su pitirre." [every guaragao has its pitirre] A guaragao is a large bird of prey, and the symbolism is clear: every colonial invader will face undersized but tenacious resistance. In Chicago these past few months, the pitirre has been especially active, but in many ways it has always been here, fighting the twin guaragaos of gentrification and government repression. No wonder the powers that be want the cage but not the bird, whether the cage is Humboldt Park, or Puerto Rico.★

For more information:
Puerto Rican Cultural Center
1671 N. Claremont
Chicago, IL 60647

National Committee to Free Puerto Rican PP/POWs
2607 W. Division
Chicago, IL 60622

Mike Poizone has been active in both the Puerto Rican and the anarchist communities in Chicago for several years. Special thanks to Megan for her help with this article.

Zaire Revolution

(Continued from page 11)

valued friends.” As long as Mobutu protected Western investments and remained reliably anti-Communist, little else mattered. Since the end of the Cold War, the US has half-heartedly pressured Mobutu to make democratic reforms.

In the 1990s, international pressure forced Mobutu to institute another period of weak civilian government. Key in trying to call this government on its democratic bluff was Etienne Tshisekedi and his Union for Democracy and Social Progress (UDPS). He was named Prime Minister three times and removed each time by Mobutu. A lawyer who believes in nonviolent civil disobedience, Tshisekedi has periodically inspired direct action against martial law. He has worked to inspire a general strike and mass demonstrations in Kinshasa in response to Mobutu's latest round of martial law. Essentially a liberal, Tshisekedi is viewed with suspicion by Kabila, not unwarrantedly, for collaborating with Mobutu's civilian government. Kabila has pointed out that his nonviolent politics have not liberated any territory. At the same time he does have a local base which sees him as a legitimate voice for democracy. Tshisekedi and his supporters have been key in turning the capital of Zaire upside down without Kabila's help.

KABILA ON THE MARCH

Kabila's AFDL forces came out of the Kivu region in eastern Zaire in October. Across the border the 1994 Rwandan genocide of 500,000 Tutsi drew international attention. (In Burundi, the same ethnic groups don't get along much better). Behind the '94 Rwandan genocide was obviously real ethnic hatred. Also important to politics on the ground, Mobutu supported Hutu militias (known as the Interhamwe) which were the basis of a Rwandan military government that perpetuated the genocide of Tutsi there. When the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), which is Tutsi-based and led by Paul Kagame, drove them out of Rwanda, the Hutu militias fled across the border with ordinary Hutus to Zaire. The Interhamwe then teamed up with Mobutu's army to attack the Zairian Tutsi. This set up the now Tusti-led Rwandan government as a natural ally of Kabila.

The AFDL offensive has so startled international observers partially because it is widely assumed that Mobutu successfully coerced loyalty across the immense territory of Zaire. Not so. There have always been pockets of territory and armed people disloyal to Mobutu, particularly in eastern Zaire. The AFDL's first major town seized in October was Uvira, the old PRP's and Kabila's base in the 1970s. Goma, a main eastern town in Zaire bordering Rwanda was seized with the help of Rwandan (RPF) soldiers on November 1. One of Mobutu's homes in Goma was promptly turned into a museum to the past excesses of his regime. In mid-November a the US floated a UN-backed military intervention plan to stop the real threat of a rematch between Tutsi and Hutu on the Zaire side of the border which could have amounted to deaths comparable to the '94 Rwandan episode.

Behind this was an imperialist eye speculating on the strength of the nearby AFDL and the possibility of saving an ailing Mobutu yet again from being overthrown.

As quickly as the idea of intervention hit the public, the AFDL bombarded the biggest refugee camp in Mugunga. This created a 700,000-strong surge of Hutus back to Rwanda, but also scattered Hutu women and children further into Zaire with the Hutu militias which were based in the refugee camp scrapping with the Banyamulenge (Zairian Tutsi). The imperialists lost whatever opportunity they had to intervene early in the AFDL's campaign.

At the end of November, Mobutu returned from France and reshuffled his civilian government, briefly appointing Tshisekedi its leader before canning him again. In mid-February Mobutu hired Belgian and Serbian mercenaries to supplement his ineffective army. Rebel strongholds were bombed with napalm. This only served to consolidate the AFDL's previously weak popularity with the people. At first, students in Kinshasa actually rallied around Mobutu and the government because it appeared, not altogether incorrectly, that Zaire was being invaded by Rwanda. Mobutu's army looted anything they could as they retreated from the AFDL. Since then many people from different political parties

and ethnic groups have joined the movement. In March, Kisangani, the old capital of the "People's Republic" of the second independence movement, was recaptured.

Neighboring countries such as Uganda and Angola quickly joined Rwanda in sponsoring the AFDL each with their own motives. The now Tutsi-led government of Rwanda wants revenge against the Hutu who have fled further into Zaire. It appears the AFDL was sponsoring this fight on their turf for a time until the UN protested what human rights observers found to be mass graves. Kabila after assurance from the US that he is the next ruler of Zaire granted "neutral" intervention to ensure the safety of the remaining Hutu civilians in Zaire.

The MPLA-led Angolan government is negotiating an uneasy coalition government with Jonas Savimbi's UNITA. While they long ago professed loyalty to capitalism in full page ads in the NY Times, these former Marxists are happy to see Savimbi's supporter Mobutu go. At present Kabila's ethnic Luba supporters are waiting to come across the border with Angolan military assistance to seize the capital of Kinshasa if necessary.

Uganda, led by Yoweri Museveni, is the current darling of US African foreign policy, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. Despite the US barking at Uganda not to intervene, these governments are actually great friends. The US has a military base in Uganda on the border with Sudan and is trying to destabilize that government. The Sudan is sponsoring a counter offensive to overthrow Museveni.

Museveni's alliance with Kabila (he donated arms to Kabila when he visited Uvira) dates from the '70s when he was looking for support in his armed struggle to overthrow military dictator Idi Amin. While the US's shows concern over Kabila's commitment to democracy they have no gripes with Museveni's de facto one party state. He controls Uganda's state-owned media and all the machinery of power. He changed the date of elections three times and used the police to smash sizable rallies of his political opponents. This is what "democracy" might look like in a Western-supported Zaire after Kabila comes to power.

The AFDL has carried out some reforms in the areas it has been administering. It has used the money seized from banks in Goma and Bukavu to pay local civil servants who join their staff. In rebel-occupied territories, schools and hospitals have already been opened and garbage collected. Crimes such as rape are rare and looting unheard of. It is safe to walk the villages and cities at night and more poor people have begun to eat regularly.

Yet the AFDL cannot build a new society by simply robbing from the rich and giving to the poor. In a truly free society not only should there be direct democracy but the idea of rich and poor should be structurally abolished—capitalism should be abolished. There is bold evidence that this will not happen under the leadership of Laurent Kabila.

KABILA, FREE MARKETEER?

When asked about his background as a Pan-African Marxist revolutionary Kabila often loses his generally relaxed, personable demeanor. "Should I answer to the propaganda that made my people slaves in this country? Is that the cause of the poverty in this country? ... I don't think so." Despite this implied rejection of Mobutu's capitalism, Kabila apparently supports the international rich monopolizing the means of production in his country in coalition with the new AFDL-led state.

Kabila now says he believes in a market economy, not socialism, and promises to protect the interests of multi-national corporations. The AFDL has given British and Canadian interests its blessing to mine for gold. In April at Lubumbashi, an \$885 million contract was announced between a US company, American Mineral Fields, and the AFDL to rehabilitate zinc, copper, and cobalt mines in Shaba. Belgium's Union Miniere and Anglo-American DeBeers, the gold and diamond mining giant which is the real ruler of Nelson Mandela's South Africa, have begun negotiations with the AFDL.

Neither is direct democracy a real possibility under a nation-state led by Kabila's AFDL. Kabila has already declared that if he will postpone elections for one year after he attains state power. No other political force is able to organize in AFDL-held territory. This has conscious folk in Zaire (forget the imperialists) justifiably concerned. Mobutu's

LETTERS TO LOVE AND RAGE

OPEN LETTER

The Lucy Parsons Center has been distributing radical literature for more than 20 years. Given Bob Black's long history of using state power to harass and destroy those whom he cannot control or manipulate—most recently siccing the Seattle SWAT team against Heidi and Jim Hogshire—we will no longer carry books by Bob Black. We call upon other radical bookstores and publishers to do the same, as there is no room for such immoral, unethical behavior in our midst. For details (and thanks for bringing this to our attention) see the Winter 1996-97 issue of *The Match*.

Lucy Parsons Collective
January 8, 1997

KICK-ASS PUBLICATION

Dear Folks at Love and Rage:

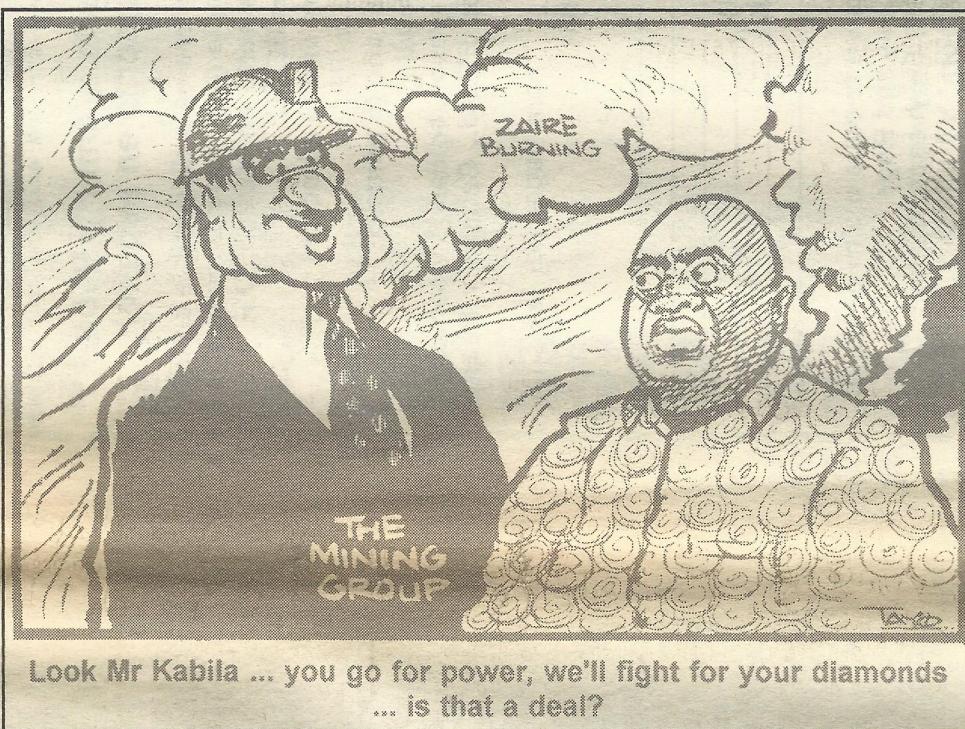
Howdy and Revolutionary greetings from the Texas concentration camp system. Just wanted to say that *Love and Rage* is one kick-ass militant publication, way better than the *New York Times* and y'all have some pretty good in-depth articles which are very well done. This prisoner thanks you and always looks forward to checking out a new issue.

For a World Without Bosses,
Kevin Glover

civilian constitution for Zaire begins "We the Zairian people, united inside the [MPR] guided by Mobutuism..." The state party proclaims its constitution in the name of the Zairian people whose political will and active participation are made irrelevant—like in a Marxist revolution. The peoples of Zaire justifiably fear this type of "constitutional" government and will not deem it legitimate.

After some minor dissent by France, the Western powers led by the US have now endorsed Kabila as the next leader of Zaire.

is not likely to occur in Zaire. Zaire is more ripe for class struggle than even South Africa. So the AFDL, and now their imperialist supporters, will keep a short leash on independent political organizing. It is quite possible that a more benevolent state capitalism will be put into place under Kabila. Even on the small scale allowed by IMF austerity restraints, the AFDL, compared to Mobutu's regime, could institute a welfare state which will profoundly affect the development of Zaire. People will begin to



We should prepare to assess the prospects for democracy and class struggle in the new Zaire. First, we should celebrate with the majority of the Zairian people the defeat of Mobutu by the AFDL. Kabila has led a force that has helped defeat the cruelest, most corrupt, and longest neocolonial military dictatorship in this century. Whatever fears the people of Zaire might have about Kabila and the AFDL, almost all greet them rightfully as liberators. Whatever mass killings of Hutu civilians may come to light should be righteously condemned as a crime against humanity. But given peoples' short memory, this will likely fall short of what it would take to tarnish the AFDL's image as liberators of their country. The consciousness of an African people who reject a white supremacist-sponsored, Black-led regime ruthlessly imposed on them for more than thirty years is astounding and could be seen as more advanced in some respects than that of post-apartheid South Africa. However honorable Nelson Mandela's life of struggle, the South African people must also learn to critique their leader's complicity with anti-democratic and elitist forces. We must celebrate loudly for a time and let the world know which is the greater victory. Then as true lovers of freedom and struggle we must move on and resist the tendency to become fans of "the winning team."

Potential improvements aside, Zaire has not defeated neo-colonialism. Zaire may achieve all the trappings of political independence but it will remain under the yoke of neo-colonialism so long as it remains complicit with capitalist interests that keep its people poor and dependent and compromise its sovereignty.

Kabila will likely initiate a period of "democracy" like in Uganda. Mandela's South African brand, though far from perfect, at least has more civil liberties, that would provide opportunity to organize for a truly free society sooner. Such a transition

eat regularly. Real movements for national self-determination and unionization drives may begin soon after.

Fully revolutionary challenges to the new regime may be slow to develop. First World partisans of the slogan "smash the state" might not appreciate that a people who have experienced the climate of the Rodney King rebellion as a lifestyle for more than thirty years might want to rest. Zaire has had no form of government at all in a practical sense for years. The collapse of the nation-state is a great idea if society is organized autonomously to prevent ethnic hatred, crime, and hunger. Not having been visibly organized to resist such plagues in any other fashion, people will appreciate some type of "law and order." For the humanity of ordinary people of Zaire, the prospects of a coming calm, no matter how unrevolutionary, is perhaps a good thing—for now.

DON'T BE A KABILA FAN

We must begin to look for tendencies to emerge that will challenge what may be seen as the betrayal of the "revolution" led by Kabila. Kabila's government, coalition or not, will not be a transitional government to a new society unless he is removed and replaced with something better as soon as possible. An anti-authoritarian peoples' movement opposed to state capitalism and for an internationalist foreign policy in solidarity with peoples (not ruling elites) desiring the same would be an even greater inspiring development. In our solidarity with the Zairian people we should promote this unpopular, but cold liberating truth. For Patrice Lumumba's legacy—a cry for "dignity under clear skies"—to come true we must have faith in the conviction to advocate and organize for "All Power To the People" and have the patience with folk as they begin to see that the struggle must continue.★