

THE BLAST!

April/May 1994 • Premier Issue • FREE IN MN • \$1 Elsewhere

"To blast the bulwarks of slavery and oppression is the beginning of truly lasting reconstruction."

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THE BLAST!

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All over the world the forces of oppression are rumbling slowly but surely over humanity. However, just as surely as these forces try to beat humanity into submission, someone, somewhere—everywhere—is resisting. Whether it involves taking up arms, chopping off a rapist's manhood, organizing at the grassroots level, or simply stealing stuff from your hated job, resistance to the present order of things is everywhere, and it is potentially dangerous.

The Blast! sides with resistance and against oppression. We take aim at those who would deny us a life of freedom, community, mutual aid, equality, and dignity. We are one small but significant voice dedicated to revealing resistance and celebrating it. Furthermore, we don't just report resistance to the powers-that-be, we downright encourage it!

The Blast! is put out by the Agitator

BLASTED BE!

Index collective in Minneapolis. We are six people who believe that the only way to stop the injustices in this society is by turning resistance into revolution.

The purpose of this paper is twofold: 1) to encourage people to develop a revolutionary political consciousness and to turn their isolated acts of resistance into unified blows against capital, white supremacy, patriarchy, and all other forms of oppression; and 2) to encourage the construction of a free society based on nonhierarchical, anti-capitalist, participatory, democratic, free and voluntary associations united by human solidarity and mutual aid.

We want *The Blast!* to be as inclusive as possible so that it will be relevant to

all kinds of people and communities who are in some way fed up with this filthy world. We promise to interview revolutionary persons and groups, report on resistance activities around the globe, and provide an anti-authoritarian analysis to events happening internationally and locally. We are committed to agitating locally in the Twin Cities especially.

Of course, a single paper can't cause revolution. For that we need a revolutionary movement that can bring all oppressed peoples together to overthrow this system. If means are to be consistent with ends, this movement needs to be organized in the way we envision our future society to be like: nonhierarchical (i.e. no bosses or vanguards), egalitarian, democratic, and

one that promotes freedom and mutual aid. That's why we are part of the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation. Love and Rage is not the entire revolutionary movement, it is only a small part of it. We look forward to working in coalition with other political groups with a subversive agenda. For a detailed explanation of our politics, see our political statement, pp. 6-9.

We intend to come out bimonthly, but that might not happen until this summer. We will make every effort to be consistent in our publishing schedule and consistently angry in our politics.

For freedom, for anarchy, for justice: *The Blast!* KABOOM!

(By the way, we ripped the name off from Alexander Berkman's anarchist journal *The Blast!*, [1916-18]. Berkman was a revolutionary anarchist and ex-lover of Emma Goldman, among other things.)

BLOW AWAY CAPITALISM!

Well, maybe we can't promise that the fetters of capitalism will wither away when you financially support *The Blast!*, but we can guarantee that you will be helping to keep this revolutionary paper alive and well, sniping at the system with computer and rock in hand!

There are five ways you can support *The Blast!*: 1) taking out an ad to sell one of your fine products, 2) buying a subscription, 3) donating to our prisoners fund to help pay for prisoner subscriptions, 4) distributing the paper in your area, and 5) outright sending us some cash. *The Blast!* is a non-profit paper; no one is paid for their work and all revenues go back into publishing and distributing the next issue.

PRISONER SUBSCRIPTIONS

The Blast! is free to prisoners. This costs us money. To help pay for this, we have set up a prisoner subscription fund to encourage all of you on the outside to help defray the costs of mailing copies to our comrades inside prison walls. To contribute just add \$2 to your subscription, or send any cash amount and mark it "for Prisoner Subs".

Prisoners: When you request a copy of *The Blast!*, we will send you one issue. If you want to continue receiving it, please write us back and tell us you want to be put on the subscription list. This way we can avoid sending subs to people who aren't interested in the paper. Prisoner subs have to be renewed once a year.

DISTRIBUTION

If you want to distribute copies of *The Blast!* in your area, please let us know. Bundles are available free for postage costs in Minnesota. Bundles elsewhere cost 50¢ per copy plus postage; we pay postage for orders of 15 or more in the U.S. The cover price outside Minnesota is \$1. Payment is 60 days consignment (which means we send however many you want and you have 60 days to pay us), and returns are accepted.

PLEASE GIVE US SOME OF YOUR MONEY

It costs about \$1500 to print and distribute every issue of this paper. We are trying to pay for as much as we can with advertising and distribution revenues, but these sources often don't cover everything. Also, we are about \$500 in debt for the first

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United States	\$9
Canada & Mexico	\$11
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Prisoners	free
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Please add \$2 to each subscription to help cover a prisoner's subscription	

issue. That's why if you think *The Blast!* is a worthwhile paper, we encourage you to support it financially. Donors receive a free subscription, our eternal gratitude, and the assurances that *The Blast!* will be around blowing away authority figures for years to come (or at least until the revolution, after which we will retire to the beaches of Lake Winnebago, sipping ice tea in the mornings and reciting poetry in the evening).

CONTRIBUTE TO — THE BLAST! —

We need folks to contribute if this is going to be the best paper it can be. We are looking for any kind of help we can get, but we are especially looking for these things:

- An editor for our hip hop page to cover the local political hip hop scene
- Someone to cover other politically-oriented music
- Photographers to cover demonstrations, events, and assignments
- Artists to provide art and graphics
- Writers to contribute articles, reviews, columns, news, etc.

• An expert in homemade explosives (just kidding)
We cannot pay contributors, because we ain't paid, either. However, we can shower you with our gratitude and wet kisses, plus you'll get to see your stuff read by literally thousands of readers. Women and prisoners are especially encouraged to contribute.

ADVERTISE!

Printing and distribution of THE BLAST! is solely funded by advertising and contributions. In order to keep coming out consistently we need your ads. A discount schedule is available for those who wish to place more than one ad.

DEADLINE FOR #2 IS

MAY 15, 1994

Issue #2 on the street June 1

Any Questions call Tod at (612)-825-9953

THE BLAST! is a new radical bimonthly newspaper from the Twin Cities. Our circulation is 10,000 copies, and a minimum of 5,000 copies are distributed free in the Twin Cities.

The Blast! is produced by the Agitator Index collective. It is exclusively a non-profit newspaper, and all revenues from ads go towards putting the next issue out. Agitator Index is a supporting group of the Love and Rage Federation.

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The State of Minnesota Vs. The Anti-Racist Movement

The case of Kieran Frazier Knutson



Is Hennepin County Supporting Neo-Nazi Skinheads?

A neo-nazi skinhead crashes an anti-racist demonstration, waves brass knuckles in people's faces, and picks a fight. He gets hit with a flashlight. Does he get charged? Nope.

Instead, a long-time anti-racist organizer now faces up to ten years in prison and a \$20,000 fine.

Kieran Frazier Knutson, a lifelong Minneapolis resident and progressive activist since his early teens, thought a violent, "white-power" thug was about to stab him when he defensively swung his flashlight. Now he's on trial for his freedom. The nazi is at large.

What happened?

On October 22, 1993, the Progressive Student Organization held an anti-racist rally to counter an announced demonstration by neo-nazis in front of Coffman Memorial Union on the University of Minne-

sota campus. About 100 anti-racists rallied for nearly an hour before two neo-nazi skinheads, decked out in "white-power" gear, showed up. They appeared to be scouting for their neo-nazi pals.

The two scuffled with the demonstration security team. Several people were hurt. Daniel Simmer, one of the racists, charged with brass knuckles at the people in the anti-racist demo. That's when the cops brought him down with a flying tackle.

Weirdly, months later the state brought felony charges against Kieran. He goes to trial April 12, 1994.

Kieran faces two counts of felony assault, based almost entirely on statements from Simmer and his fiancée Amy Foreman, the other white-power skinhead at the demo. The charges carry a minimum prison sentence of 36 months and could land Kieran in prison for much longer. Ten years in prison and a fine of 20 grand are the maximum.

The Minnesota Daily (the campus paper) and the Minneapolis Star Tribune opted to believe the neo-nazi version of events. Both slammed the anti-racist demonstrators for being "violent."

Whether Daniel Simmer will be charged for having brass knuckles is not known.

The World — And Minnesota

The U.S. media have grown bored with nazi skinheads. Instead of reporting on right-wing organizing, they obsess over images of Black crime. In this atmosphere, the Pat Buchanans, Pat Robertsons, Rush Limbaughs, David Dukes, Tom Metzgers, and Thom Robbs quietly build their movements.

In Germany, a new generation of racists firebomb immigrant housing. In South Af-

rica, apartheid die-hards plot their last stand. In London, the white right can win a local election.

Seizing on the crummy worldwide economy and people's growing alienation, neo-nazis now recruit from the formerly well-off white middle class and working class, especially among its youth. They preach white supremacy, anti-semitism, male supremacy, and homophobia, and they're gaining a mass base in many parts of the world.

The Twin Cities are not immune. Several racist organizations like the Ku Klux Klan and the Northern Hammer Skinheads, which Daniel Simmer belongs to, are active here. They've organized, vandalized, and carried out violent attacks.

Two years to the day before the October 22 demonstration, on the same spot, supporters of Tom David's White Student Union beat up members of Anti-Racist Action and the Progressive Student Organization. One activist went to the hospital with a concussion. That time, nazis had clubs and attack dogs.

The next year neo-nazis tried to assemble at Coffman, but beat a hasty retreat when 150 anti-racists marched up.

The good news is, Twin Cities racists usually get stopped cold. A creative and militant anti-fascist movement locally keeps the organized racists small. Since the 80s, groups like the Baldies, Anti-Racist Action, the Progressive Student Organization, Africana Student Cultural Center, Up and Out of Poverty, Twin Cities Anarchist Federation, and many non-aligned individuals have kept a constant vigilance against any organizing attempts on the part of the neo-nazis.

The bad news is, in American cities where there wasn't this kind of resistance, like Portland, OR, and Dallas, TX, neo-nazis are now strong among a section of white youth. They've beaten and even murdered people of color, Jews, gays and lesbians, and anti-racist activists.

Kieran Frazier Knutson

Kieran Frazier Knutson, 22, works part time at United Parcel Service and is a member of Teamsters Local 638. Kieran graduated from South High in 1989. He has attended Minneapolis Community College and has been strongly involved in the anti-racist and anti-fascist movement in the Twin Cities and nationally. Kieran grew up with parents who were both involved in radical politics, and since the age of 14 has been involved in his own right. Kieran has worked against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Middle East, in defense of women's reproductive rights, against police brutality, in solidarity with the Irish struggle, and a number of other progressive struggles. Kieran is a member of the Love and Rage Federation.

Kieran Needs Your Help

It's ludicrous that these charges have even been brought up, and the fact that the State is using the name of the people to support the allegations of a neo-nazi skinhead is outright disgusting. What in effect this really means is that the State is making African-Americans, Jews, American Indians, queers, and everyone else who works in the state of Minnesota fund a neo-nazi skinheads prosecution of an anti-racist activist.

We ask you to write and call County Attorney and express your outrage at the charges brought against Kieran.

DEMAND ALL CHARGES

AGAINST KIERAN BE DROPPED!

County Attorney Mike Freeman
C2000 Hennepin County Govt. Center
300 S. 6th St.
Minneapolis, MN 55415
(612)-348-5550

For further info or to help with funds:
Anti-Fascist Defense Committee c/o
Minneapolis ABC • PO Box 7075 • Minneapolis, MN 55407

PULL 'EM UP NOW

BEFORE THEY TAKE ROOT



Greetings from

RACE TRAITOR

*Treason to whiteness is
loyalty to humanity*

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AGITATION INDEX

PIGS HARASS WOMEN

Minneapolis pig Kent Warnberg was convicted almost a year ago of fourth degree sexual assault when he was in the Minnesota National Guard - he has since resigned his post. Bureaucracy and a half later this dick is getting his badge back. King pig Al Berryman, head of the local Knights of the MPD thinks it's "very fair." Does your police department like to harass women? The MPD does.

PIGS BEAT WOMEN

Back on December 4, 1993 the MPD showed its true colors while beating the shit out of Mona and Tina Williams. The story goes like this - Mona and Tina were walking by a Tom Thumb mini-mart and saw two pigs beating a young boy inside the store. The cops went to the store because the clerk had called and said her purse was stolen - the cops came in and threw this boy down even though the store clerk said he wasn't the suspect. Tina and Mona saw this and walked in. They asked the boy for his phone number so that they could call his mother, from the floor the boy shouted it to them and they called. After the call one of the officers shouted, "You nigger bitches get out of here!" Both of the women exited the store. Outside, Tina saw the boys mother and told her that her son was being beaten inside and that she would be a witness - just then she was hit from behind by one of the officers. For the next several minutes the Williams sisters were beaten by the officers while the mostly white crowd cheered the cops, actions. Tina remembers the incident "Everytime he hit me I was some kind of nigger bitch on welfare and I should go back to where I came from. When he finally knocked me down, he jumped on top of me and said, 'Yeah, this is how we were trained to rough up niggers!'" The nurse at the police station told them they had no injuries from the incident. The two were in jail for over 4 hours before being released on \$300 bail each. They ended up with a felony charge of assault on a police officer.

PIGS GET OFF

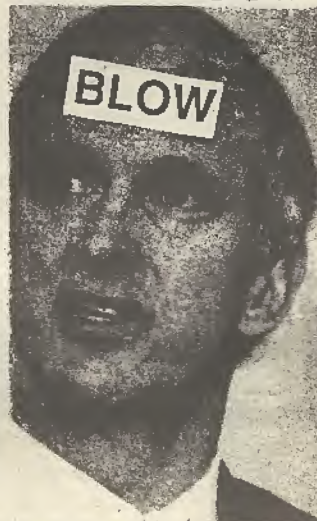
"We can't dismiss everybody from the department that's ever involved with something that's criminally wrong or morally offensive. We can't do that because we won't have any cops left." - Al Berryman, president Minneapolis Police Federation

EMMA CENTER = ANARCHY!

Emma anarchist community center continues to struggle with issues around how it can sustain itself as a counter-institution and not become ghettoized, or exclusive to the anarchist or punk community. The present collective is challenging ways it can make itself more accessible to the predominately African-American block it lives on, and to other radical communities that are not necessarily anarchist. Things thriving at Emma these days are: Queer space, film nights, free day care, an ever expanding selection of books on revolutionary struggle, theory and history. Emma also sells quality hip hop, punk and other tapes, CD's, LP's and 7's. Call the Emma anarchist hotline for an updated account of events: 612-729-5498 Emma is located at 3451 Bloomington Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN 55407 - Justine Abinni

FUNDAMENTALIST BLOW-JOB

Joe Blow (as he actually calls himself) from North Minneapolis doesn't want to pay taxes because there are actual homosexuals living in HIS city. James Lilly (white) brought a lawsuit against the city to block the domestic partner ordinance that gives homosexuals the same rights as heterosexuals as far as marriage benefits go. Mr. Blow(hard) stepped aside as soon as the actual proceedings started and handed everything over to his lawyer Mr. Jordon Lawrence, king of the conservative-fundamentalist-cross-and-flag-asshole lawyers. Mr. Lawrence, who isn't charging his client, is connected to Mr. Lilly Blow by the Minnesota Family Council, another great wing-nut organization that does "nice" things for families like queer bashing.



SEX WORKERS SUE BOSSES

160 strippers have filed a \$7 million lawsuit against the strip joint Deja Vu. The women claim that they were forced to sign contracts, work 40 hr. weeks, pay outrageous fines, and pay 1/3 of their tips to the club. The fact that Deja Vu controls almost every aspect of the strippers jobs makes them employees as opposed to the "independent contractors" that they were hired as. If the women win the law suit they'll receive their well deserved back pay and Deja Vu will be forced to pay minimum wage and provide employee benefits.

UP AND OUT

Up and Out of Poverty Now is a protest organization and housing branches created and maintained by those who have become disenfranchised due to the capitalist class system of inequality. UOPN operates based upon the tenets of self-determination, empowerment, politicizing the homeless-welfare recipient community, and class struggle. Often, liberatory ideals are presented and accessible predominantly to those who are privileged, thus creating a void of revolutionary potential.

Within the last year, Up and Out of Poverty Now is organizing against community policing operations in the Twin Cities, focusing on C.A.R.E. in Minneapolis. C.A.R.E. remains structurally and inherently racist and classist - C.A.R.E. stands as Minneapolis's rendition of the "Weed..." continued on page 25



¡ZAPATA SÍ! ¡MINNESOTA NO!

A rally was held at Peavey Plaza March 1st, 1994 to demonstrate solidarity with the insurrection in Chiapas, Mexico and condemn the collusion between the U.S. and Mexican government against the people of Mexico. The event, which was sponsored by a broad coalition of concerned human rights groups, began at 4:30 p.m. After initial speeches, the crowd marched toward the Federal Building chanting "Zapata Si! NAFTA No! US out of Mexico!" Also, on February 12 over one hundred Chicano college students and supporters staged a rally in the State Capitol. The media has failed to cover these demonstrations of support for the uprising in Chiapas. They would like us to believe that the crisis in Chiapas is now over. But the insurrection is not over. As the insurrection continues, so grows the support.

For Chicanos, the insurrection should point out several important lessons. Of utmost importance is the ideological limitations inherent in blind nationalism. Blind nationalism has been an important tool in the hands of the ruling class to dominate the masses. Nationalism functions to distort the consciousness of the working people of any society. In Mexico, it has worked to keep the people away from a revolutionary awareness of their condition. This has allowed the rich to manipulate the masses. The lessons for Chicanos should be: Be careful with a Chicanoismo that serves to mislead our people from acquiring their liberation. Blind nationalism was an obstacle during the first phase of the Chicano Movement and can still pose a threat. True liberation can only begin as we become aware of the source of our oppression. The Zapatistas have told us what is the source of all oppression - capitalism. - Joe Gonzalez-El Mexico / 1929 S. 5th St. / Mpls, MN 55454

Support Powderhorn Co-op

The Powderhorn worker managed Co-op is going thru some hard financial times. Not only is it hard to survive as a small business in debt, but the proliferation of coops embracing capitalism is taking business away from coops that still embrace radical cooperative principles and a desire to truly serve the interests of the people. See ad this issue. - Abinni

MOVE HEAVEN AND EARTH TO DEFEND CHAIRMAN GONZALO FROM STRESS!

Abimael Guzman, the Peruvian Maoist leader who once took honorable mention in a Jerry Garcia look-alike contest, is said to have cracked under the strain of solitary confinement.

Guzman, or Chairman Gonzalo, was head of the Peruvian Communist Party until his

cont. page 26

THE PRO-LIVIN'S LOSE

Hennepin County Commissioners heard testimony on whether or not the Hennepin County Medical Center can train their doctors to perform abortions. The hospital hasn't been training doctors for 6 years, so the anti-abortion movement took it upon itself to send out a call to come to the government center and to rally against the training. Once again it was an attack on women's rights and the right to have options for women's reproductive freedom. Unfortunately, the pro-choice community didn't have a chance to organize but the ones that were there showed a good force to disrupt the rally. There were only 8 pro-choice demonstrators against the 200 anti-choice wingnuts. Suprisingly, the commission decided to approve the decision to let the doctors train for abortions at HCMC. - Kim Defranco

EXPLOITATION - LIVE ON STAGE

Miss Saigon came to Minnesota and, like every city it has gone, was met with protest. The Protest Miss Saigon Committee and Pan Asian Voices for Equality (PAVE) protested the showing during its stay at the Orpheum theatre. A leaflet published by the above answers the question, "Why are we protesting?" "Because Miss Saigon perpetuates negative stereotypes about Asian women and men and about Vietnamese culture. Because Miss Saigon trivializes the painful and difficult history of U.S. military involvement in the Vietnam war by combining soldiers with titillating sex and high tech entertainment. Because this story of exploitation and tragedy is being promoted as a trite romance - a modern Madame Butterfly. Because Miss Saigon is the latest in a long line of productions written by non-Asians that create stereotypes of Asian women as willing sexual servants of white men and Asian men as crafty and violent criminals. Because in popular culture racist images fuel the growing climate of hostility and violence against Asian Americans. Because our side of the story has not gotten equal time or visibility in the media (we cannot afford expensive advertising) and we believe that distorting and dehumanizing groups of people in the name of entertainment is not right. Enough is enough!"

PAVE 1635 W. County Rd. C #223 / Roseville, MN 55113

Israel, Intifada and the West Bank

On Friday morning, April 25 at 5:30, Baruch Goldstein entered the Mosque of Ibrahim in Hebron with a machine gun and pistol. Goldstein was a 38-year-old physician from Manhattan who emigrated to Israel in 1983. He had close connections to Meir Kahane and the Kach party, with its militant anti-Arab stance, and in 1981 he wrote a letter to The New York Times calling for the elimination of Arabs within the borders of Israel.

For the past several weeks he was described as depressed, and he complained that peace with the Palestinians would mean the end of the Jewish homeland. The night before the massacre, Goldstein had attempted to celebrate the Jewish holiday of Purim at the Mosque (which has a section for Jews), but was deeply disturbed by the nearby Palestinians calling for the death of all Jews. His agitation was such that he was unable to complete his prayers.

The next morning he returned to the mosque, dressed in military fatigues, and easily passed the Israeli security (only one of the eight soldiers stationed at the mosque was present) — this despite his being armed. Once inside the mosque, he indiscriminately sprayed the worshipers with machine-gunfire, and killed as many as 50 before the survivors beat him to death. The next week was punctuated by riots, during which at least 15 other Palestinians were killed — as well as hundreds

being arrested and detained.

The Mosque of Ibrahim is located in Israel's occupied territories — land originally earmarked as a Palestinian homeland prior to the 1948 War of Independence, and here conditions for Palestinians are miserable. This is the birthing place of the Palestinian popular uprising (the Intifadah) and the center of many of its protests. Conflict with Israeli settlers in that region are an everyday occurrence, and these conflicts often turn to violence. Many of the Israelis who have settled the occupied territories have done so in violation of international law, and often represent ultra-nationalist and expansionist viewpoints. Such illegal settlements were actively encouraged by the (now deposed) Likud government, which was hostile to Palestinian nationalism. In light of this, and recognizing that these settlers have directed violent attacks against Palestinians in the past, it can be argued that such settlements function as armed encampments. Baruch Goldstein, although a legal settler in Qiryat Arbah, was in close contact with these encampments and shared their ideology. If treatment of Palestinians can be seen on a spectrum, Goldstein represented a far extreme, although it can be argued his extreme was encouraged by the opposition to Palestinian nationalism encouraged by the Israeli government. — *Max Sparber*



LOCK OUT IN DECATUR

The 760 members of Allied Industrial Workers Local 837 have been locked out of their jobs at the A.E. Staley Manufacturing Company since June 27th, 1993. The fight against Staley, and its British parent, Tate & Lyle PLC is about jobs with dignity. The line has been drawn against corporate greed and unfair, unsafe, undignified working conditions. Local 837 has forced the resignation of Staley exec's from the boards of two large midwest banks. Now they are taking the fight to Staley's customers and its two most important allies: Archer-Daniels-Midland and State Farm Insurance.

Boycott State Farm. State Farm Insurance is a key financial ally of the Staley Co. and is intimately connected to other labor disputes. Boycott Domino & GW. Domino & GW sugars are leading brand names of Tate & Lyle PLC. FFI: Local 837 / 2882 N. Dinneen / Decatur, IL 62526

Convictions in Chattanooga

The trial of the Chattanooga 8 finished on February 23 with only two of the eight found guilty of "violating a public meeting." Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin (see interview this issue) and Clifford Eberhardt face up to six months in prison.

Write to the Judge in protest of these convictions and demand that no prison time be given to Lorenzo or Clifford.

Sentencing is on April 8.
Judge Steve Debil / Criminal Court
600 Market St. / Chattanooga, TN 37401

NSP's Prairie Island Nuclear Facility

The debate over NSP's proposed nuclear waste dump in Minnesota took on new dimensions last June. The Court of Appeals ruled in favor of Prairie Island Tribal Council and demanded the legislature to vote on it. Before the decision came down, NSP's usual routine was to go through the PUC (Public Utilities Commission) and poof! They got whatever they wanted. For that matter, before the Tribal Council took it to court, the PUC had already granted NSP's desires. After this win in the courts, people were feeling good about the possibilities to stop the proliferation of nuclear waste here. Edith Pacini, who was then a tribal councilwoman of the Prairie Island Mdewakanton community, stated, "For over one year our tribal council had been the only publicly elected governing body willing to take a stand on NSP's plan to build a nuclear waste dump next to our homes on an island in the middle of the Mississippi river, but today is a new day of hope for our people and for everyone who believes in democracy. We are gratified that it is clear that NSP's continued construction of the dump by our homes is illegal and must stop. It is our hope that no longer will our small tribe have to stand alone against one of the most powerful corporations in the state."

Over 60 separate proposals are pending to dump toxic wastes on Indian reservations in the U.S. The environmental laws passed in the 1960's and 70's left what's left of sovereign land wide open to polluters. Land still owned by Native Americans was not included in the original versions of the Clean Air Act, the Clean Water Act, the Safe Drinking Water Act, the Solid Waste Disposal Act, the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act, and Superfund.

Routine operations at Prairie Island cause a cancer death risk which is 6 times higher than the MN Department of Health supposedly allows, yet the DOH has not conducted its own independent study of the health risks at this facility. All modeling of health risks to date have been performed by NSP and its cask fabrication contractor, Transnuclear. NSP has steadfastly refused to agree to pay for the installation of real time radiation monitoring devices at the project site, a step recommended by the Health Department.

It is the Mdewakanton who live this risk and the reservation has never gotten a dime from NSP. On the other hand, the city of Red Wing receives \$22 million in real estate taxes each year.

Since June, NSP has gone crazy with pro-nuclear ads and lobbying legislature. NSP has an immense monetary interest in passage of a bill to permit permanent storage of high level radioactive waste outdoors at Prairie Island. Not Surprisingly, NSP's interest influences the presentation of information — such as repeated claims in ads that the waste storage is temporary, a contention which flies in the face of the court decision NSP lost. More annoying still is the point Burl Gilyard makes in his article for the T.C. Reader which is, "Even if you're opposed to Prairie Island, you've helped subsidize the public relations generator."

This entire debate is an example of the paradigm within which our economy manages shifts from consumption to preservation. This scenario will repeat itself again and again. NSP hold enormous economic power and they always strive to keep it. — *Rachel Meyers -- FFI: WAMM 827-5364*

Ellie Neslor- sentenced to death

On April 2, 1993 Ellie Neslor put five bullets into the head and neck of Daniel Driver on her way up to the witness stand, in the courtroom where Mr. Driver was on trial. Driver was being tried for molesting Ellie's son and four other boys at church camp where he worked. Ellie's sister said Driver set off the shooting with a smirk at the family as he was led into the courtroom. On January 7, Ellie was sentenced to 10 years in prison. Judge

William Polley rejected Ellie's plea for clemency saying "She's proud of what she's done and if given the chance would do it again." Serving any prison time amounts to a death sentence for Ellie who went in with Stage 3B of inflammatory breast cancer. Doctors have given Ellie a 50% chance of living 5 more years. Ellie was sent to Chowchilla (see article pg. 20) and has been receiving chemotherapy, but the prison had at first

denied her anti-nausea drugs until enough pressure was put on and then she was only given compazine (a dinosaur of anti-nausea drugs) which is not controlling her nausea or pain. A month ago Ellie may have suffered a stroke. No one knows for sure because the prison has not followed through with the necessary procedures. Ellie's outside support is trying to make sure she gets a brain scan. Ellie Neslor W51311 / A503120L / CCWF / P.O. Box 1508 / Chowchilla, CA 93610 — *RX Justice*

ANTI-CHOICE WINGNUTS INTERNATIONAL SAVVY TRAVELER: CHEAP-CHEAP FARE FROM OSLO TO N.Y.!

Attention bargain hunters! Twelve U.S. fanatics for mandatory pregnancy almost started an airline fare-war in February by scoring a free trip from Norway back Stateside! Norwegian cops, cooperating with the FBI, nabbed the bunch at the airport, confiscated their anti-choice flyers, and sent them packing. The cops said the antis were planning to disrupt the Olympics. The antis claimed they were on vacation, and they never travel without plastic fetuses dipped in ketchup. Three of the antis are notorious Minnesotans: Gordy and Nancy Jean Peterson, and Danny Cole, all certified agents of The Lord who hosted Operation Rescue's embarrassing defeat in the Twin Cities last summer. Arriving home in their rich, white suburb of St. Louis Park, the Petersons apologized for missing the annual Lutfisk Supper at Calvary Temple. "Jesus never ate that shit anyway. Isn't it pickled in lye?" Gordy was overheard to mumble. "Shut up and stop fondling that fetus toy," Nancy Jean sternly shot back.

SAVVY ART COLLECTOR: CHEAP CLASSIC PAINTING!

MEANWHILE, the global compulsory-pregnancy conspiracy has made off with Edvard Munch's famous painting "The Scream." Long before the painting's theft in February from the Norwegian National Art Museum, anti-choicers had appropriated the image for their wingnut movement. Previously, the image had been used to protest nuclear war, something "pro-lifers" seldom seem to worry about. After the painting vanished, an oddball ex-pastor in Norway stated it "might surface" if Norwegian TV aired the anti-choicers' fave video, "The Silent Scream." Norwegian cops are cagey about who's really got the painting. — *Nikolas Kautz*

DAY OF ACTION AGAINST HYDRO-QUEBEC

The Native Forest Network cordially invites everyone and their lover to Hydro-Quebec's 50th birthday party, April 14, 1994.

In Boston, Burlington (VT), Chicago, Montreal, N.Y., Seattle, San Francisco, Melbourne (Australia), and across Europe, partiers will gleefully wish Hydro-Quebec a happy day in hell for its plans to flood thousands more square miles of Cree, Innu, and Inuit lands in northern Quebec.

Hydro's dams near James Bay poisoned 60% of the Cree in the region with mercury. In the 80's, 10,000 Caribou drowned during migration as a result of an ill-timed reservoir release. The dams are simply fucked up.

Get in touch with: Eastern North American NFN / Orin Langelle / POB 57 / Burlington, VT 05402 / (802) 863-0571

SERIOUSLY AGITATED

Political Statement for the Agitator Index Collective

The Blast! is a paper put out by the Agitator Index collective. The six of us who are Agitator Index (the name is from Cointelpro files of political dissidents) decided to start this new collective in the summer of 1993, and we decided to do it together, not only because we have a lot of personal affinity for each other, but because we also have a high degree of political agreement. The first thing we did together as a collective was write this political statement. For us it was a good way to get started, by refining and discussing our politics together. We spent a good two months writing, discussing, and working over the sections, until we all felt like we had something we agreed with and liked.

We are all activists and this political statement represents the theories behind our actions and our conception of revolutionary anarchism. Part of the reason we wanted to do this paper was to put the politics of anarchist

activists in print. Of course there are other activists doing papers and zines, but it is still the case that almost all anarchist writing to be found is written by anarchists who are long dead, or by non-activist academic types. It is our opinion that the best theory must be connected to and worked out in action, not isolated in the academy. And while we all get inspiration from revolutionary anarchists of the past (for instance this paper is named after Alexander Berkman's newspaper of the early 1900s), anarchist politics have evolved a lot since then. Likewise, we expect our politics to evolve and change with time. This political statement is a work in progress. Some things that we think are important haven't been written yet, other sections need to be further developed, and there is room for our opinions to evolve. Comments and criticisms are more than welcome.

Anarchism and anti-authoritarianism

This collective consists of six people who believe in anarchy. We believe an anarchist society would be the freest society possible and that organizing in an anarchist fashion now is not only consistent with our goal of a free society, it is also the most democratic, open, and constructive way to build a revolutionary movement. As anarchists we ruthlessly oppose all forms of hierarchy and oppression (not just God, gold, and government) and we expect any valid mass political movement with revolutionary potential to do the same.

However, we are not sectarian. Saying you are an anarchist does not necessarily make you an ally; nor does saying you are not an anarchist mean we have nothing to gain from each other. The old split in the Left used to be anarchists vs. Marxists. This schism is no longer valid. Many Marxists and anarchists are equally committed to building a free society. Also, many struggles nowadays do not neatly fit into the political category called the "Left" these days: Native sovereignty struggles, grass roots struggles against police brutality, gang summits, etc. The days when anarchists worked in isolation from these struggles because they are not purely "anarchist" must end. We realize that the world we are fighting to create, because it is being fought for by many peoples and because it must be fought for on democratic principles, will not come out exactly as we'd like. We also realize that our conception of freedom, equality, and democracy differs from other revolutionary viewpoints. However, we do not want our critique of society and our method of organization to isolate us from people, but to bring us closer to people.

For these reasons we will work with any radicals who approach politics in a bottom-up, participatory democratic manner, whether or not they are "anarchists". We see the key struggle among radicals and revolutionaries as one of *authoritarianism against anti-authoritarianism*, between a political movement organized and controlled by an elite group of self-picked vanguards who sacrifice principle for power and a movement controlled from the bottom by the people in the streets living these struggles. As anarchists, we place ourselves firmly in the anti-authoritarian camp, but we are one perspective among many, and we welcome the chance to work with other non-anarchist anti-authoritarians.

Anarchy, organization, and revolution

We strongly disagree with those who say that "anarchy and organization is a contradiction in terms." To us, anarchism is a *form of organization*, and in our minds, the best way to organize for a revolution that has the potential to overthrow the present system and replace it with a free society of workers' self-management, participatory democracy, freedom of the individual, and the abolition of hierarchy in all its manifestations. Anarchist organization is bottom-up, decentralized, principled, nonhierarchical, and designed to put power in peoples' hands, not a central authority's. Its purpose is to create political spaces in which freedom and equality are created for all. While we can begin to create these spaces now, we cannot create truly plural and free political spaces until the present order is overthrown. That is why anarchist organization is revolutionary organization, and that's why it will take a revolutionary struggle to strip power from the powers-that-be, by force if necessary. That's why we want to be part of a larger democratic movement that can fight the power, today as skirmishes, tomorrow as revolution.

Freedom and equality are not "rights" handed over to us by some god or the state. They also won't pop out of the ground magically after some natural disaster or rebellion rocks the power structure. No, *freedom and equality are political conditions that we have to organize and create for ourselves*. This takes time and sweat and pain and love. That's why we are for organization; that's why we are revolutionary; that's why we are organizing for revolution now.

Participatory democracy

Ultimately, the problems of this world are political problems. Therefore, the solution is not to abandon all politics as "bourgeois" but to create a new, liberatory politics that will be the cornerstone of a revolutionary movement and that will be capable of "governing" a post-revolutionary free society. For us, this politics is a participatory, nonhierarchical democracy. Participatory democracy means that every person has the opportunity to have an equal say in all matters that affect his or her life, whether the matter concerns how to do your job or the pollution that saturates the river running through your town.

It means that important decisions in this world are not to be left to a handful of bureaucrats or elected officials but by all interested people constantly engaged in open and critical debate.

How do you organize this kind of broad-based, democratic, open, critical participation? We see three forms of participatory democratic organization needed to create a liberatory politics. The first is collectivizing the workplace (even if that workplace is the home). It is those who toil who should have the say in how their workplace is organized, not some boss or manager. By turning workplaces into worker-controlled collectives two things happen: 1) people have a political voice in an activity that takes up a large part of their lives and 2) capitalism is crushed when the bosses are gone and production and distribution is organized by the workers themselves in a federated, decentralized, noncompetitive and egalitarian manner.

The second is democratizing the neighborhood, or municipality. Workers' self-management is vital, but not enough. It excludes those who can't or won't "work" in the traditional definition of the word and it tends to turn issues like what to produce or what are the effects of that production (on humans and the natural environment) into matters of economic administration instead of subjects of free and open debate. For that reason a free society will also have to be organized municipally, neighborhood by neighborhood. Decisions made by each municipality need to be made in free and open councils or other political bodies that encourage the most amount of free participation possible from all who are interested.

The third form of organization is what we roughly call "identity-based". As important as workers' collectives and municipal councils are, they do not meet the needs of everyone, especially those who have been oppressed by the white supremacist, patriarchal, capitalist society we live in. A Black person in Detroit may feel more political affinity for Black people in Chicago or Minneapolis than s/he does with a white person in his/her neighborhood or workplace. For this reason, there needs to be participatory, democratic institutions that empower people who need to organize in this manner, whether they are supporters of Black nationalism, Native rights, lesbian separatism, feminist struggles, or others.

How will these three struggles

interact? We envision two different methods of linking workplace, municipality, and identity-based organizations. One method of organizing within and between these three struggles is through federations (see below). A second is coalitions. Coalitions, the voluntary union of different cultures and/or organizations, are particularly suitable for identity-based struggles because they allow different identities and cultures to work together in a non-hierarchical way while still preserving the autonomy of each culture and/or identity involved. Further, as different cultures and organizations begin to work together in coalitions, their own identities, while remaining autonomous, begin to change due to coalition work. This process establishes the basis for non-hierarchical, broad-scale revolutionary political movement without requiring everyone to surrender their identity to become one of "the masses."

While the details of these kinds of relationships between anti-authoritarian identity-based struggles, workers' self-management and municipal councils in a post-revolutionary society are unclear to us right now, we support the right and the revolutionary validity of all people who feel the need to organize in any of these ways and we are willing to work with those identity-based groups whose politics and actions are grass roots, bottom-up, democratic, and anti-authoritarian.

We envision that all three forms of organization in a post-revolutionary society will be based on principles of nonhierarchical, participatory democracy. We would like to see all anti-authoritarian or potentially revolutionary organizations existing today, from collectives such as ours to committees against police brutality to coalitions against environmental racism to gang summits, organize in a similar fashion. If we want a society free of all forms of domination and oppression, we need to start creating movements willing to fight oppression both in society and within themselves. The movements we create today prefigure the society we will live in tomorrow.

Federalism

Face-to-face democratic organizations have to be small by necessity in order to let everyone participate meaningfully in politics. To make decisions that will affect a lot of people, there has to be a way to join all these small groups together

in a democratic, anti-authoritarian way. We believe the best way to do this is with federations. Federations have the distinct advantage of being able to unite many councils and organizations into one body, while respecting the autonomy of these councils and organizations. The federative method works something like this: Each council or organization selects delegates who will represent their group's decisions in an assembly that joins many councils or organizations (like a township federation). This federation then selects delegates to bring its positions to the next larger body (a county federation, for example), who does the same for the next body (regional federations, for example), etc., as necessary.

The federative structure is strong because 1) power genuinely comes from the bottom and 2) it gives people a meaningful voice, even in matters that involve a large population. Anti-authoritarian federations are non-hierarchical: while power comes from the bottom, it does not flow up in a pyramid shape with some all-powerful "Grand Council" at the top. *Because proposals and decisions are generated in local organizations and not from the larger bodies, power does not flow from the top down, either.* Instead, power flows horizontally, expanding outward. Because federations are based on voluntary association, a group's autonomy is respected and is not squashed beneath larger groups. Because they are based on the principle of mutual aid, federations are designed to make the best decisions possible for the most people in the most democratic way possible. Mutual aid means that councils and organizations work together to help each other out instead of competing against other. In our opinion, federations are the best way to facilitate this.

Of course, the delegates elected to represent a groups' decisions are not like Congressional representatives. This is because delegates in federations only "represent" people on *specific issues* and not on every single issue that comes up for the next two or six years. Also, the delegates' purpose is to represent their *constituents' viewpoint* in federated assemblies instead of trying to push their own individual views on to their constituency like Congresspersons do. Further, if delegates act in ways contrary to the opinion of the council they are a delegate for, they can be recalled immediately. We believe that workers' organizations, municipal councils and identity-based organizations can all utilize the non-hierarchical federative model in one way or another. This federative model needs to be elaborated further; we hope to do that in the future.

Anti-capitalism

Participatory, face-to-face democracy is essential to a free society, but without a commitment to overthrowing capitalism, participatory democracy becomes just another liberal band-aid for the alienation and abuses of modern society. Neighborhood councils are merely tools of city politicians and white homeowners until the distinction between owners, renters, and landlords is abolished. Workers' self-management means nothing if the bosses or shareholders still control the means of production. Identity-based organizations simply reproduce class hierarchies if they don't challenge capitalist exploitation in addition to Western (white hetero male) cultural domination. Participatory democ-

racy means nothing within a capitalist society; a truly free society is both participatory and non-capitalist.

But anti-capitalism does not mean state socialism. Anarchist economics is based not on nationalizing or socializing the economy, but in placing the economy under direct community control. Workers deserve the right to determine how their workplace will be organized, but the community deserves the right to determine the direction of the economy: who gets to produce what, what to produce and not to produce, how to organize distribution and consumption, how to assess and meet community needs, protecting the environment, etc. These "economic" issues need to be *politicized* and democratized by placing them in the hands of federated, participatory, non-hierarchical councils.

In a capitalist society, anti-capitalism means creating counterinstitutions now that can serve as models for a free society. Collectives, mutual aid associations, grassroots co-ops, and worker-owned and run businesses are examples of counterinstitutions we can build today. Further, these counterinstitutions must be created with the intent of destroying capital, not improving it or dropping out of it.

Anti-capitalism today also means ruthlessly challenging the classism that exists within the anti-authoritarian movement and ending middle class dominance of many strains of anti-authoritarian politics. This is to be done not by purging the middle class but by insisting that they share power with the underclasses. Middle class radicals need to develop an analysis of why the Left has been middle-class dominated since the 60s and what they can do, as middle class revolutionaries, to understand their class position and use it in a way to foster revolution and cross-class alliances instead of dominating movements.

Abolish the white race

We live in a society that is racist to the core. We believe that white supremacy and resistance to it have been fundamental in the shaping of the social and political landscape of North America. Because of this, power and oppression in America can't be understood without an understanding of white supremacy. The only way to abolish racism in America is to smash white supremacy. The only way to do that is to abolish the white race.

But who are "white people"? What is the "white race"? Let us be perfectly clear: The distinction between white and people of color in this society is NOT a product of nature or melanin count. Race is a social construction; there is no necessary or "natural" link between skin color and social power. In fact, in many cases, social power determines whether or not your skin color is "white". (For example, poor Irish immigrants to the United States in the 19th century were not considered "white" for decades.) There is no such thing as a "white race" in this world, only a brutal social system that has created this "race" so that people of European descent (rich and poor alike) will classify themselves as "white" instead of as a member of a group of people oppressed by a ruling class.

Whiteness isn't about culture, either. There is no such thing as a "white culture." Sure, most of American consumer culture, for example, is sickeningly

white, but the nauseating consumer culture we live in is a product of "economic development" and outright class warfare by the rich on the poor, not skin color or a culture inherently connected to white skin. Consumer culture uses racism to perpetuate itself, but it is not inherently linked to race.

In the end, whiteness is about neither skin color nor culture, but *power*. It's about a group of people, poor and rich alike, defining themselves as white so they can have power and privilege over other people. Even the poorest white man can be consoled in this racist society by the fact that "at least he's not Black." Fortunately, since distinctions based on skin color are social distinctions based on unequal power relations and not "natural" in any sense of the word, they can be changed. To smash these unequal power relations, to destroy white skin privilege, and ultimately, to overthrow the ruling class and build a free society, we have to smash the white race. This is not to be done by genocide, of course, but by white people themselves actively smashing the white race and serving as loyal "race traitors", as the journal *Race Traitor* argues. White people created white supremacy; if we are truly interested in a non-racial society we have to accept the responsibility for destroying it.

What is white skin privilege? Unfortunately, proclaiming themselves to be race traitors does not stop white people from being white. Nor does proclaiming oneself (if one is white) a partisan in the effort to abolish the white race mean that you are somehow freed of the historical responsibilities of white supremacy. In a racist society like ours, white people must recognize that their whiteness, as socially constructed as it may be, still grants them privileges in this society that many people of color can't enjoy simply because they are not white: better access to consumer culture, the ability to define "American culture", better education and job opportunities, the privilege of choosing whether to live in the suburbs or the city, courtesy from the cops, friendly service at the counter, and freedom from state intervention in one's life (parole boards, welfare offices, social workers, courthouses). Even poor white people, who enjoy less of these privileges, too, nevertheless receive the benefits of white privilege even as they are oppressed as a class.

For we must be careful. Without

recognizing white skin privilege, the concept of abolishing the white race can be easily coopted by those who believe that "love sees no color" and try to abolish *all* races. This, of course, is another tired white liberal ploy to erase all cultural differences between peoples and replace it with their notion of culture, which is another form of racism. The only way to avoid this is to abolish the white race while also recognizing the existence of white supremacy and white skin privilege.

The history of colonialism, slavery, apartheid, racism and the privileges white people still receive from these histories means that to people of color who hate this system, *if you enjoy these privileges, you are white*. Denying it won't change that. Refusing your whiteness is a copout unless you acknowledge the privilege your white social status gives you in this racist society. The white race must be abolished but, paradoxically, we have to do it as *white people*.

What is "white culture"? As we said before, there is no such thing. If there is anything that can be called white culture, it would have to be defined as that culture that 1) steals from all other cultures and 2) denies other cultures the right to determine their own future by forcing an ideology of "development" and capitalist "modernity" on them. What this means is that "white culture" is really nothing more than cultural imperialism.

We believe that a free society has no room for racial classifications. However, abolishing racial classifications does not mean abolishing cultural distinctions. We believe that in a free society a plurality of different cultures and social practices will flourish, but they will not be based on the color of skin. This viewpoint does not sanction the right to plunder other cultures. In fact, it means exactly the opposite. To be a race traitor means to immediately stop stealing African-American, Native American, and other cultures for white folks' fun and profit. White people can't pretend to be a part of peoples of color's culture until they invite whites to join them.

Of course, cultures are not static, fixed bodies that never change, adapt, or borrow from other cultures. In fact, we encourage the free exchange of ideas and practices among cultures, for that is what allows them to flourish. However, "white culture" (i.e. cultural imperialism) does



not engage in a "free exchange" with other cultures. It pillages, steals, destroys, and dominates other cultures. This practice has to stop. Abolishing the white race means letting people of color determine themselves how they will live their lives and how they will interact with white people. It also means that white people need to recognize their white skin privilege and stop participating in cultural imperialism immediately.

The Blast! does not pretend that the North American anarchist scene is any different from the rest of America: its voice is largely white and middle class, and it benefits from white skin and class privilege. In matters of race and privilege, the North American anarchist movement is no different from the rest of America. However, it is absolutely false to believe that there are no anti-authoritarian revolutionary movements that aren't middle class or white. The anti-authoritarian movement in the world today is not pale-faced; we need to stop pretending it is. It is white peoples' fault that the anarchist scene in North America is largely white, and it is their responsibility to fight racism so that anarchist ideas and organizations will genuinely appeal to anti-authoritarian people of color in this society.

This paper is edited by six race traitors. We are also white. We will work to abolish the white race while acknowledging the white privilege that we receive from this society (including the privilege to create this paper). In this way we hope to work with people of color in creating a truly anti-racist, anti-authoritarian movement.

Genderfuck

Gender is the culturally defined set of masculine and feminine roles and behaviors that are assigned in this society on the basis of biological sex. The idea that female means feminine and male means masculine is not a biological truth, but a social construction that stands in the way of liberation. When we say that we want to abolish this construct, we don't mean that we want to create a world of boring sexless androids, we mean we want to overturn the rules that assign everyone to a life of either traditional masculinity or femininity based on what they are born with between their legs. In this society, people who deviate from the "normal" masculine and feminine models are punished, but the reason femme and butch dykes, drag queens, fairies and tomboys are shunned has nothing to do with values or normality, it is because they pose a dangerous threat to the patriarchal gender system that is forced upon us in this society. This is why we think that only a political community

that is not afraid of, but embraces gender and sexual diversity, will be able to create a free society.

The Liberation of desire

In a puritanical society where only sex that is procreative and where only desire that reproduces the values and oppressions of society are accepted, the liberation of desire is something to be fought for. A liberatory sexuality is not defined by the rules and expectations of society. We see the issue as not who, how, or what you do, but that it is informed by consent and does not infringe on anyone else's choice. Because we live in an oppressive society, we need to bear in mind the realities of how power and privilege determine who has the ability to act more aggressively on their desires. Often, for example, men use their power to express themselves sexually over women and adults use this power over kids. In order for desire to be liberating, it must incorporate an understanding of how power and privilege play into people's actions.

Queer community

"Queer" is more than just shorthand for gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender. Queer is purposefully in your face, it stands for something more radical than gays in the military and corporate boardrooms. One way in which we use the term "queer" is to draw a line between those lesbians, gays, bi's and transgender people who want to fight and change this society and those who just want their piece of the ruling class pie. Under the umbrella of Queer lies an array of identities and experiences. "Queer" has the advantage of articulating the struggles we have in common as dykes, fags, bi's and transgender people. Arguing about who is at the height of "sexual evolution" is tired and counter-productive. Some people's essentialist categories of "you either are, or you aren't"

be talking about is the realities of differences of power and experience under the hetero-patriarchy, and how those work and are used in and outside of queer communities. Some people don't feel comfortable under the umbrella term "Queer". We support their right to define themselves and we fight with them against heterosexism. To have a truly liberatory politics, we need to understand how differences of power, experience, and oppression manifest themselves within queer communities and in the straight world.

Queer war

Hatred and violence have always been a part of enforcing the norms of patriarchal culture. This is quite obvious in the realm of sexuality and queer liberation. Homophobia is upheld by the ruling class through legislation, court rulings, and their control of the media and education. It is also upheld by violence and the threat of violence against queers at all classes and levels of society. Although homophobia crosses lines of class and race, it is those in power who have tactically divided people by creating scapegoats for the ills of society. This tactic creates hatred of queers, hatred of People of Color, and allows for a climate in which hate groups are able to gain a following and organize. Queer war fights these tendencies with a vengeance! We actively engage in and support direct action organizations who have taken queer pride, queer rights, and AIDS-related issues out into the streets. Queers are also engaged in anti-fascist organizing to stomp out nazis and the Christian Right. Queer war takes no shit!

Anarcha-feminism

Anarcha-feminism combines two movements that are natural complements of each other. Anarchism is fundamentally opposed to the oppression of all people by the church, state and capitalism, all of

which function in the oppression of women. Unfortunately, anarchists in the past did not move beyond opposition to the church and state to an analysis of systems of oppression such as racism and the hetero-patriarchy. Anarchism, despite its doctrine of equality, has proved itself capable of being as much of a boys club as the rest of the world. To be truly cool and revolutionary, the anarchist movement must be feminist.

Meanwhile, certain strains of feminism have always had anti-authoritarian tendencies. Whether specifically anarchist or not, many of the more radical feminist tendencies have been explicitly opposed to the authoritarian patriarchal state in favor of an egalitarian future society. In addition, many feminists have traditionally organized in purposefully non-hierarchical ways, and feminism has produced intense debate about organization, hierarchy and domination within political groups

that still has an influence on anarchist organization (See for example the much-reproduced articles, *The Tyranny of Structurelessness* and *The Tyranny of Tyranny*.)

Of course, these are the contributions of certain tendencies within feminism. Feminism means many things to many people, and it cannot be reduced to one homogenous movement. Many middle and upper class women have viewed feminism as a vehicle to help them enter into the corporate world on an equal footing with men, never challenging their role in the oppression of other women and men. Feminism has long been seen as a white women's thing because white feminists have historically failed to challenge the way that white women also benefit from and reproduce racism. Mainstream feminists have also sought to distance themselves from the struggles of working class women and queer women. There has been a traditional failure to address the interconnectedness of oppression and a tendency to try and boil everything down to the patriarchy, which all women supposedly experience in the same way. However, while white feminists have failed to challenge racism and other oppression and to move beyond simply advocating gender equality in a fucked-up society, recently many radical feminists of Color have changed the face of feminism, contributing an unsurpassed analysis of the complex, interconnected reality of oppression and its multiple effects on oppressed people.

Feminism has played a large part in challenging anarchism to confront oppression in all of its forms. Unfortunately, incredibly insightful and inspiring feminist thought has not always led to the kind of revolutionary liberating action that it seems capable of, outside of mainstream politics. Feminism also has much to gain from anarchism: the motivation of an activist-oriented movement and a vision of how to build a free society.

As anarcha-feminists, we want to combine the most liberating elements of anarchism and feminism and work to build a revolutionary movement that is truly about the liberation of all people. To be a revolutionary force, we need to help redefine feminism, and make it a challenge to not just sexism, but privilege and oppression in all forms. We also need to be committed to not just educating ourselves and learning about oppression, but also to taking action.

Anarcha-feminists are not separatist by principle. We want to create a free society for everyone, in which the idea of two polar-opposite genders is destroyed, not reinforced. We also realize that community is not a one-dimensional thing; it cannot be assumed that there is a "universal sisterhood" that every woman should feel a part of. Of course, since we still live in a fucked-up world, we support the right of all oppressed groups to organize and rendezvous together without the presence of their oppressors, whether it's for survival, sanity, getting stuff done, or just for fun. For the most part, though, our political work involves working with all kinds of progressive people and organizations. Anarcha-feminists organize as feminists within the anarchist movement and as anarchists within feminist and other struggles. For example, within the pro-choice movement anarchists and other radicals have sought to push the definitions of choice to mean full reproductive freedom—not just legalized abortion—for



cause them to promote the myth that bisexuality is just a passing stage on the way to real outness. This is as equally stupid as proclaiming that bisexuality is inherently more anarchistic or liberated than strict homo or heterosexuality because it breaks down sexual categories. What we should

all women to make decisions about their own lives and bodies without fear of forced sterilization, rape, inadequate or abusive medical care, poverty, sexual abuse, homophobia, etc. There are many non-anarchist direct action feminist groups that anti-authoritarians can work within and support. Anarcha-feminists can push feminist struggles to challenge oppression in all forms, and to be more grassroots, anti-authoritarian and action-oriented.

The end of the boys' clubs

Any anti-authoritarian movement, if it is to be able to pose a serious threat to oppression and hierarchy, must be committed to fighting sexism, within the movement and in society as a whole. This means that any revolutionary movement must be explicitly feminist. We call for the end of the boys' clubs, whether they're sponsored by the forces of oppression or the Left. To ensure that yet another revolutionary movement doesn't put off women's liberation until "after the revolution", we support the existence of an autonomous women's movement that works within and without contemporary anti-authoritarian movements, in the spirit of the Spanish *Mujeres Libres*. This is no call for another white middle class second wave feminism, but genuine revolutionary feminist movements that develop spontaneously out of all kinds of different cultures and experiences.

However, it isn't women's job to change men. Just as "whites" must abolish the white race as *whites*, men have a responsibility for smashing patriarchy as *men*. This society is male dominated at almost every level, and being defined as male by this society gives you certain privileges in it, whatever your race, class or sexual orientation.

It should be clear, however, that not all men are created equal. Queer men get bashed by heterosexuals, bosses push around the working poor. The webs of power in this society are multiple and complex. However, the oppressions men experience do not justify their domination of women. Men need to acknowledge the privileges this society gives them over women and take responsibility for changing themselves and challenging sexism. To encourage a plurality of genders, we have to abolish the masculine/feminine duality. The paradox is that to do that, men must take responsibility and act as *men*. By this we do not mean men take responsibility as macho saviors of humanity nor as spineless, whiny, Robert Bly-types who blubber that "men are oppressed, too", but as persons who, because they are defined as male in this society, are therefore granted power over women, and who make a commitment to ending this unequal and unjust power relationship.

Self-determination for the disabled

We support the right to self-determination and the struggle for equality of people with all physical and mental abilities. Without access, there cannot be equality, therefore we support efforts to make all aspects of public space and life more accessible for disabled people.

The medical and psychiatric establishments have been used extensively as agents of social control against people of Color, queers, women, and agitators and rebels of all types. All of these factors have been intensified especially for people with

physical or mental differences. Recently, there has been much exciting self-organizing of people against medical and psychiatric abuse, forced hospitalization, medication and assimilation, and psychiatric social control. We want to work to build more ties between such righteous struggles and the anarchist movement.

Children's liberation

The oppression of children plays a vital role in this society as a means of perpetuating existing social conditions and power relations. The chief goal in the education and bringing up of children is to create a future generation that will carry on the values of this society. Social control of children, attempting to control the way kids think, teaching them to conform rather than rebel, and enforcing social roles and norms of behavior and values, begins early and intensifies with age. This is the pattern that attempts to shape the adults of the future, fitting them into the constraints of an oppressive, hierarchical society. Obviously, this takes different forms depending on the place the child and her/his family have in a capitalist, racist, and patriarchal society.

Social control of kids is legitimized by not distinguishing it from protective physical control of small children. In the language of adult authority, there is no difference between physically restraining a toddler from running into the street and brainwashing kids to like cops in DARE programs or trying to scare them into "moral behavior" by teaching them lies about sex or drugs.

Age itself is an arbitrary concept which arbitrarily categorizes people without taking into account differences in development or experience. Because kids are legally under control of their parents until they are at least sixteen or eighteen, and full adult rights are not given to people until they are twenty-one or even older in some situations, oppression of children covers an incredibly wide range of experiences, abilities and independence. Self-determination and liberation mean something different for a small child, who is still dependent on her/his parents, than they do for a teenager. Therefore, we support self-determination and liberation of people of all ages, while recognizing the complexity of human development and the different meanings of children's liberation for kids at different stages of mental and physical development. Above all, children's liberation must be conceptualized and understood from the point of view of the child, not the adult. Kid's lib is for kids.

Anarchists and anti-imperialism

While it is true, as standard anarchist theory argues, that every nation-state, including every "Third World" nation, is by nature imperialist (witness Guatemala's claim on Belize or Indonesia's

brutal occupation of East Timor), it is not true that all nation-states and their imperialisms are created equal. The United States is an imperial power unmatched by any in the twentieth century, and its self-appointed role as global cop has oppressed all of Latin America, much of the Mideast, the Caribbean, and significant parts of Africa and Asia. Soon it will bring its imperial guns and corporate gold to Eastern Europe. The United States is by far the biggest power in the world, and as a



result its imperialism and colonialism (internal and external) are the most vast and vicious in the world. Any anarchist strategy that does not recognize this fact is a dead strategy.

One of the reasons the anarchist movement is so weak today is because it has waffled on the issues of imperialism and nationalism. On the one hand we want to support popular struggles against oppression, but on the other hand we don't want to support nationalist groups (especially if they are Marxist-Leninist) because we realize that these movements simply trade one set of oppressors for another. While this is true, the usual anarchist responses to this dilemma: a) to ignore it or b) to call for "class fronts instead of nationalist fronts," are cop-outs or historical anachronisms. Imperialism divides the working class. There can't be global working class solidarity as long as there is super-exploitation of some working class peoples (like in the Third World) and relative privilege among others (like the North American, Japanese and European working classes). Anarchists need to support the struggles of the super-exploited all over the world, even if they take a nationalist form, because the current inequality in exploitation between the first and Third World leads to an inequality of interests within the global working class. We must recognize that some states and imperialisms are far worse than others.

Likewise, some nationalisms are worse than others. In the main, nationalism has been an oppressive force in this world. However, national liberation struggles have the potential, if the anti-authoritarian forces within them can overcome the statist and bourgeois limits of nationalism, to destroy the global network of nation-states itself. A diversity of politics always exists within a nation and a

national liberation struggle, and calls for "national unity" are usually calls by nationalist vanguards to suppress other insurgent opinions. As revolutionaries in the metropole, we are looking to support the insurgents: like-minded anti-authoritarian revolutionaries in the colonized countries. Therefore, we will support all anti-authoritarian, spontaneous, genuinely bottom-up uprisings anywhere in the globe: township organizations in the Black bantustans of South Africa, the Pal-

estinian Intifada, the anti-authoritarians in the Euskadi autonomy movement in Spain and France, etc. If these kinds of movements are not full-fledged in a particular struggle, we will support and encourage the anti-authoritarian tendencies within the traditional national liberation movements that do exist.

This does not mean that we completely support every national liberation struggle, nor do we support every nationalist movement's practices. We lend our critical support to the bottom-up,

democratic anti-authoritarian moments within national liberation struggles, and hope they blossom into genuine organized tendencies. Again, this is the paradox of revolutionary anarchist strategy: The structures of capital and the nation-state force us to struggle against them on their terms (that is, with an anti-imperialist, national struggle), but the only way to break down the borders that nationalist movements perpetuate is by supporting the anti-authoritarian tendencies within these statist national liberation movements.

If anarchism is to be a vital force in world revolution, it must address the national question in a realistic manner. Nationality has been largely created and used by a ruling class in order to create a sense of unity between them and the working classes of their land. This "unity" or sense of nationality allows the ruling class to freely exploit and colonize people from other lands without resistance at home. However, much to the distress of the ruling classes, nationalism is also used against them in national liberation movements, which rally scattered persons and cultures together around "the nation" to overthrow their imperialist oppressor. There is no reason why these movements cannot overthrow the concept of "the nation" (and the vanguards who would rule them) as well. If anarchism must address the national question and critically support national liberation struggles, it must also seek out and encourage the anti-authoritarian elements within nationalist and anti-imperialist struggles in order to encourage them to develop democratic, participatory, egalitarian, nonhierarchical structures. Anarchists are organized in imperialist countries; why not organized anarchists in national liberation struggles?

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A PEOPLE BORN REBELLIOUS AND DIGNIFIED

The Uprising in Chiapas Takes a Notch Out of NAFTA and the New World Order

by joel

January 1, 1994: a fine night for a party, a fine night for a rebellion. While most of us in North America were toasting the new year, 2000 guerillas from the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (Zapatista National Liberation Army, or EZLN) calmly marched into seven towns in the Mexican state of Chiapas, occupied the municipal buildings, burned official documents, opened food warehouses to the poor, gutted town halls, liberated over 230 prisoners in attacks on four prisons, and thus began the first battle against NAFTA and the new global economic order. Welcome to 1994.

Preconditions for the Class War

But before the party came poverty and as everyone now knows, poverty is vast and deep in Chiapas. In this land of 3.5 million people, 43% of the population live in homes without plumbing and 35% of

Meanwhile, Mexico ranks fourth in the number of billionaires in the world. The number of *maquiladoras* (factories along the U.S.-Mexican border) has skyrocketed from 600 to 2000 between 1982 and 1990, but the buying power of the Mexican minimum wage has sunk from \$7 to \$4 per day in the same time period. But don't worry: the vast majority of Chiapas's population (80%) doesn't make minimum wage, anyway. Clearly, Chiapas's poverty has nothing to do with a lack of material resources but is directly related to the massive plunder of its resources and labor by the Mexican ruling class.

The obvious conclusion to draw from this is that Chiapas is dirt poor, therefore it rebelled. And there's a lot of truth in this. As Bishop Samuel Ruiz Garcia said, "We don't need to look for the ulterior motive for the conflict—hunger does not have an ideology." And indeed, it is the poorest communities in Chiapas that are

wrote in August 1992, five months before the uprising, "Human dignity is not only the right of those who have their basic living conditions resolved, but also [belongs to those] who own no material belongings." In an interview with Robert Orvetz, Marcos explained that the attack on San Cristobal did not make the town a liberated zone, but instead was a "call of attention" for Mexico and the world that "the Indians have raised their heads with dignity."

Of course, poverty, class relations between the rich and the poverty-stricken and the absence of dignity among oppressed people are inseparable issues because dignity necessarily implies a minimal dignified standard of living and thus some sort of fair distribution of wealth. But poverty and class oppression alone do not make a revolution. If it did, the world would have erupted in revolt thousands of years ago. Along with revolutionary organization among the oppressed, the desire to have a say in the affairs that affect one's daily life and the desire to be respected and esteemed in one's community is also essential.

As an EZLN statement printed in the Mexican journal *La Jornada* proclaims, "The dilemma is not 'peace with democracy or hardship.' The true dilemma for us is peace with dignity or war with dignity." It is the lack of dignity and ability to have a political voice in their communities have led many Chiapacenos to join the EZLN. "Whatever the case," Marcos writes, "We will have the opportunity to die in battle fighting instead of dying of dysentery, as the indigenous people of Chiapas usually die."

A New and Dignified Revolution

The fact that the struggle for dignity is at least as important as the struggle against capital to the Chiapacenos explains why the EZLN's main demands are for democracy and liberty, even before the elimination of poverty. As their January 6 declaration states, "The grave conditions of the poverty of our compatriots has one common cause; the lack of liberty and democracy." Of course, liberty and democracy have been the war cry of all socialist revolutions, but most revolutions of the 20th century (Russia, Cuba, China, Vietnam, etc.) have been unable to deliver the goods, and often deliver the exact opposite.

One reason for this is because these revolutions have been led by revolutionary vanguard parties whose primary goal is not democracy but to seize state power and to transform the relations of production from capitalism to socialism; democracy



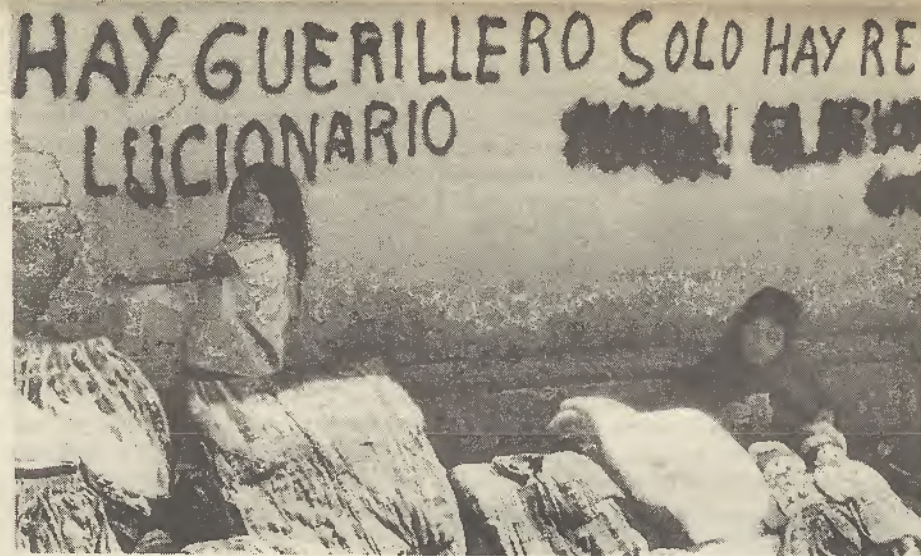
Lucia, 18, EZLN lieutenant

and liberty were assumed to be inevitable by-products of workers (or their vanguard) seizing the state and the means of production. Unfortunately, as we all well know by now, democracy and liberty do not naturally follow after the fall of the ruling class, and that often times the new vanguard is just as anti-democratic and oppressive as the old elites.

The Zapatista strategy has flipped this model on its head. Instead of declaring that seizing the state and the means of production is by definition democracy, the Zapatistas are demanding democracy and liberty first, and the redistribution of wealth is seen as a necessary (but secondary) part of achieving a just and free society. This strategy is made plain in their January 6 declaration, in which they state, "We consider that authentic respect of liberty and democratic will of the people are the indispensable prerequisites for the improvement of the economic and social conditions of the dispossessed of our country."

For the Zapatistas, then, political demands come first, and then economic ones. This is consistent with their demands for dignity. Ending poverty—which necessarily requires a vast redistribution of wealth and a change in property relations—is only a part, though certainly a key one, of the struggle for dignity and freedom and equality.

This strategy is especially clear with respect to their political demands. The EZLN has explicitly stated that their goal is not to become the new Boss but to ensure free and fair elections so that people can choose their own bosses. This plan of course has its limitations (who wants bosses and politicians anyway?), but it indicates that the Zapatistas are more interested in democracy and the autonomy of Mexico's indigenous communities than they are in ruling the land. (The EZLN, interestingly, calls elected officials "administrative authorities", which implies that the main decision-making power might lie in the



"In the state of Chiapas there are no guerillas, only revolutionaries."

Photo by D. Kakkak, The Circle

homes lack electricity, despite the fact that 55% of Mexico's hydro-electric energy and 20% of its total electrical energy comes from Chiapas. There are only .3 hospital beds and .5 doctors for every 1000 persons; compare that with 7 hotel rooms for every 1000 tourists who visit the region. Per capita income is a paltry \$965 a year.

It's not as if Chiapas has no wealth, though. In addition to electrical power, the region produces 35% of Mexico's coffee and is home to big cattle ranches, forestry, crude oil pumping, and agriculture. However, most of what is produced in Chiapas is exported internationally or to other regions of Mexico, and Chiapacenos receive little for their labors.

rebellious.

Yet poverty alone does not make a rebellion. In order for people to rebel, extreme poverty must be accompanied by two things. The first is the existence of a revolutionary movement in communities—the EZLN provides this. The second and equally important partner to poverty is the sense among people that they have lost their status, respect, and—in one word—their dignity in the community they live in.

And in fact, the importance of dignity among the indigenous peoples of Chiapas has been a constant theme in Zapatista declarations and interviews. As EZLN spokesperson Subcommandante Marcos

people instead of elected officials.)

"We will not take the country hostage," Marcos claims, "We neither want nor are able to impose on civilian Mexican society our ideas by the force of our arms, as the current government imposes its project on the country with the force of its arms." Like Zapata himself, the EZLN seems to be mostly interested in community autonomy and decentralized forms of governance and in fighting any political force (such as the Mexican government) that would prevent them from doing this. For them, the result of revolutionary change "will not be that of a party, organization or alliance of triumphant organizations with a specific social program, but rather a democratic political space to resolve confrontations between diverse political proposals." If genuine, this commitment to a "democratic political space" is what is most exciting about the Zapatista's revolt, for it potentially holds a vision of a radically anti-authoritarian future.

Internationalizing a National Struggle

The struggle for dignity, democracy, and a decent standard of living has a long history in Chiapas, a history the Zapatistas are consciously drawing upon in justifying their struggle. As the excellent analysis of the uprising in the March/April issue of *Love and Rage* points out, the current rebellion has two starting points: 1492 and 1910.

By claiming to be fighting in the spirit of the 1910 Mexican Revolution, the EZLN not only invoke the memories of Mexican heroes like the peasant leader Emiliano Zapata, they also invoke the Mexican Constitution, a direct product of the Revolution. The EZLN justifies their rebellion by stating that they have tried all other peaceful means of protest to no avail, and that therefore by taking up arms they are simply following Article 39 of the Constitution, which states that "the people [of Mexico] have, at all times, the inalienable right to alter or modify their form of government." "Our struggle," the Zapatistas announce, "follows the Constitution which is held high by its call for justice and equality."

The EZLN also constantly emphasizes the fact that it is a mostly-indigenous group and that their struggle is not only a Mexican one justified by the Constitution, it is also an indigenous struggle that has continued for 500 years. Situating their struggle as both indigenous and as Mexican seems to be a contradiction. How is it that an indigenous struggle, which almost by definition extends beyond the artificial borders of the nation-state, can at the same time be nationalist, justified by the Constitution and "the beloved tri-colored flag" of Mexico, which is "highly respected by our insurgent fighters"? This apparent contradiction is often cited as either proof of the Zapatista's ideological confusion and peasant-like simplicity or a serious contradiction that threatens the anti-authoritarian and indigenous character of their movement.

However, instead of seeing the simultaneously indigenous and national character of the Zapatista's struggle as a contradiction, it is more useful (and probably more accurate) to see the EZLN's move as a deliberate strategy that does what few other socialist revolutions have been able to do, and that is to internationalize a national struggle.

The imperialism that NAFTA repre-

sents does two things to people in North America: 1) it divides the working classes of the continent between the relatively privileged workers of the North (U.S. and Canada) and the largely impoverished workers and peasants of the South; and 2) it destroys indigenous land claims, cultures, and peoples. In bald language, NAFTA is class war and genocide by the rich in one fell swoop. The Zapatistas are resisting on both fronts by combining indigenous and national struggles and by demanding a free and democratic body politic.

Combining indigenous and national liberation struggles cleverly ties racism and indigenous issues to resistance to capitalism in a way achieved only in theory up to now. In an interview, Marcos appealed specifically to Chicanos of the U.S. and of all Americans to fight NAFTA in solidarity with the EZLN, and judging by the number of demonstrations in support of the Zapatistas in North America led primarily by Chicanos and Native Americans, they seem to have struck a chord.

Historically, socialist movements have tried to internationalize class struggle within national liberation struggles by calling for international workers' solidarity. By and large, these attempts have failed to stir workers in other countries, largely due to the racism and reformism of the trade unions and the white working class. The Zapatistas are using a new tactic to internationalize their national struggle by appealing not to workers but to resistance against racism and the oppres-



La Revolución Contra la Dictadura Porfiriana, by David Alfaro Siqueiros

sion of indigenous peoples of the Americas. If the dignity of humans is as important as the Zapatistas claim it is, and in a world where racism against indigenous peoples and other people of color is the main barrier preventing equality, freedom, and a dignified life in the Americas (especially in the United States), the Zapatistas' strategy may have a much better chance at success than movements based on workers or peasants' solidarity.

Understanding the Negotiations

One curious aspect of the uprising is how quickly negotiations were initiated. It is no surprise that the government wanted to negotiate quickly, with elections coming in six months, but why should the Zapatistas, victorious even as they abandoned the towns and melted back into the mountains, negotiate with a government so corrupt that it drove Chiapacenos to arms in the first place?

The Zapatista's demands, if met in full would effectively mean a revolution (which, as Marc Cooper of the *Village Voice*

notes, demonstrates the ingenuity of the Zapatistas: there's no need to call for revolution when the simple demand for political reform will have the same effect). Their demands are as simple as they are broad: the resignation of Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari and the establishment of an interim government until "free and fair" elections can be held in August; political reform at all levels of government; enough doctors, medicine and hospitals; an end to discrimination against indigenous peoples; electricity, roads, and potable water; as well as access to appliances like TVs, fridges, and stoves—things most of us take for granted. If they can wrangle any of these things out of the government and maintain their dignity, we should applaud them for their success.

And there has been some success. The agreement recently reached by the Mexican government and the EZLN promises job retraining programs, the creation of new industries in Chiapas, government support for Mexican products that face tough competition under NAFTA, and a promise to enact anti-discrimination legislation against indigenous peoples, which would be the first of its kind in Mexico.

But not all demands have been met, nor will they ever as long as the ruling political party the PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) stays in power. While it has been relatively easy for Salinas and his stooges to throw money and economic programs at Chiapas, the PRI cannot and will not ever give in voluntarily to the broader political demands made by the Zapatistas. Nor will Salinas' market-oriented economic transformations of the Mexican economy (of which NAFTA is an integral part) be seriously modified.

This is because of the fundamental contradiction of the capitalist state: on the one hand, the state claims to be a democratic and egalitarian political body while on the other it consistently defends the interests of one class over another. As Mexico's Center for Human Rights points out, the possibilities of negotiations are

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NAFTA: KISS OUR magic butt

The decisive winner of World War II was the USA. Germany was a total loss, from an industrial capitalist point of view. Britain and France lost nearly all of their imperial property in two fast decades after V-E Day. Even surrender didn't save Japan from history's only atomic attack.

The U.S. rich knew that in order to dominate the global economy, they had to build one first. So the gov't, banks, and industrialists went to work in Europe and Japan.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade marked America's first effort to discipline the toddler global economy. In the late '40s, the U.S. called a series of meetings in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, and summoned corporate and gov't elites from more than 100 countries. GATT was signed in 1948. It standardized world trade in favor of industrial powers, who, under "free" trade, were free to plunder the so-called Third World.

Through eight rounds of renegotiation of GATT, the countries of the North kept their legal power to drain raw materials from the South and sell food-stuffs, technology, and consumer goods back. The eighth round, named for its host country, Uruguay, was begun in 1986.

In the 41 years since the War, the global economy came of age. The old GATT would no longer do. U.S. based capitalists needed to change

strategy. They went into the Uruguay round determined to extend GATT to lending, insuring, and information services; they needed to abolish developing countries' defenses, such as Mexico's law requiring Mexican businesses to be majority-owned by Mexican investors. They only got some of what they wanted, but they're still pushing.

The North American Free Trade Agreement, among Canada, Mexico, and the U.S., was partly an effort to get what they wanted by arm-twisting only two countries, as opposed to over a hundred. It was also a move against the European Economic Community's attempts at unification.

Some effects of NAFTA and GATT:

*U.S. food-stuffs will flood the Mexican market, driving 13 million peasants from the land in search of urban jobs. Shanty towns boom in the industrial parks of U.S. and other foreign factories, called *maquiladoras*. Factory wages will crash. In the last decade, Mexican wages plunged 60%.

*As much as 70% of the U.S. working class may be hurt. In the last decade, real wages in the U.S. fell back to the level of the mid-60s.

*Tiny victories of ecologists in the both the North and South will be crushed. Laws against overpackaging, toxins, or dolphin meat in tuna will be ruled illegal "barriers" to "free" trade.

*Globally, the gap between rich and poor countries has doubled since 1960. The chasm is widening.

*Look for more U.N. peacekeeping missions. The rich countries, especially the U.S., have sold the rulers of the poor nations that the U.N. should focus on military-police actions, not on development. Look for "Third World" soldiers fighting in the "Third World" at the behest of the world's rich. Like Pakistani peace keepers in Somalia.

The response to NAFTA has been swift, militant, and politically on-target. In their early communiques, the Zapatistas demanded:

*"Suspend the robbery of our natural resources."

*"Foreign countries will pay their workers an hourly salary in national money" equal to "what would be paid in dollars outside the country."

*"The prices of basic products will be regulated by a local Prices and Salaries commission...composed of workers, settlers, land-owners, merchants, and freely and democratically-elected authorities."

Remember: The enemy isn't just the nation-state. The rich turds who are pushing NAFTA and GATT are based in the U.S. only because they like their suburbs. They want NAFTA and GATT to let money flow with no national borders.

(Nikolas Kautz)

BLAST: What's the Universal Vibe Squad and what's it all about?

Oneself: I'll put it like this: UVS is a gang of brothers, basically before we get into the music we're a group of brothers who chill, you know hang out with each other. So therefore we deal with each other on that base and the fact that we knew each other for long periods of time, and then other aspects fall into it, you know, say for example when you're a shorty when you a kid you have neighborhood groups just kickin it and playing ball and as we get together some people drift away some people stay. So you might as well say we're a group of brothers who's kickin it witeach other from high school, and we were always into rap and stuff like that, and so now we're chillin with all of our people, and now you know we're taking it to another level of political, politically wise hip hop. Making sure all of our hip hop is on point. Making sure we stick together you know, as much as possible.

Truth Maze: You know as I think of the Vibe Squad on a daily basis, I always think about connection, I always think about camaraderie, all that other stuff that on one level I guess I see a lack of today. But there has to be purpose to me for people to want to gather together. You just can't do it because of hap hazard notions. So I say that we're trying to stay together, one to understand unity and understand how to work with each other, understand animosity, so that we can be better equipped to deal with things in the future.

BLAST: The whole Universal Vibe Squad is back in school now - Why's that?

TM: I would say primarily why we're in school, I'm gonna tell you, I'm in school cuz I know on one level my whole existence was gaffled before I was even born. You know I was being conceived in the womb, everything basically for me as a brother has been already fuckkked up so I look at the excuse or whatever the so called norm is and I try to combat that I try to look at it as a challenge. I'm going to school cuz I know half the shit they're telling me I already know but without descriptive definition in terms of what they feel is how to define whatever you know, what have you. So I think it's up to us to go to school and then in turn use against the system what it is that we're internalizing.

BLAST: But isn't that the same folks who are teaching at school?

TM: I can't say that just like you are my problem but I would have to say that you could easily be my problem. The instructor could easily be my problem, simply because if I have a question that she can't deal wit, then I know basically she doesn't really know what she's teaching. She is a part of the problem because she doesn't know that she is. So it's not that I'm gonna get up and just slash her or attack her it's just that I'll sit there and I'll deal with her intellectually. Because that's what they want to play on. That's the level.

OS: Oneself chillin in the house, they gaffled us last time in that Lick interview. That was mad booty and I want you to print that too. In this Lick interview they just put me up on the front mode and that wasn't supposed to happen. I felt mad uncomfortable. Amongst the brothers weez buggin. It was mad ill. But one of the reasons I'm in school is to get some of the information and extract cuz i feel, as my man is saying, when we're inside these actual schools it's like the rib cage of how shit actually functions. This is the same people that I'm alongside with are gonna be against me, you know what I'm saying. And I feel there's no better way to get the information of the people who's oppressing me, but by chillin in their schools, you know. And one thing is just to make sure you don't get caught up. Cuz if you see us just pounding on your brain 24-7 all the way around you this and that. I'll put it like this: speaking is one way to get your oppress on, and then there's the art which is the visual and that influences you, damn like when you see European Jesus's and shit like that. So I'm dealing with it from that aspect. Got crazy lecture classes I'll be sittin there just listening to all his bullshit. I remember when our teacher, he gives in detail everything that's on the slide, and there was a point in time there was the introduction of the first Black people we saw throughout the whole course and that was one thing he just happened to miss upon. So then I had to bring it to his attention and I found out he didn't have that much information. So that let's me know what he has to give me. So in other words I'm not gonna get caught up in all that other bullshit, I know what I'm here for, I'm here to extract and then turn around and back off. Caleb: I'm in school to just put me up on better doing my arts. Art documents what happens throughout history. Art always documents the large scale events while whatever's goin on that's what my paintings will document. Plus I get large checks for assistance. Blast: Do you think Hip Hop can change things? Politically do you think it's a sufficient tool?

TM: Fuck no! I think basically people are gonna get up off there ass after they're tired of getting beat in their face, after their kids are just tired of gettin fucked. I feel like hip hop is being pimped just like

"What we doing is just flauntin our cultural ability."-Truth Maze

Inside the Universal Vibe Squad is the Micranots and the Fat Rhyme Sector - the definition of active hip hop in the Twin Cities. Write for tapes and info.

"It's not something that's taught it's just like the inspiration that you're born with - where do you take that to? Are you gonna front on yourself? Do what somebody else says is the fine and phat shit to do? Or are you just gonna do the real shit? You gonna do the shit that needs to be done." - New Sense

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**Micranots
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(612) 680-2347**

everything else, you know what I'm saying. So to me it all depends on the person. I think one of the main things about the struggle and hip hop in general is people are too fuckin petty, you know what I'm sayin, they don't even look at the long haul of the whole process that's happening. I think there's a way to be within a process and try to get some understanding of what the fuck you're gonna be doing at least five years from now. I think that hip hop is not really gonna do it. I think hip hop is only one extension of the musics that have always been trying to liberate people's minds: And all the music's always get pimped.

OS: I put it like this: for the masses it may not be a tool, but for some individuals it may be a tool. Hip hop basically saved my life and I know it saved a gang of other peoples lives. I'll put it like this, this is bug, I was breakin down this analogy: when you were a shorty hip hop basically influenced your life to the utmost because you didn't have any responsibilities, you was livin under moms roof, you know what I'm saying so then it came to a point when you got older and then you couldn't just kick it and stay out all night and play, get your drink on, breakdance, and do your graffitti because you know schools happening, when you graduate from college or what have you - Moms needs money so therefore you may not be able to do what you used to be able to do so therefore you have to resort to other things and I feel that's where some people got caught up. You know like a lot of brothers, when crack came into the hood, I remember brothers back in the days we used to do graffitti then fools just got caught up in the gang mentalities. I could of got busted I could of been on the crack. So I feel it's very essential that hip hop stays to its roots of how it used to be and I'm gonna preserve it within my everyday action and life because I know how important it was for me.

BLAST: What I was saying I guess was what's the next step from singing about revolution to getting there?

OS: I feel that we'll be pumping it out here and there but at this point in time I feel that talking about the revolution in cuts is just mad played out, it's kinda like repetitive. Remember back when Public Enemy first came out - there were all these little spring off groups "ill beats", "all we need is beats." So I don't want to get caught up in that, you know what I'm saying. So I feel that I'll be taking it to another level outside of my music. When I rap on stage that's one thing and then when I get off stage that's another thing. I feel that Micranots will be taking a stand and I feel UVS will be taking a stand from off the stage.

TM: The one thing I keep getting confused about is how to see this thing called the struggle, because I always have to go "no, nope that viewpoint that was cool, for a little while, but that's not working William, gotta dig a little deeper" Cuz I'm looking at how big the idea of revolution is. I can't really say that I really wanna be doing some old half ass shit on wax when really really really to me you gotta get out and go to where the people are and you gotta sit down with them and you gotta put this shit together like a puzzle. Cuz you're gonna be learning while they're learning because people I notice sometimes don't look at the gifts they already got. So it's on like "who's the leader today? Duh you are." It's kinda like well what the hell am I? "Oh, I'm just a docile servant I'll follow you around, I'll pass out your papers..." That's bullshit, you know what I'm saying, you gotta go and chill with the people. Just saying like for example to say certain real important people to the liberation struggle on wax sometimes is useless unless we take it to another level. Until we take it to another level. It's not just gonna be hip hop artists, like I said, it's gotta be people period. It's good to hear names and they spark you, and they say "who was that?" But in your day to day living how many books you gonna pick up. To me it's gonna have to be Each One Teach One hands on let's get this shit together because people can sit and do this shit from way up here if we want to and we gotta get together, but no the real shit's happening right down here, you know.

OS: Mad people be tryin to say we egotistical, we all this and we're all that. But they fail to realize the vibe that they're projecting on us.

BLAST: Where are women in Twin Cities hip hop?

CR: First of all I'm the DJ, the producer of the Micranots. It's like this: there's a lot of females who've come to me talking. A while back a sister came to me and said "why ain't you helping no sisters out?" and this and that. I told her straight up I help out anybody it's just to me it seems like sisters isn't helping themselves out. I'd rather work with a sister than another brother to tell you the truth, you know what I'm saying. I wanna do it, so if anybody's out there & they got some lyrics and stuff they can come, they can contact Micranots.

TM: You know what, my point of view on sisters in hip hop is as soon as woman and men stop looking at each other from oppositional points of view. Sisters in hip hop need to state their place and move forward. They don't need us to back them up, they need to do what they feel because we understand that the nature of oppression of women is just inbred into this country.

BLAST: Anything new coming out of the Twin Cities?

Caleb: Coming out around Spring Fat Rhyme Sector's dropping some shit called "Breathe Easy." So breathe easy.

OS: Once again it's on. Second chapter of the Micranots Catacomb Files. Getting much deeper, more grittier, more nastier, more on point, more tight all of that, you know what I'm saying. Getting mad ill - we out.

THE CRIME BILL: AN ATTACK ON PEOPLE OF COLOR



by Justine Abinni

"White addicts outnumber African-American addicts five-one, but the war on drugs has been fought mainly against Blacks."

"The first duty of any government is to try to keep its citizens safe", Clinton said on August 11. Safe from whom?

"In Minnesota, while sentences for child sexual abuse are longer than those for armed robbery, the courts are more likely to depart from the guidelines and give child sex abusers probation. As it happens, child sex abusers tend to be white, while convicted armed robbers tend to be Black."

Knowing the history of the conquest of "America", the genocide of indigenous peoples, the importation and enslavement of African peoples, the history of white power movements, of lynchings, of torture, the Japanese internment camps, the "Indian" reservations, the organized government-sponsored destruction of radical movements such as the Black Panther Party and the MOVE organization that fought for the freedom and independence of their peoples, U.S. imperialism abroad and attempts to control "third world" governments and exploit "third world" labor, the Clinton administration's proposed new Crime Bill, and the crime bill initiatives that have preceded it absolutely come as no surprise.

If the Crime Bill passes into law it would add 52 offences to the list of federal crimes punishable by death, including drive-by shootings and killing federal cops and FBI agents; impose restrictions on death row appeals; and institute mandatory life sentences for people convicted of three violent felonies. It would also increase mandatory minimum sentences (which have been shown to effect non-white prisoners disproportionately), mandate that juveniles age 13 and older be prosecuted as adults for certain federal offences, and add 100,000 police to local police forces, who would become more under the control of the federal government due to an increase in federal subsidies.

The bill would also allow for the deportation of "aliens" lawfully residing in this country without telling them the charges against them or

who made the charges, with the justification that the "alien" is a threat to national security. It would also deny federal benefits to lawfully entered "aliens" currently able to receive them and force state and local agencies, including schools and health providers, to provide information to the INS about a person's immigration status.

Further, the bill would grant the F.B.I. access to citizens' telephone records without a warrant; allocate money for 10 new regional federal prisons and new "boot camp" style prisons for arrested youth; ban the manufacture, sale, and possession of 19 semi-automatic weapons; make "being a member of a street gang", "conspiring to be a member of a street gang" and "inducing someone to be a member of a street gang," federal crimes; and permit the president to decree a "drug emergency area" in which the government could "take all necessary actions to save lives and protect property," including directing "any federal agency" to send in its troops. It would allocate \$345.5 million on new drug-war personnel, offer money to schools for metal detectors and other security measures, punish parents of so called "criminal youth", and fund the development of a national "criminal background check" and data base of "offenders".

The price tag on all this is \$22 billion dollars. It's estimated that, to pay for this, 252,000 employees would have to be cut from the federal payroll, which would undoubtedly result in less money available for other types of social programs.

Crime bill initiatives over the last several administrations reflect one thing: the U.S. government is not interested in examining the root causes of crime. Big sur-

prise? Nope! Because that would mean having to take a long hard look at the root causes of oppression that exist along race and class lines in this society, heavily implicating the capitalist and racist agenda of those in positions of power, from the judicial system to corporate heads to the president to legislators, Democrat and Republican alike. It is not in the ruling class's interests to examine institutionalized racism, police brutality, the failure of band-aid style social programs, and harsh limitations on immigration, because the ruling class systematically created these things.

Yea, there's been some ongoing debates in Congress over the last several years about the efficiency of certain crime bill measures and whether they will actually deter "crime", but again they are very careful to avoid any discussion of the causes of crime and are not even examining the constitutionality of the bill, which is the least they could do. Instead, politicians are competing to see who can come up with the toughest crime measures. There have been no hearings in the Senate about the bill, and the only major rumblings of concern have come from the House via the Congressional Black Caucus.

The crime bill that is presently on the table has its roots in punishment-focused proposals that came out of the Reagan and Bush administrations. Sen. Joseph Biden, D-Del., chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee and core author of the bill, included many aspects of Bush's proposal, but was actually let down by Bush's package in 1991 because it did nothing to increase the number of cops. The fact of the matter is that the controversies over

whether or not to limit death row appeals, or put restrictions on the production and sales of semiautomatic weapons, or charge youth as adult offenders are controversies that transcend party politics.

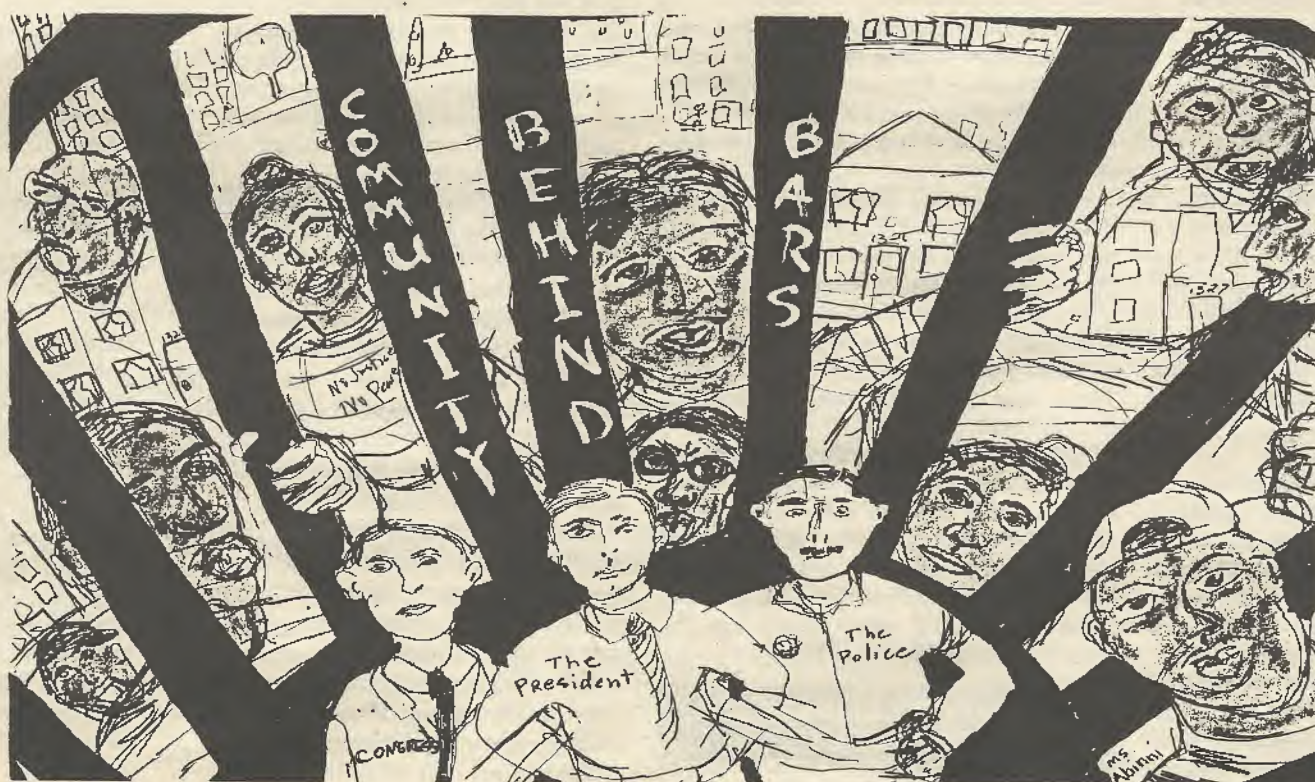
For example, check out Minnesota's beloved Republican Sen. Durenberger's reasons for voting against the crime bill. He says that crime problems stem from a general breakdown in community and family relationships (gee I wonder how he feels about Gay parenting?), and that they need to be addressed as public health problems. He says he fundamentally opposes "abortion and the death penalty and the taking of the lives of others." Even though he didn't support the passage of the bill his pro-life Christian agenda is equally as abhorrent and obviously has negative implications for women.

Then there's Minnesota's Democrat, Sen. Wellstone, who actually has reservations on expanded death penalties. But, he voted for the bill in the Senate so that his amendments, one which authorizes \$60 million to set up centers where violence-prone families could meet for court-ordered visits, and another which would prohibit people convicted of domestic assault crimes from possessing guns, would be accepted. In Wellstone's case, liberal measures intended to curb violence against women are being used to justify a racist crime policy. As we can see by the example of these two Minnesota senators, whether Republican or Democrat, there is no real interest in examining the flaws of government and how it perpetuates racism through legislation and court rulings; the liberal/conservative dichotomy does not apply, because both are proving that they serve the interests of the ruling class and not the people.

Already, without this new punishment-focused crime bill, the U.S. has the highest incarceration rate in the world, with African American men making up the highest percentage arrested and prosecuted. Those crimes that are to be punished harshest under the crime bill are those that Black men are most often prosecuted for.

The new crime bill needs to be seen as a part of a continuum of violence against people of color in America. Much of what the crime bill mandates will directly affect the lives of African Ameri-

continued pg. 27



No gun, no lineup, no eyewitnesses, no prints, missing suspects, nameless jurors, no wiretap, no money for quality defense, no medical report, crooked snitches, no police sketch,

NO CASE.

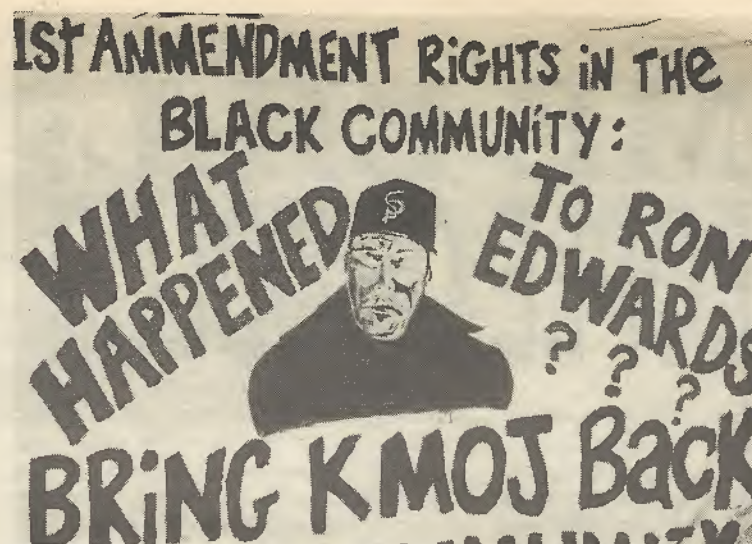
The only thing this murder mystery DOES have is a body. Oh, yeah. And eight patsies.

by Nikolas Kautz

Typically, investigators of a major crime form and reject at least one hypothesis before hitting on the lead that results in a conviction. In the recent World Trade Center bombing, for example, the Feds at first said they suspected Serbian terrorists. Then, allegedly acting on tips, they dumped that theory and indicted worshippers at a New Jersey mosque.

The case of the Minnesota Eight is atypical in many ways. The most glaring oddity is that the pet theory cooked up at the crime scene, minutes after the fatal shooting of a Minneapolis cop, didn't vary in any of its essentials during the month-long manhunt, the indictments, or the five trials and two guilty pleas so far. (One defendant remains to be tried.) After all, this was no run-of-the-mill domestic incident, where you find the victim and go looking for the obvious suspect, who just ran out the back door.

Nineteenth months after **Officer Jerry**



Haaf was shot in the back at the Pizza Shack restaurant, there is still one scenario and one scenario only, as far as the government and the establishment press are concerned. Black gang-bangers got riled up over over a ruckus on a city bus and offed a pig in revenge.

The cops made up a story on the spot and the state rounded up witnesses to support it. Then they ignored or discredited anyone who told a different story.

Here's *The Blast!* list of "BIG NOs" in the Minnesota Eight railroad:

NO GUN

"Officer down," Jerry Haaf managed to speak into his radio as he lay dying. Every cop on duty in the wee hours of September 25, 1992, raced to the Pizza Shack on East Lake Street in South Minneapolis. Soon, they were scouring the streets and alleys around the shooting scene, turning over trash cans, looking for anything — a garment discarded by a fleeing gunman, or the murder weapon itself. Finding nothing, they raided the houses of suspected gang members. One such warrantless search, described in court as "voluntary" on the part of the resident, became a centerpiece in the trials that followed.

The home of **Ed and Loverine Harris**, according to the state, was where the two shooters fled, changed clothes, and stashed their guns. Loverine Harris testified to this repeatedly. But these guns have never been found. The state alleges that reputed Vice Lord **Larry Flournoy**, 35, buried the guns, then, two weeks later, and with still another gun, shot and killed Ed Harris for snitching.

Larry, who was convicted in Harris's death, says he doesn't know anything about any guns. And he says he didn't shoot Harris and he doesn't know who did.

The police reservist sitting next to Haaf when the bullets flew described under oath a nickle-plated revolver in the hands of a Black man. She didn't see any gun on a second Black man.

Another restaurant patron claimed to have seen two revolvers, both with blued finishes. Still another eyewitness saw a third Black man, and said he held her at pistol-point, but she can't describe his gun.

Of all the pieces that the state has testified, not one fires shells that match the ones that killed Haaf and Harris.

NO FINGERPRINTS. NO "TRACES."

The two men convicted of walking into the restaurant and shooting Haaf must not have touched anything but the floor —

and only with the soles of their very clean feet. No physical evidence — no print, no strand of hair or clothing — links them to the crime scene.

A shoe confiscated from the Harris home bore a stain that investigators hoped would be Haaf's blood. It wasn't anyone's blood; it proved to be another substance. And the shoe doesn't even fit any of the defendants' feet. As far as the forensics gurus can tell, **Shannon Bowles**, 20, and **Mwati "Pepi" McKenzie**, 19, may never have even looked crosseyed at the Pizza Shack. Much less sauntered in and whacked a cop.

NO IDENTIFICATION OF THE DEFENDANTS BY THE EYEWITNESSES

Bowles's lawyer, **Larry Rappaport**, dropped his hand dramatically on Shannon's shoulder and bluntly asked the police reservist, **Margaret Haptsch**, "Is this the man you saw shoot Jerry Haaf?" Haptsch was unequivocal. "No. It's not."

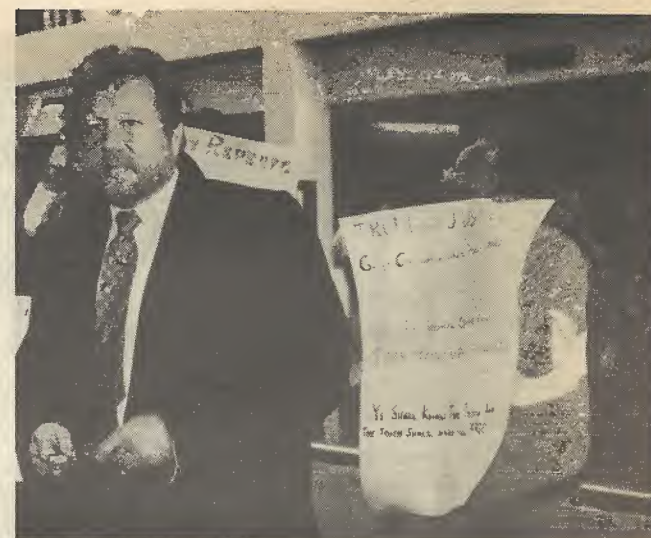
Haptsch's testimony, public statements, and treatment by the authorities shed a lot of light on the government's investigation. From the start, she was adamant that the authorities had the wrong guys. She initially claimed she couldn't remember the shooter's face, except for his bulging eyes and his mustache. After Shannon's and Pepi's convictions, she stated her memory had returned, in part thanks to therapy. The man she described resembles one **Lerone Parker**, from whom police took a statement, but who was never charged or even subpoenaed. Months after the shooting, Haptsch claims, she ran into Parker in downtown Minneapolis.

Reporters for the straight press ignored Haptsch's flat, devastating contradiction of the state's case, which she made, after all, as a witness for the state. But after a local television station interviewed Haptsch, the rest of the press jumped on the story. They acted as if she had "suddenly" changed her tune. The station aired a composite sketch of the man Haptsch saw shoot Haaf (see below). The man is said to resemble Parker.

Prosecutors **George Widseth** and **Robert Streitz** hinted that Haptsch was nuts, and was getting revenge for not being getting good enough witness protection. (Her home was allegedly firebombed.)

Now, Haptsch is being probed for alleged welfare fraud. The government denies this move is punitive.

No one else in the Pizza Shack that night picked out Shannon or Pepi, neither in live lineups nor in police photos.



NO COMPOSITE SKETCH OF THE SHOOTERS

Early in the investigation, Haptsch offered to describe to a police artist the man she saw shoot Haaf. She was turned down. (See above.)

NO TRUSTWORTHY INFORMERS.

Since the eyewitnesses either saw nothing, or saw something the state didn't want the jury or the public to hear about, the convictions have rested almost wholly on the testimony of informers. Every one of these people has received money, ethically questionable help from the prosecutors, or a vastly lighter sentence. The flip side of being rewarded for the "right" testimony is being threatened for giving the "wrong," or for refusing to cooperate.

Richard Wright, 15 years old at the time of the Haaf and Harris shootings, confessed to being involved in both. Whether his confession was truly voluntary is unknowable. He left town soon after Harris's death, and Minneapolis police tracked him to Alabama, grabbed him at school, and kept him in an interrogation room for four or five hours, with six white cops for company. They made him an offer he couldn't refuse. Instead of getting 80 years, he'll serve 3 as a juvenile. If the state keeps its end of the bargain, he should be out by the time he's 19.

Richard's testimony nailed the first of the Minnesota Eight to be convicted. **A.C. Ford Jr.**, 26, was accused of hatching the plot to avenge a September 24 altercation on a Minneapolis bus. Cops arrested a blind African-American man for supposedly not paying the correct fare. That night, hours before the Pizza Shack shooting, several of the defendants turned up at an angry, fruitless community meeting about police brutality. The cops' pet theory, invented while Haaf's body was still warm, and to which Richard testified, asserts that A.C. and others met at the home of **Sharif Willis**, Vice Lord leader and head of **United for Peace**, an anti-violence gang coalition. A.C. then purportedly drove Shannon and Monterey Willis, the one defendant still awaiting trial (and nephew of Sharif) to the Shack. Richard drove Pepi. The two cars inexplicably took off, and Shannon and Pepi fled on foot.

With no corroborating testimony, this story put A.C. away for a minimum of 50 years.

Richard's testimony also helped convict Shannon, Pepi, and Larry. He failed to convince jurors in the last trial, and **Steven**



Seeking equal justice -- inside the courtroom and out.

From left: "What happened to Ron Edwards?" The Committee broadens its focus and makes alliances; Committee member Margaret slams the racist verdict in A.C. Ford's trial; Committee member and Hamline U. law professor Robin Magee; Ford's lawyer Peter Erlinder on the verdict.

Credit: Lois; Lois; Kathy Straus; Lois

Banks, 20, was acquitted of being present when Ed Harris was killed. Steven is the only one of the Minnesota Eight to be fully acquitted.

In exchange for her testimony, Loverine Harris got \$16,888 from the state and a nice letter from prosecutors Widseth and Streitz to child protection authorities in Chicago, who had taken away two of Harris's children in 1985 after alleging they had been beaten and burned with cigarettes.

Harris, aka Vickie Scott, aka Linda Scott, helped put her ex-boyfriend behind bars in Illinois for murder.

Prosecution witness **Wyvonia Williams** changed her story after testifying at A.C.'s and Shannon's trials. She first swore that Pepi had told her he knew what went down at the Pizza Shack and that A.C. was involved. In Pepi's trial she swore that that conversation didn't happen. Williams told her lawyer she "could no longer do the things" that the state "wanted" her to do.

The government communicated what it "wanted" of her in a 9-hour marathon interrogation.

Further, Williams is suing A.C.'s judge, Deborah Hedlund, as well as prosecutors Widseth and Streitz. She alleges that Hedlund walked up to her in an empty hallway outside court and told her to stick to her testimony, because "Once we get A.C. Ford, the rest will be easy."

Two more witnesses that should strain the public's trust are jail-house informers, **Eugene McDaniel** (see below) and **Percy Melton**. Melton claimed Shannon confessed to him in jail, and then couldn't remember within a five-month range when the two were locked up together. Oops.

NO WIRETAP OF ALLEGED PHONE "CONFESSIONS."

As McDaniel and the prosecution would have it, Shannon and Larry both called him while he was in county jail awaiting trial as a felon caught with a gun, and both confessed to him over the phone. McDaniel had arrived in town in late summer, become Shannon's roommate, and then gotten busted just days before the Pizza Shack shooting. He admitted under oath to being a killer, burglar, con man, and pimp. He was facing life as a career crook, but, for his cooperation in the Minnesota Eight cases, his sentence is down to 6 and a half years.

As a government informer, McDaniel had agreed to get information on the Haaf killing, but, apparently, authorities failed to record his supposed conversations with Shannon and Larry.

Equal Justice Committee Changes Gears: Media struggle, prisoner support, and alliances with other causes

The Story So Far: In autumn 1992, the killings of a white traffic cop and a young Black reputed Vice Lord are followed by at least eight shootings of young Black men, and also by a "blue terror" — hundreds of random auto stops of men of color; sweeping arrests, warrantless searches. Four men are charged in the cop's death, three in the Black man's, and one juvenile in both. The

juvenile is coerced into testifying against the others in exchange for a 77-year reduction of sentence. Another defendant reportedly has a nervous breakdown in jail, and turns state's evidence. Four convictions follow in rapid succession.

With the acquittal this February of Steven Banks, the prosecution juggernaut of George Widseth and Robert Streitz finally stalled. The duo had steamed through four convictions and two guilty pleas, and had bluffed the state of Minnesota into believing that the killers of a police officer and an alleged snitch were being brought to justice.

From the witness stand, the alternative press, and street demonstrations, a small but noisy chorus had called attention to the holes in the state's case. When one jury at last declined to believe bought-off informers, the whole fabric began to unravel.

Even before Steven's trial, the activist group formed to fight the railroad of the men known as the Minnesota Eight had begun broadening its focus from simply monitoring the trials and demonstrating at the courthouse. Members of the Committee Seeking Equal Justice for the Minnesota Eight realized that most of the men they believe were framed will be behind bars for a very long time. The Committee is now changing gears in order to drive home the need for a long-term prisoner-support campaign.

Committee members have also seen connections between the Minnesota Eight case and other racist incidents in "nice" Minnesota. While reluctant to squander their energies running from one issue to the next, they want to forge links with people in other struggles.

Ron Edwards, the Twin Cities' only weekly African-American commentator on the Twin Cities' only Black-owned radio station, was recently hauled off the air. A combination of internal politicking at KMOJ-FM and questionable intervention by a state judge and Federal tax authorities has put the station at death's door. Committee members have rallied to Edwards's side, spreading petitions and

NO FOLLOW-UP ON OTHER CONFESSIONS AND EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS

One **Alphonso Cockham** told police he was a lookout during the Pizza Shack hit, and that Shannon had no part in killing Haaf. He's at large. The state didn't call him in any trial, and the judges in A.C.'s, Shannon's, and Pepi's trials blocked the defense from calling him. An eyewitness outside the restaurant, **Christine Anderson**, spotted Cockham and two other men running from the crime scene, but defense lawyers got no help from the state in locating Anderson.

NO MEDICAL REPORT ON OTHER ALLEGED "VICTIM."

Gerald Lubarski was sitting near Haaf when the shooting started, and received a mysterious, minor wound while diving for the floor. A.C., Shannon, and Pepi were convicted of his attempted murder, but no evidence has shown his injury was a gunshot wound. He may merely have cut himself on broken glass or furniture.

JURORS WITH NO NAMES.

For the first time in Minnesota history, a judge ordered anonymous juries, supposedly out of fear of gang retaliation. When a group of African-American women founded the **Committee Seeking Equal Justice for the Minnesota Eight**, they, too, were suspect. Numerous mainstream lawyers have blasted the move as prejudicial. Juror who think they need to be protected from defendants are likely to convict, regardless of the evidence.

organizing public gigs for Edwards. Edwards has a large, established listenership who believe his two weekly shows are a unique and irreplaceable source of information.

Indeed, many of the people who joined the Committee first heard about it on Edwards's call-in show. Six African-American women formed the Committee in January 1993, three months after a white Minneapolis police officer was shot and killed, allegedly by two or three Black men. During the spasm of random police roustings of Black men and press hype of the manhunt, Edwards consistently warned that a frame-up was in the works. The Committee believes he's been proved right.

Nowadays, helping Edwards regain his airtime is a prominent agenda item at Committee meetings. When Edwards dropped by a recent Committee meeting, the mutual warmth was obvious.

Additionally, ordinary people embroiled in the legal system turn up at Committee meetings more and more often. Thus far, the Committee has stopped shy of throwing its whole weight into any of these cases, but individual members have accompanied people to their court hearings.

A recent meeting with Minneapolis's newly-elected African-American mayor, Sharon Sayles Belton, afforded the Committee the chance to talk about two recent cases of police brutality. In one, two white, male officers thumped a Black child who had been wrongly accused of shoplifting from a convenience store. Two African-American women who came to his aid were roughed up and taken to jail.

In the other, Black patrons at a night club were thrown out, beaten, and arrested, apparently without provocation. Committee members have managed to work on both cases without losing their primary focus: Equal justice for the Minnesota Eight.

With the appeals of A.C. Ford, Shannon Bowles, Mwati "Pepi" McKenzie, and Larry Flournoy looming this spring and summer, Committee members know they are at a strategic juncture in their group's short history. Committee demonstrations have always been lively, but have never drawn more than 100 participants. The Committee's efforts have earned it some slightly sensational press coverage, but did not keep the first four defendants from going to prison for 15 to 50 years. Committee members know they must discuss and decide upon a clear program if they are to follow through on their commitment to equal justice. Stay tuned.

Committee Seeking Equal Justice for the Minnesota Eight / POB 40355 St. Paul, MN 55104

TO MOVE FORWARD

Cultural Diversity and Commitment in the Anarchist Black Cross by Ojore N. Lutalo, Bonnie Kerness, and Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin



"WE PERMIT PEOPLE OF OTHER IDEOLOGIES TO DEFINE ANARCHY RATHER THAN BRING OUR VIEWS TO THE MASSES AND PROVIDE MODELS TO SHOW THE CONTRARY. WE PERMIT CORPORATIONS TO NOT ONLY LAY OFF WORKERS AND TO THREATEN THEIR SALARIES, BUT POISON THE AIR AND WATER TO BOOT. WE PERMIT THE POLICE, KLAN, AND NAZIS TO TERRORIZE WHATEVER SECTION OF THE POPULATION THEY WISH WITHOUT REPAYING THEM BACK IN ANY KIND. IN SHORT BY NOT ENGAGING IN MASS ORGANIZING AND DELIVERING WAR TO THE OPPRESSORS, WE BECOME ANARCHISTS IN NAME ONLY..."

-THE LATE NEW AFRIKAN ANARCHIST, KUWASI BALAGOON

As a result of a number of discussions we've had with the Nightcrawlers about the upcoming ABC Conference, Ojore, Kom'boa and I would like to offer a number of ideas which we feel are vital to the forward movement of the Anarchist Black Cross in the United States. This is a crossroads time for ABC and these ideas can serve as stepping stones towards a budding prisoner-focused movement.

Our first suggestion is for individual ABC groups to take whatever steps are necessary in order to gain cultural diversity. The anarchist "scene" as it currently exists is perceived of as an all white, middle class group of aspiring anarchist who have yet to understand the depth and seriousness of the revolutionary struggle that is ongoing in communities of color all over this country - most particularly in that massive community of color that exists in the U.S. prison system. New Afrikan revolutionaries justifiably conclude that anarchists in the U.S. have no idea of what real struggle entails on either side of the prison walls. In order for a movement to exist, there need be programs designed to win the hearts and minds of people. A movement is organizing rooted in the colonies of the dispossessed. A movement has an offensive and defensive fighting force and programs which teach be example - i.e. anarchist food and clothing distribution centers. It is no wonder that anarchists are not seen as a movement, there are no programs which benefit people, nor is there any economic base from which to organize. There doesn't even seem to be a unified understanding of what it takes to be a movement, let alone a unified goal for action. By either encouraging Afrikan input, or becoming part of Afrikan groups and movements this can be rectified.

The Anarchist Black Cross has a rich and proud history in Europe. The "crossroads" we spoke of before is the difference between choosing one road leading to a continued lack of focus or the other leading towards credibility and a contribution to Anarchist Black Cross history.

Along with cultural diversity, the ABC needs to formally commit to structured local and/or regional work. The return of Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin as a guiding force broadens ABC potential immeasurably. His book "Anarchism and the Black Revolution" provides a remarkable structure from which to work. Those opposed to

such structure are game playing with both anarchism and revolution. His "Draft Proposal for an ABC Network" has the support of prisoners all over the country. Adopting any or all of the fifteen points for local/regional work would provide the type of unification of effort that is currently needed to begin serious movement work.

There is one particular area in which we strongly suggest that the network of ABC groups focus. For those who have been either politically conscious prisoners or prisoner advocates, horror at the proliferation of isolation cages across the U.S. is inescapable. They are called control units and have been developed to modify the thoughts and behavior of political dissidents. Efforts are currently underway to form a national network of monitoring groups across the country. It is hoped that prisoners living in control units will have an outside advocate in as many states as possible. The potential for an ABC contribution in this effort is enormous - and badly needed.

In July of 1992 Ojore received a letter of note from Jim Campbell. Jim's Prison News Service plays an important role in current prisoner struggles. Jim says "There is much I do not understand. Why do anarchists have such short attention spans? Is it a question of youth? Six months is considered to be a long term strategy and within two years many are on to something else. For me, we need to be able to think in terms of 20 and 30 years. That is where it takes some discipline." Ojore responded by saying it's because "these play anarchist are merely/were playing a government approved word game with anarchy and revolution" like the charlatans of Love and Rage are doing today.

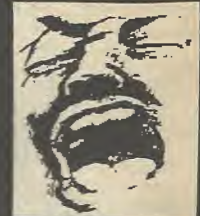
For Ojore, for Kom'boa and for myself, struggle is a lifetime commitment of utmost seriousness. This commitment is a promise that one makes to themselves that nothing ever alters. If ABC wants to be more than just a name, a protracted commitment is required. There is little point in integrating into prison work if you are going to get bored in a year and then move on to something else.

It is time for the Anarchist Black Cross to focus and unify. Gaining cultural diversity, using Kom'boa's 15 points of action, supporting control unit prisoners and dealing with the issue of protracted commitment are all directions imperative to consider at the upcoming ABC conference.

SHAKA SHAKUR

New Afrikan Revolutionary inside the walls of the Westville, IN Kontrol unit.

A Clenched-Fist Salute to de People



"Community Po-Licking"

What does community policing mean in reality to de millions of kkkolonized New Afrikans? What does it mean to have kkkolonial occupation personnel (kkkops) occupying Our communities, interacting with Our families and children, parading up and down de block putting down psychological warfare of iam your friend, iam here to serve and protect?

first of all, Our relationship as a kolonized people to de Akkka govt is one of oppression and domination, one of kkkolonialism and not one of equality. We know dat We as a people NEVER enjoyed know democratic rights, no equality, etc. in Akkka, from de u.s. govt irregardless of what great white hope oppressident was in office. Any sane New Afrikan (Black person) should be able to explain or should know dat from day one Our relationship to kkkops have been antagonistic and hostile. We know dat de kkkops aint never served and protected US in Our communities. Instead they have served and protected de interest of others outside of Our community. Serve and protect de property of de kkkapitalist who live outside de hood.

so if WE know dat de kkkamps aint never served Our interest then whats behind dis scheme called "community policing"? Whats behind all dis hoopla and emotionalism dat WE need to take back Our streets? i find it very odd when i see these New Afrikans on de news talkin bout (with tears and all) WE need to take back Our streets, block, etc. Now how is it WE owned a street or block when somebody else owned de land of dat street, controlled de business/economics of de block, decided whether or not to put a street light up, stop light, etc., when it wanted to irregardless of what de people on de block wanted? iam trying to figure out what kind of control these people got when they must depend on, beg somebody else to do something for de benefit of de block. It would appear to be a contradiction to me. Its a contradiction when WE say WE control somethin and anotha outside force can come in and dictate to US what WE can and caint do on dis block. So what are these people talkin bout takin back? Its an illusion, cause they never had nothing in de first place! Kkkops always have had kontrol of de block and de hood, and they gone keep kontrol of it til WE set Our sights on taking some LAND, some states instead of just a block. WE aint takin no block just so de kkkops can have better kontrol over it. Dats what these people are saying. How can you take back somethin you aint never had?

"Who shall police de police?"

If de kops are not really here to serve and protect US but someone elses interests, then how shall we protect Ourselves from dem? How shall WE deal with police brutality and disrespect, police genocide called justifiable homicide? WE should deal with dem just like any other kkkolonized people deal with a occupying army, an invading force dat dont respect de people and community. WE should develop programs to watch these occupiers, teach and train Our children not to talk to these occupiers, to not allow these occupiers to cultivate informers

and snitches amongst US. We should educate de people in de hood as to de real role and function of kkkops, and once these people has been enlightened, if they continue to fraternize with de kkkops they should be ostracized and no longer considered a part of de community but instead an extension of de occupiers. Dats right, dat includes you mama, my mama and anybody else mama who wants to fix de kkkops a cup of hot coffee without a shot of arsenic in it. In de process WE take responsibility for developing programs to police and defend Our own hoods.

Oppressident Clinton is seeking congressional approval for \$3.5 billion in order to put 50,000 kkkops of de streets. Its no secret dat most of dese kkkops will be in oppressed peoples communities. They can put 3.5 billion on kkkops but cainst put 3.5 billion on drug treatment/rehab programs. You know why? Cause they de ones responsible for drugs in de first place. De same crime you are jumpin on your block can be traced right back to de DEA, CIA, FBI, ATF, and all de others who claim to be on your side.

A lot of us don't know any better when WE be calling massa to do something, callin on massa to put more overseers in de field, more slave drivers in the field. Because we suffer from dis plantation psychosis, dis dependency complex We always look to de slave master for help instead of looking to ourselves; instead of self-reliance WE want to be moved by someone or something.

**Slavery is still slavery
no matter what you call
it or how you slice it.**

In any other country for example like Ireland, Puerto Rico, El Salvador, Peru, etc. they call community policing exactly what it is: "OCCUPATION". They call kkkops what they are: SOLDIERS, they call walkin de beat what it is: ARMY PATROLS, they call sobriety checks what they are: MILITARY CHECKPOINTS. But we are too gullible, too laid back ready to be deceived to call it and see it for what it is. WE are too enraptured in de entertainment systems WE got to see whats happening in Our face. It's bad when we get reduced to a point where WE call for Our own enslavement, where WE mistake slavery/KKKolonialism for Freedom.

Suggestions

i would suggest dat WE break away from de dependency complex and dat men and women take responsibility for Our own lives and surroundings. i dont like gang banging, drive by shootings, crack pushin, etc. no more than you do, but WE have to depend on Ourselves to come up with a program to address these contradictions as opposed to begging somebody else who has proved throughout de course of his stay dat they dont give a damn about US. WE got to stop being cowards

(continued pg. 17)

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SHAKUR from pg. 16
 hiding behind doors crying and escaping through adult toys and stand up and take control of de situation and stop depending on somebody else. One way to do this is to form community groups, say 2 or 3 blocks a piece, and put together and form committees, study groups to discuss de situation and make suggestions and decisions dat everyone can agree upon. You develop martial arts and other defense programs, you develop communication (walkie talkies, pagers, etc.), you form small no-nonsense units dat go out and not so much patrol de community but relate to de community without KKKOP support. You relate to de people on de block and on de one hand you try to draw them into becoming assets to de community, you try to politicize and educate them, and on de other hand you firmly let em know in word and deed dat preying on de hood will no longer be tolerated, and you do what you got to do. In de process you make de churches and other institutions get off de fence and start returning some of dat money back to de community dat they been draining and WE use dis money to open up day care centers, free food programs for children and homeless, WE try to develop medical clinics, drug treatment programs. WE work to get de community involved, to get de community to come out in support of de programs. WE got to first let people know dat WE care dat WE aint afraid and WE aint gone betray their interest because their interest is Our interest. WE aint for no kkkops WE for US and WE believe in Self-Reliance. If de brothas on de block try to become obstacles then WE do what WE got to do while trying to create alternatives to brothas/sistas pushin dope. A lot of people claim dat people pushin dope is just trying to survive. Dat is true for some, dat people are trying to put clothes on their backs and food on their tables. But a vast majority of people who sell drugs have corrupt kapitalist values and want what de oppressor got and if given de chance would become de oppressor. i dont have a lot of sympathy for these aspirant kapitalists who want BMW's, mansions, gold and all de other glitter of a oppressor who feeds off of and exploits de humanity of another.

Lets not be fooled by soft sounding words dat de oppressordent uses to damn fool US. Slavery is still slavery no matter what you call it or how you slice it.

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THE TRUE WHEEL

By Nikolas Kautz

The forces arrayed against human arrogance fall into two camps: the progressives and the reactionaries, or in simpler language, good and evil.

On the good side are those who worry that garbage in space, skyscrapers, "Barney" and TV generally, strip mines, gas ovens, mass graves, oil wars, and mascara tested on bunny rabbits are signs that we're killing ourselves, wrecking the planet, and polluting Earth's near orbit. The forces of good want participatory democracy, production to meet human needs, and a human society that respects the earth.

At the head of the forces of evil is Yahweh, once a minor deity confined to a single mountain. (Horeb or Sinai, depending on which side of the rock you lived on. Exactly what happened to Moses on Sinai will be the subject of later essays in this column.) This Jehovah allegedly grew angry when humans presumed to build their first skyscraper, and went down with his pals ("Come, let us go down..." in Gen. 11.7), scattered the peoples, and confused their languages.

Hell of an alibi. That far-fetched spin makes human diversity, the great strength of our species, seem a punishment. But that's what this Yahweh cult is all about.

Falling in behind The Lord is a pretty motley crew. Certain franchises of brand-name Christianity spend a lot of time and money telling people that they are dupes of the devil, but the truth is the other way around. The only dupes in this game are the unwitting stooges of Jehovah and his racketeers.

Some people, for example, count garbage in space, skyscrapers, and so on, as proofs that humankind is a cancer growing on Gaia, and hold that this complex organism's immune system has sent AIDS against the human can-

cer. Once the alien species is kaput, the planet can repair herself. Healthcare emergency replaces the Flood. Originally, you recall, Jehovah selected Noah, the straight male head of a nuclear family, to survive, because "he was a righteous man." (Gen. 6.9) In the neo-Christian cover tune, a handful of we-told-ya-so ecologists declare themselves righteous, and hunker down in an eerie parallel to the right-wing survivalists.

AIDS figures largely in the "away-with-human-arrogance" worldviews. "Arrogant sinners repent," cries a badly-punctuated and ugly banner i've seen at two queer marches in Washington D.C. Differing from the deep ecologists, these folks see one people's obliteration of another, or of an ecosystem, not as life out of balance, but as impiety. More precisely, the harmony to be struck is not between the needs of the earth and human needs, but between humans and this Jehovah invention.

Nevertheless, the alliance between the evangelicals and the survivalist-ecologists holds fast. Both gangs scorn efforts to fix the problem by improving human democracy. Both divorce themselves from the teeming masses of moral inferiors. Both righteously await the cleansing storm.

Now back to the forces of good. The right kind of arrogance is a force for liberation. What's so bad about self-love? "No gods, no masters" is a slogan of defiance and joy. Aspiring to freedom demands trusting people to do the right thing without being coerced. Some cadre on the good side of the barricade envision a stateless, borderless world in which people make needed decisions in face-to-face meetings of workplace and community councils, which federate regionally, or even globally. Autonomous caucuses of peoples or nations that have survived mass murder or exploitation will ensure their own self-defense and independence.

In this vision, humanity is a fragile web, not a mass, and certainly not a cancer. Each strand depends upon the whole structure, and the whole rests lightly upon, is rooted in, the earth. In this vision, humans are proud, arrogant toward power, and humble and inquisitive before the big, what's-it-all-about-Alfie, questions. "No gods" is a spit in the face of shame deities,

not a denial that life and existence are mysteries. Maybe we'll crack them, maybe we won't, maybe it don't matter.

Ironically, the Jehovah gangsters actively promote one form of human arrogance: the notion of that land, minerals, animals, other people, are things to be used and thrown away. No more quoting from Genesis. You all know the Eden tale. Where the "arrogant sinners repent" mob departs from the "arrogant humans die and leave Earth alone" crowd is on this point. The birdies, the trees, the bountiful garden, and the woman are for man's pleasure.

(In this vein, others have already documented Adam as the Original rapist.)

But one point—the critical point—Yahwists and their lackeys remain in unholy union. Humans have nothing to be proud of. Whether they must bow down before an invented god or an invented "life force," subservient they must be. To hell with all that. We will be free. And just as full of pride and love as you please.

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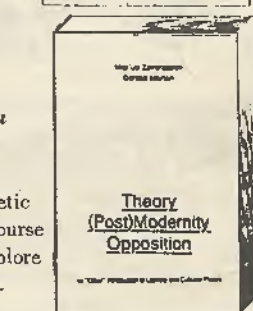
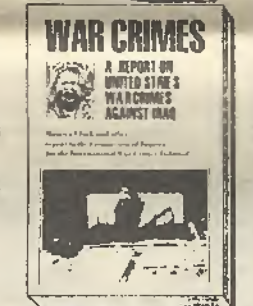
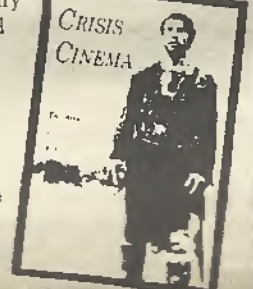
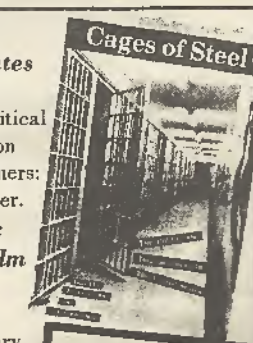
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an interview with: LORENZO KOMBOA ERVIN

Black Revolution in the 1990's

Lorenzo Komboa Ervin is a revolutionary anarchist, activist, and author of *Anarchism and the Black Revolution*. He is a former member of SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee), and former Black Panther. He was a political prisoner for 15 years. He is currently involved in struggles against police brutality in Chattanooga, TN. Last year he was arrested with 7 others while protesting a pro-police rally and is presently appealing an unjust court ruling that found him guilty of disorderly conduct and disrupting a public meeting (for more info check out page 5). Most recently, Lorenzo completed a speaking tour of the East coast and Midwest.

What radicalized you and led you to a life of political activism? What led you to anarchism?

I was raised in the "old South" before the coming of the Civil Rights movement of the 1950's and 1960's. Although the protests began and went on in cities all over the South as early as 1954, it was only with the Montgomery (Alabama) bus boycott that they in fact became more than a local phenomenon, and assumed national importance. The boycott became in fact a world famous event, and made Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. an international figure. The boycott was a grassroots event which influenced myself and millions of other Africans in America, and reflected the desire of the Black masses to topple the white



supremacist state governments which existed in the South at that time.

Much of the history around the Montgomery bus boycott is fairly well known, but as you may expect, the civil rights struggle consisted of more than Dr. King, even though it has now been made into a national myth that all he did was give a few speeches to the downtrodden Black masses in Montgomery and a movement was born, and that his cry was heard by John Kennedy, the "great white master" in Washington, D.C., who passed a succession of civil rights protective legislation. This simplistic version is government propaganda designed to cover up the federal government's hostility and inaction, and

also the power of the movement which compelled concessions from the government and its corporate backers. For instance, why was E.D. Nixon, the local leader of the NAACP, and a grassroots organizer in Montgomery for many years, left out of history? The answer to this question is very important because it shows how the obscuring of figures and mass movements in history, and the revising of the historical record, are used as ideological weapons to cripple succeeding generations.

But my radicalization really began with the student/youth sit-in movement, which began in Greensboro, North Carolina in the year 1960, when four Black students from North Carolina A&T college came into a Woolworth department store, seated themselves at the counter and demanded service. Before it was over, 5,000 students, youth and community persons were to become part of this protest, which broke out all over the state of North Carolina within days of the initial event. Finally, the sheer force and fury of the protests forced the white city officials in Greensboro to concede and at least temporarily dismantle the segregationist ordinances.

This victory inspired similar struggles to break out all over the South, Louisville (KY), Richmond (VA), Baltimore (MD), Nashville (TN) and other cities. In fact, it has been estimated by historians that within the first two weeks of the Greensboro events over 69 cities were hit with similar protests.

One of the most interesting parts of your speech here in Minneapolis was your discussion on the anti-authoritarian wing of the civil rights movement in the 1960's in the South, and how its history has been smothered by the reformist wing's history. Could you talk a little bit about the importance of the little-known anti-authoritarian wing? What lessons can we learn from the anti-authoritarian civil rights struggles today?

Yes, many do not know that the student struggle was a self-activating struggle from day one. It was never planned, even the Greensboro events came out of a "bull session" the previous night and the fact that someone actually decided to carry it out was a surprise to everyone. But out of these spontaneous events came a move-

ment that just during the month of February swept the South like a prairie fire, and re-energized the civil rights movement, which had stalled after the Montgomery event and had adopted bureaucratic and leader-directed tendencies. The victories in other cities had inspired a movement, and was to inspire an organization.

Ella Barker, who was Dr. King's Executive Director at the time, knew the importance of the student/youth struggles and acted as facilitator for a meeting of youth in Raleigh, North Carolina in April 1960, which brought together 300 Black southern representatives and 100 white northern students (the latter of whom included leftists, such as the nucleus of the Students for a Democratic Society, whose program was to be directly influenced by SNCC) into a mass meeting, out of which came the Student Nonviolent Coordinat-

which looked down on preachers and preachers, even on King himself! I think this refusal to exalt leadership marked SNCC more than any organization before and since the 1960's. This organization led the most important battles during the civil rights movement and won the most significant victories: voting rights, the freedom rides for desegregating inter-state transportation, equal public accommodations, and other battles, but it still maintained its anti-authoritarian structure. It was only when it abandoned this structure and adopted a bureaucracy with a powerful Chairman (in the person of Stokely Carmichael), a Central Committee, and permanent staff that I believe it weakened and began to die. This was in 1967.

We know that a movement, which was anti-authoritarian (if not Anarchist) and Black, existed in this country, and was



ing Committee. SNCC was just intended to be a bare bones organizing project rather than a bureaucratic movement; and in fact it had no strong leaders, even Bob Moses, the first Chairman, was little more than a facilitator with no inherent powers. It was a totally non-hierarchical structure, where decision-making power was in the hands of the membership. This meeting called for the creation of totally autonomous local groups, which would be affiliated in a broad federation. It was agreed at this meeting and others that followed that SNCC would be a direct action organization made up of organizers rather than a bureaucratic structure like King's Southern Christian Leadership Council.

Most importantly, there was an entirely different conception on how to conduct the struggle between SNCC and SCLC. The latter depended on King and other national leaders to come into a community and "lead" the people. Many times they bypassed the local leaders entirely, and would make deals with the local white power structure which were extremely inimical to the local community, who had to live with the results while they were safely back in Atlanta, in some middle class haven. But SNCC's primary objective was to create autonomous organizations and grassroots leadership on the local level to lead mass struggles. It would be the local people who would be picking up the agenda, leading the protests, and winning the victories. SNCC organizers were there to provide technical support, not to hijack the local struggle. We prized local initiative and spontaneity above all.

Although there were many within SNCC during its early years who were motivated by religion, it was a secular organization,

highly effective. There were always Anarchists within SNCC, and enemies and friends called it "Anarchist" for different reasons. We should study SNCC with a fine tooth comb, look at its successes and failures, its campaigns and effect on society. Clearly, this provides somewhat of a model for the kind of activist organization we want in this period, which if it could survive under the most harrowing conditions and with the most limited resources, we know we would be able to create it under more favorable conditions today.

How has white European anarchism failed in its understanding of how it can get involved in and support the struggles of oppressed peoples in this country? How can the anarchist movement give genuine support and not fake/liberal, guilt-trip-based support?

You ask me about "European Anarchism" and how it can get involved in the struggles of oppressed peoples in this country, which I take to mean more than the white working class, but rather Blacks and other racial groups that are super-exploited. Well, let me first say that you must understand the role of white people in this system as maintaining oppression and reproducing racism through capitalist institutions. I do not think it will be white radicals within their own organizations which will lead a vanguard to defeat capital, but rather a class vanguard of the most oppressed workers in "communities of color", (which is my only concession to political correctness terminology). This segment could link up with other disaffected segments of society like gays, women, laborers, and others to create a mass oppositional movement capable of defeating capitalist power.

So today, white radicals must begin to make the serious links with people of color, help us with material aid and political support to build a new movement, go forth to build an "anti-racist" mass movement in the white community which will subvert white supremacy and class collaboration among white workers, and then be willing to take lead from people of color, instead of "leading" people who may have different needs, a different agenda, and another social reality.

For instance, the white male "leadership" of the so-called anti-racist movement does nothing to make the environment safer for people of color, and is in fact just liberal moralizing and breast-beating. In fact, we have no role in organizing these events and have a different conception of racism entirely. These mistakes are because the Anarchists do not fundamen-



tally understand the interplay of race, class and capitalism. They think race and class oppression is just a marginal issue, or is an external or independent phenomenon, rather than intrinsic to the rule and form of social control of this system itself.

Anarchist and white leftists generally have not been involved historically in struggles affecting Black workers, are almost all from the middle class, and do not understand communities of color, even though they pretend to know it all. They should get involved, not to manipulate or lead such struggles or out of white guilt, but as direct participants, putting their life on the line; and it is local folks who will tell you how you can get involved and they must be convinced that this is sincerely motivated and not more white leftist manipulation.

Obviously it is important for contemporary anarchists to articulate and disseminate their politics in order for anarchist ideas to spread and become more common knowledge. What kind of role should anarchists take in educating people who aren't involved in anarchism?

*We must break out of the Anarchist ghetto and drop "purist" dogma in order to build an effective movement. This movement does not even have one weekly newspaper expressing its views, and it is not really seen as anything but a counter-cultural tendency by spoiled white kids playing at revolution. There are some exceptions, but overall not many feel Anarchism is a serious tendency. Also the fact that people do not disseminate publications (except for a lick spittle rag like *Anarchy of Fifth Estate*) on a wide scale leaves fascism, capitalism, or Marxism as the only views people know about. The Anarchist publications*

which do exist do little to explain world events in libertarian socialist terms or serve as an organizing tool; they are mostly counter-cultural rags for marginal cultural and social tendencies. The average person does not know what Anarchism is, but what will surprise you is that they are usually not hostile to it, if it is presented to them.

What does a revolutionary working class movement look like to you? Is this different than working class movements we've seen in the past? In what ways?

First, we must look at "movement" generically as opposed to "organization", it is not clear to me which you really mean, they are not necessarily the same. All kinds of organizations exist, some of which call themselves revolutionary, but we cannot be guided by what a revolution calls itself but rather by what it does. A move-

ment, however, has a life and a world view all its own.

Many elements can go into making a social movement, some of which can be more militant than others, with a narrow or a broad agenda. Anarchism is supposed to be a social movement, but I think it is just a tendency at this point. But any revolutionary working class movement which emerges in the 1990's cannot be based entirely on workplace issues but must be a social revolutionary movement. The social life of the communities, as well as the economic activity of the workers as productive units, must be considered in their entirety. Social problems and movements exist today which did not exist 20 years ago. Even now, the nature of work itself has changed and the working class has become much more diverse, with women, Blacks, Asians, and others in larger number than ever before. But also the marginalized sector is larger than any time since the great depression: the homeless, unemployed, under employed, and super-poor—all of this in spite of the so-called welfare state. Clearly capitalism has exhausted all reforms, and is in a deep crisis, making large-scale revolt a certainty.

A revolutionary working class movement would go beyond trade unionism and other reformism, and break down the rules between work and play, and ultimately reject all reforms except those wrested from the capitalists, and which can strengthen the fighting capacity of the people.

Also class exploitation and class political orientation still exist, so the movement would have to be "led" by those from the lowest, most desperate, sectors of the working class if we are not to have more social reformism. If those from the privileged

classes ideas are allowed to dominate the theory of the movement then it will have built-in limits to protect their class from the people. In addition, the new movement must be a direct action movement, democratic (anti-authoritarian), diffuse, and yet still well-organized. Again, use SNCC as an example to be studied, but not necessarily to be mechanically copied since it was not a revolutionary movement from inception. I think such a movement would be based on the poorest levels of the working class if it is to carry out revolution, rather than on declassé intellectuals or disaffected segments of the petty bourgeoisie.

A revolutionary movement can only be seriously considered when it fights for total social change, instead of piecemeal reforms, even though reforms can be important. No one can predict entirely or give a laundry bag of "do's" and "don'ts"; it will have to be forged partly in the struggle itself, even if definite ideals are held in advance. We must be able to come along later and change our minds, but based on events and proven theory.

In your speech here, you spoke about redefining race and class. You also write about class suicide and race treachery. Please talk about what this means. How do we commit race treachery and class suicide? How do people who come from various class backgrounds work together in a revolutionary movement? Briefly, how would you characterize the relation between race and class in America in the 1990's? In what ways is the relationship between race and class unique to other countries and to other times in American history?

When I talk about redefining racism and the working class, I am in some respects talking about the same thing. We must go from the unscientific, "touchy-feely" approach to studying the dynamics of race in America to a more scientific, materialist conception. For instance, I hold that the white working class is a privileged, opportunistic class in America, even though it is oppressed under capitalism. It is not the same, however, as the super-exploited African or Hispanic working class. The American state uses white people to uphold the system of class privileges for the rich by giving them a substantial material and social advantage. Myself and many other activists are starting to do even more research in this area, so some of my ideas will change, but not fundamentally. But we must understand this matter if we will unite the working class and overthrow the rule of capital. We must not continue to believe that the white working class is somehow a vanguard for the entire working class. This is deadly naïveté, political misdirection, and cultural chauvinism.

Class suicide and race treachery for whites are when members of those categories refuse to identify with the white power structure, and indeed begins to work for the defeat of that authority. It is a conscious choice to throw off the protections, privileges, and advantages of white people in this society and become a revolutionary, working to abolish capital and the so-called white race, and join with non-white humanity to overthrow white supremacy.

No other country in the world is structured like the United States, with its own internal colony, class collaborationism by the white working class, and history of slavery and racial oppression. Persons from different class backgrounds can make a

contribution to the success of a social revolutionary movement, but the petty bourgeois philosophy cannot be the dominant ideology of the organization. Kropotkin, Bakunin and others came from the privileged classes, and yet played important revolutionary roles.

Race and class oppression have always been the linchpin to oppression in America. This country was founded on the institution of slavery, and has always maintained itself by white skin privilege and super-exploitation of African labor, whether through wage differentials on the job, making Africans the reserve army of the poor with higher level of unemployment and poverty, or outright police state rule of oppressed communities. The white middle class standard of living is not based on their superior intellect, education or favorable birthright, but rather the fact that they materially benefit from the system of oppression.

This does not mean all white people are rich or that there are not class differences among the white majority, it just means that whites—willingly or unwillingly—are collaborators in the oppression of African people. That is especially evil of American capitalism, its pedestal is African slavery and the super-oppression of non-white peoples. Now this capitalism in the 1990's may be neocolonialism with Black faces in high places as mayors, entrepreneurs, vice-presidents of corporations, etc., but I don't see any big deal about this "new capitalism". It isn't new, it's just restructured.

What gave you the inspiration to come back to anarchism after experiencing so much racism within the anarchist movement in the late 70's and 80's? How are things different and the same nowadays?

I was extremely disillusioned with the U.S. Anarchist movement when I joined in the mid-1970's because it refused to fight racism and was not a serious class struggle tendency. Myself and Black Anarchists like Mark Cook, Martin Sostre, and others I had recruited were attacked for "nation-



alist" tendencies when we talked about the Klan and Nazis as a threat they should organize against and because we rejected the line of "equal rights for whites," which we now know is the standard fascist line. We demanded that white people be anti-racists, fight Nazis and Klansmen on the job and in the communities, and deal with racism in the movement itself. One of these so-called "social revolutionary" Anarchists even had a Klansmen as the head of his union, and saw "nothing wrong" with this.

This was insanity, and finally it grew to be too much, so I left and stayed away for almost a decade. I had worked with John

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

FREEDOM FOR SHAKA SHAKUR

HEALTH RAPE AT THE WOMEN'S PRISON AT CHOWCHILLA

A Plea to da Community

Sistas and Brothas, as i sit here behind these walls - walls of torture and obstacles to justice, checkpoints against truth and enforcers of silence - i reach out to you behind your walls, not just behind da walls of poverty, drug abuse and police brutality, not just behind da walls of infant mortality, unemployment and general oppression, but behind da walls of your mind, to appeal to your sense of justice and morality, your sense of righteousness and fair play, to your sense of outrage!

i reach out to you from inside a prison control unit that has been condemned for human rights violations by Amnesty International, a prison that practices behavior modification and sophisticated forms of torture, the Maximum Control Complex (Supermax) at Westville, Indiana.

i have been in prison since i was 16 years old, a total of 11 years, charged with da wrong crime. On July 26, 1983 i was convicted of attempted robbery and given a sentence of 30 years. i was 16 years old, and it was my first offense as an adult.

Contradictions of Case

On November 13, 1982, i and two other teenagers were in da process of breaking into a house. A man suddenly came to da door, and i asked, "Is Chris home?" No other words were exchanged. During this time da victim, who was a gun collector and gun smith known to have several weapons in da house, tried to close da door and go for a weapon. In a moment of panic and fear, i fired two shots, and i and da two other teenagers took off running as shots were fired at us.

During da course of da trial, da victim testified that i did not try to rob him. He testified that i did not try to rob him. He testified that at no point in time did i say "This is a stick-up" or try to take money or property from him. The victim testified that he was only asked a question and then shot as he tried to shut da door. By law, this does not constitute robbery.

During da trial i introduced evidence that i was intoxicated and under da influence of other drugs during da perpetration of da crime. By law, this evidence should have been weighed by da jury during their deliberation. Instead, da judge specifically instructed da jury to disregard all evidence regarding intoxication, that it did not apply to a crime of attempted robbery, which is a misstatement of da law. So in my case da jury was instructed to outright disregard a critical part of da defense evidence.

The judge also made another erroneous instruction to da jury that misstated da law regarding what exactly constitutes attempted robbery.

From day one of arrest and trial, i have maintained that i was charged with da wrong crime. i was denied a fair trial, tried and convicted by a biased judge, and given an excessively harsh sentence.

Prison Experience

In da course of serving 11 years, i have spent most of my time in segregation because of my efforts to teach and organize other prisoners to fight for their human and civil rights and in the process transform their characters to a higher level of awareness. A higher social, cultural awareness and a higher awareness of history and the political machinery that governs Our lives. To not only become aware of it but to make a conscious decision to change it.

i believe in Black Self Reliance with strong emphasis on history and culture. i believe that a lot da social ills that Black people in particular suffer would not continue if Black people had an awareness of da causes of these social ills and organized amongst Ourselves to eliminate those causes, thereby depending on Self instead of waiting on others. i believe that Black people constitute a Nation in america and have a right as a people to control Our own destiny, to decide Our own future and to control Our own institutions in Our own best interest.

For the past 11 years, i have spent most of

my time reading and studying. Despite my attempts to improve myself and better prepare myself to be a asset to da Black Community upon my release, i have been viciously attacked and victimized by da Indiana Department of Corrections. Because i am perceived to be a revolutionary-minded prisoner and perceived to have influence amongst other prisoners, i have been constantly transferred from prison to prison, sometimes over 200 miles away from family, until i am finally isolated inside Indiana's newest and tightest security prison.

i became interested in Black history and political science while being held in solitary confinement for 5 consecutive years, where i was locked in a cell for 23 to 23 1/2 hours a day. i used this time to transform my character and principles and decided to commit my life to taking a stance against injustice and oppression perpetrated against not only Black people but all people. i began organizing prisoners to fight back against racist guards, beating, bad conditions, denial of medical treatment. i organized group demonstrations, mass petitions, lawsuits, hunger strikes and advocated da right of prisoners to defend themselves against physical attacks/beating by corrupt, often times racist guards. As a result of this activity, i have suffered tremendously, and so have my family and supporters. i am forced to have visits with my son and other loved ones while separated from them by thick bullet-proof glass.

i am now fighting for a new trial. i was once a liability to da community, but in da tradition of Malcolm X i wish to become an asset to da community that i came from.

JUSTICE DELAYED IS JUSTICE DENIED
- F. Douglas

Shaka Shakur Defense Campaign / P.O. Box 14075 / Chicago, IL 60614 / 312-862-5718

Shaka's lawyer has granted the opportunity to present oral arguments in defense of Shaka's right to an appeal. We are asking people to write letters to the 3-judge panel that will hear these arguments and will eventually make a decision on Shaka's petition for appeal.

The facts of Shaka's case are what will influence these judges, not how much you support Shaka's politics. We believe the most effective letters will raise some of the following facts: Shaka's age at time of arrest (16), The number of years he has already served (11), Incorrect charge, incorrect instructions to jury, Length of sentence (30 years), Shaka's desire to be an asset to his to his community - his study and work connecting with other concerned groups/ individuals while incarcerated

Letters to this panel of judges should be directed to: Clerk of Court of Appeals / 217 Statehouse / Indianapolis, IN 46204

The following case number should be cited: 45A0592212PC00439.

Please send us a copy of your letter to the Defense Campaign.



New Afrikan revolutionary Shaka Shakur has been in jail since he was sixteen years old.

Women prisoners will die of neglect and inadequate medical treatment at the Central California Women's Facility at Chowchilla. Women in prison are entitled to (at least) the same community standards of care that people have outside. However, just the opposite is true at the CCWF. These women are being denied medical care. They are segregated and punished for being HIV+. And the CDC refuses to allow them to receive HIV/AIDS education materials.

THE FACTS

• There are over 3,000 incarcerated at CCWF; approximately 100 are known to have HIV. There is no HIV/AIDS medical doctor on staff.

• No routine or clinical follow-up.

• The prison just hired a gynecologist. The waiting time is several months. There are women with level-four pap smears who are not receiving medical care.

• The infirmary is unlicensed. The prison doctor is a pediatrician with little knowledge of women's health care needs. Guards with an elementary first aid course (MTAs) dispense medication and diagnose illnesses. Recently 450 women prisoners signed a petition protesting abusive treatment from MTAs.

• There is no confidentiality. All "known" HIV+ women live on C Yard. A xeroxed list of women with HIV that had been left out on an administrator's desk was circulated on the prison yard. Because of the ignorance and stigma surrounding HIV, many women refuse to identify as HIV+ and therefore receive no treatment. There are big signs in every yard, "Beware! There are HIV infected inmate persons housed in this facility!"

• The only HIV/AIDS education is given by HIV+ women prisoners who have set up an informal peer education program. The Program Administrator hoards HIV/AIDS education brochures in her office. She says she does not have time to distribute them to the women. Women who request material from outside agencies have their mailings confiscated.

• Women are discouraged from being tested for HIV. There is no pre-test and little post-test counselling. CCWF does not offer the Western Blot (the most accurate of the HIV tests).

• Women with HIV are "medically restricted" - not allowed to work, therefore, they do not earn the same good time credits as other prisoners and serve longer sentences.

• Women with HIV caught breaking rules are often placed indefinitely in administrative lock-up (known as the Special Housing Unit or SHU).

• Women in the SHU often don't get their medications. All women prisoners experience a delay in getting meds refilled.

• A pregnant woman lost her baby when the medical staff diagnosed her early labor as "a bladder infection."

• Another woman suffered a painful death from an untreated brain tumor. The medical staff told her she had migraine headaches and was faking seizures.

WOMEN WITH HIV - NO TESTS, NO TREATMENT

Women who request HIV tests are told that they will only be tested if it's "medically indicated." This means that women won't know their HIV status until they are already sick. Even then, they will be given the least accurate test available. It is well known that early intervention extends life. By denying women knowledge of their HIV status, they are denied access to HIV drugs and treatments. They are denied the ability to change high risk behavior and prolong their lives.

Because there is no AIDS education at Chowchilla, the women prisoners are trying to be peer educators, teaching others about HIV. Prisoners are systematically denied access to outside HIV/AIDS education materials. ACT-UP and the San Francisco AIDS Foundation have recently attempted to mail requested materials, only to have them returned. When AIDS activists sent a prisoner a copy of the ACLU National Prison Project pamphlet Aids and Prison, The Facts for Inmates and Officers, it was returned stamped "inappropriate stationary."

Other AIDS education and advocacy groups have had similar experiences. These actions not only violate prisoners' first amendment rights, but also have more serious ramifications since the prison administration is ultimately abetting the spread of HIV/AIDS in the prison. The administration is denying them the education resources which could save women's lives - and there is no other AIDS education at Chowchilla.

The California state prison system ranks fourth in AIDS-related deaths according to a recent Bureau of Justice Statistics survey. Many deaths could be avoided if prisoners received decent medical care and early release for terminal illnesses. Most of the women at Chowchilla are doing short time for non-violent crimes. CDC policies could amount to a death sentence.

Over the last few months the situation at Chowchilla and other California prisons has only worsened. Tuberculosis is spreading like wildfire conveniently killing off prisoners, and still no significant action has been taken by the prison.

You can help protest this mistreatment and denial of care by sending letters to: Director James Gomez California Department of Corrections P.O. Box 942883 / Sacramento, CA 94283

Warden Teena Farmon CCWF P.O. Box 1501 / Chowchilla, CA 93610

For more information please call us at the newly formed Coalition to Support Women Prisoners at Chowchilla 415-861-4058 or 415-752-2765

BEATINGS AT LUCASVILLE CONTINUE

Prisoners at Lucasville are attempting to get an investigation into the beatings going on. The government has acknowledge that, yes in fact, beatings are happening, but still nothing has happened. A lot of prisoners have been beaten by a group of guards known as the Disturbance Control Team (aka goon squad). Prisoners inside Lucasville relay that "They usually handcuff and shackle us, then anywhere from 5 - 8 brutalize us with nightsticks, fists, legs - [they] even actually lift us up and literally throw us!" Prisoners at Lucasville are asking people to demand an investigation as well as the discontinuation of delaying this nearly nine month old request. Write to: Janet Reno or Linda K. Davis (Chief/Criminal Division) U.S. Department of Justice Washington DC, 20530

Anyone interested in volunteering for legal support as well as defense committees for those indicted in the uprising contact: Nikki Schwartz / Attorney-at-Law / 1500 Leader Building / Cleveland, OH 44114 or Taymullah Abdul Hakim #A191-839 / (Leroy Elmore) / P.O. Box 1368 / Mansfield, OH 44901

NO MORE BLAMING THE POOR

The focus on population growth as the root of problems such as poverty and environmental destruction is fundamentally flawed. Soaring population growth is not the cause of the most dire of the world's problems, they are a symptom and a byproduct of class stratification and imperialism. Blaming overpopulation for the world's problems is a classic example of scapegoating. It shifts the blame for poverty away from imperialist and capitalist Western powers to poor "Third World" people. This way of framing the question of the world's problems is a myth because the fundamental issue is not overpopulation, but the unequal distribution of wealth in this world, both between rich and poor nations and rich and poor classes.

There is no question that population growth has soared in the world in the last 150 years. This is partially an issue of access (many women have no way of spacing their pregnancies or choosing not to have children), but this does not account entirely for population growth. One underlying assumption of overpopulation politics is that if people in poor countries were educated and had access to birth control, they would choose to have small families. Besides the insulting assumption implied here that poor people are too stupid to know what's good for them, this does not deal with the realities of many people's lives. Having children is a choice, made by people in this world who have no source of wealth or social security other than a large family. Therefore, population growth is a symptom, not the cause, of

poverty.

The poverty of many people in the "Third World" has not occurred in a vacuum. International politics and economics have worked to create poverty in poor nations. The rich countries of the North, by exploiting the labor and resources of poorer countries in the South, play a large role in creating poverty. But capitalism's role in skyrocketing population growth and in oppressing poor peoples is disguised by the notion of "overpopulation", which places the blame on the cultural and behavioral practices of the poor instead of on inequalities in the global distribution of wealth.

In addition, there is also a problem of unequal distribution of wealth between rich and poor classes within countries. The elites of "developing" nations do not necessarily have the same interests as the majority of the people who live in poverty. In fact, the rich systematically benefit from policies which oppress the majority of people in the country. Not surprisingly, then, the elites of poor nations are by and large whole-hearted supporters of family planning measures sponsored by population control agencies, partly because it avoids an analysis that would link world problems to their wealth and partly because it puts them in a good position with countries like the U.S.

A large establishment has grown up around the issue of overpopulation. In the last twenty years an uproar about

THE MYTH OF OVERPOPULATION

by Erin Immaculate

notorious brutalities carried out in the name of reducing population (i.e. sterilization and birth control abuse) has forced the population establishment to take on a more moderate face. It remains true, however, that the goal of reducing population is incompatible with a goal of real reproductive choice and empowerment for women. The primary concern of a birth control program can either be women's health and empowerment, or it can be the reduction of population growth. The two goals are not compatible. In the first case, the woman is provided with as many choices and as much information as possible, and allowed to make her decision freely; the organization has no interest in convincing her to accept any particular option. Her choice comes first. In the second case, the primary goal is the prevention of pregnancy and the focus is on how to best get women to accept the most "effective" (which is often the most risky) form of birth control. Considering that the health care infrastructure in many underdeveloped countries is less than adequate, it would seem

that even more care should be paid by international health agencies toward monitoring side effects and potential health risks, and that low-risk forms of birth control should be emphasized. Contrary to this, there is clear evidence of a double standard for "First" and "Third World" women applied by these agencies. Poor women are often not given the chance to make an informed choice on matters of birth control. It is clear from this that a judgment has been made by the population control establishment that some women's health is more important than others.

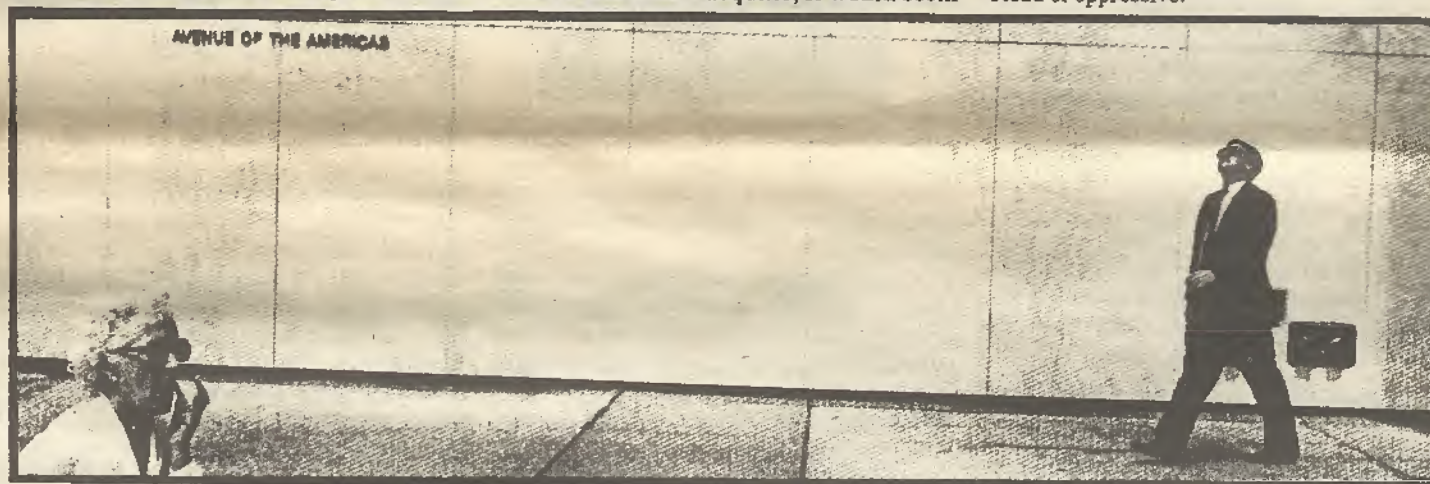
The simple fact is, the problem of poverty and underdevelopment is not one of "overpopulation," it is one of class conflict between rich elites and the poor. Only through a political movement that can both effect a democratic and radical redistribution of wealth and work for the self-determination of poor women globally to control their own reproduction will the "overpopulation crisis" end and family planning efforts in the "Third World" be useful instead of oppressive.

WHAT? LIBERALS? RACIST? Population Control Doublespeak

On Thursday, February 10, a "Town Meeting" on World Population and Sustainable Development sponsored by Planned Parenthood of Minnesota and the U.S. Network for Cairo '94 was held on the University of Minnesota campus. Most people in attendance seemed to be contributors to population control organizations, the speakers were all pro-population control, and of course the underlying issue which framed the entire discussion, the mythic responsibility of "overpopulation" for the most dire of the world's problems, was not up for debate at all.

What the forum did do was outline some of the new tactics of the population control establishment. The key tactic displayed at the forum was a carefully moderate appearance, "a new plan of action" that seems tailor-made to defuse many of the accusations of racism, sexism, genocide and imperialism that have dogged the population establishment. For the most part, the panelists at this forum were very careful to avoid key terms like "overpopulation" and "population control" because of their historically-earned bad connotations.

Timothy Wirth, the Undersecretary of State for Global Affairs (his frightening list of responsibilities in the State Department includes population, counternarcotics, terrorism, democracy, human rights and refugees), was one of the strongest advocates of "the new approach." In his speech he talked about this new form of doublespeak: "We are now



Spot the problem: the billions or the billionaires?

avoiding very, very carefully saying that Uncle Sam or the developing world is now going tell you, the non-white developing world, what to do. Rather, this is all being couched in terms of providing individuals and families with choices about their futures." Throughout the forum it became clear that this was in fact the same old population control politics given a more moderate look, connected with liberal social development programs as a cover.

Wirth illustrated the frightening agenda that still lies just under the surface of the new approach. He started his speech with two examples of places he characterized as in danger from population growth: Haiti and Somalia. He then went on to say that "the size and scope of the population issue that we face has presented the ingredients to overwhelm everything else that we are attempting to do," and illustrated this claim with an example: "If we are concerned about political stability, think about the issue of young men in North Africa and Algeria who have no opportunities for the future." He then talked about the threat of "disaffection" to political stability (read U.S. power) around the world. As a representative of the U.S. govern-

ment, he claims that the problem is one of unsustainable population growth. The cure to all those disaffected young African men that follows from this analysis, according to Wirth, is not revolutionary change but simply to have less African men. It still sounds like genocide, no matter what niceties are attached.

As part of this new approach, lip service to women's "empowerment" was a major feature of the forum. Women have always been affected by population politics, but now rather than just discussing women in terms of the "threat" posed by their fertility, women's empowerment is being touted as a means to reducing population. This makes good political sense for the population establishment because opposition to population control has often come from feminists with radical anti-racist and anti-imperialist politics.

Pro-choice politics are incomplete without a commitment to full reproductive freedom for all women. This commitment goes far beyond reformism or the legalization of abortion. We must demand that all women have the ability to make free choices about every aspect of reproduction. An authentic pro-choice position means oppo-

sition to population control.

Despite the new doublespeak, nothing much has changed with population control politics. It remains a weapon of genocide and a smokescreen for capitalist violence against people in Third World countries. Several speakers at the forum talked about "a new consensus" forming around the new language, new tactics and a professed "concern for human rights." In light of these new doublespeak tactics, we need to continue to challenge the ideology of population control, no matter in what language it is "couched" in.

The forum in Minneapolis was a precursor to the International Conference on Population and Development to be held (under the auspices of the United Nations) in Cairo, Egypt next September 5-13. Opposition is important now because this United Nations meeting only happens once every ten years. In addition, U.S. funding of programs designed to reduce population has increased dramatically since Bill Clinton took office. Close attention needs to be paid to both the rhetoric and the realities of population politics, especially as they are being redefined to appear more liberal.

REVIEWS!

Listen Up!

It's The Blasted Reviews Policy

Rather than review everything we get, we are going to focus a little more on reviews of things we really love, hate, or find especially interesting. We want to give these extra-cool books, zines, papers, and the occasional film or record more time and tender loving care than we could if we reviewed everything we received. Therefore, we can't guarantee a review if you send us something, but we will send a trade copy, toast you at our collective dinners, and owe you our eternal gratitude.

Still Black, Still Strong

Bin Wahad, Abu-Jamal, Shakur.
Semiotext(e): NY, NY 1993

In the fall of 1968, J. Edgar Hoover, F.B.I. chief, sent a memorandum calling upon his field agents "to exploit all avenues of creating...dissension within the ranks of the BPP (Black Panther Party) and stating that "recipient offices are instructed to submit imaginative and hard hitting counter-intelligence measures aimed at crippling the BPP."

The ensuing war against the Panthers involving slander, mass arrests, long term imprisonment and murder, succeeded in destroying the organization.

The BPP, at its height was the most significant revolutionary organization in the U.S. since the 30's. With dozens of local chapters from Oakland to Harlem to Des Moines and Omaha, and an aggressive "Serve the People" program that provided free breakfasts, medical care, and political education to the impoverished Black communities, the Panthers were able to win significant support among African-Americans. According to a poll at that time, "25% of the Black population has a great respect for the BPP," while "43% of Blacks under 21 years of age" felt that way. And this was for an explicitly revolutionary, anti-capitalist organization that regularly engaged police departments in gun battles.

Much of this history is known by today's radicals and students of the 60's. What is not known is that the Panthers haven't just gone away. Many were killed, more sold out, but a number of ex-Panthers are still contributing to the struggle on the streets and behind bars.

Still Black, Still Strong; survivors of the war against Black revolutionaries is an excellent introduction to the Black Panther Party and the repression they faced, but more importantly, the contemporary political ideas of ex-Panthers who have remained revolutionary. The main section of the book is divided up into interviews and essays by three survivors, Dhoruba

Bin Wahad (released in 1990 after 19 years in prison), Mumia Abu-Jamal (on Death Row in Pennsylvania), and Assata Shakur (living in exile in Cuba after escaping from prison).

Prison has given each of these ex-Panthers significant time to re-evaluate the Party and the direction the Black liberation movement should take. All three, in their own way, are struggling to break



with the Stalinism of the ideological past. Islam, feminism, anti-authoritarianism and the politics of the MOVE family are some of the new influences recognizable in this book.

In recent speeches Dhoruba has moved to even more anti-authoritarian positions, denouncing the nation-state as a form of organization, placing class and women's oppression along with race at the center of his analysis, and supporting Lesbian and Gay liberation.

The major flaw of this book is that while Dhoruba's and Mumia's ideas are examined in several interviews and essays, Assata appears in only one interview, and then to talk mostly about her case and not her political views.

In addition to the interviews & essays the book also includes a chronology of the BPP and copies of several of the more insidious COINTELPRO documents directed at the Panthers.

Still Black, Still Strong, at just over 250 pages, with an attractive cover, and for just 6 bucks, is highly accessible. Every Anarchist literature table should have one. - (K-Dog)

WAC Stats: The Facts About Women

Women's Action Coalition. New Press: NY, NY, 1993

According to the editors, this book "is an attempt to expose the realities and inequities confronting women within this culture." The 62 pages of statistics in *WAC Stats* is raw material for flyers, signs, and

articles about women's oppression. Since there isn't much writing here to pick apart, what's left to analyze in this review is the statistics themselves; what's there, what's missing, what they mean, and what kind of action is inspired by reading them. Statistics alone are of questionable meaning. Obviously, there are plenty of ways they can be influenced, and without context they are hard to decipher. Statistics can be useful though, and what *WAC Stats* is trying to do is give us a picture of the conditions under which women live, and inspiration to do something about it.

Subjects covered in *WAC Stats* include abortion/birth control, art, different women's health issues, media, government, violence against women, work, prison, and more. Some of the stats are more interesting and useful than others. One major thing that I noticed missing from *WAC Stats* right away is a section on population control abuses and eugenics. Since this is a critical issue that feminists need to address, and a nasty racist skeleton in the closet of the abortion rights/birth control movement, it is particularly lame that *WAC* failed to include it.

Like *WAC Stats*, the Women's Action Coalition itself is a mixed bag. *WAC* groups have pulled off some righteous actions, and *WAC* has moved feminist practice to the left of the envelope-stuffing and representative-calling of big national groups like NOW, but for the most part *WAC*'s direct actions are not the means for revolutionary ends. Women in *WAC* range from the very liberal to the totally rad, and this book seems to be a product of the more liberally side. Obviously missing from any compilation of statistics is a vision of how things should be in a future feminist society. Without this vision, it seems the logical course of action suggested is reform to fix skewed statistics like these:

"In a survey of 92 of this country's top corporations, it was found that a total of 37.2% of women represent 37.2% of employees, 16.9% of management, and 6.6% of executive management."

"Total number of women who served in Congress from its inception through 1992: 134. Total number of men: 11,096."

Like the statistics above, *WAC Stats* in general doesn't offer a devastating critique of the U.S. today. Instead, statistics like these seem to suggest that all we really need to do is fix them, in these examples, by putting more women in For-

tune 500 companies and in the Senate. Obviously, these kind of reforms which only seek to integrate women into the existing system, rather than fundamentally changing or destroying it, will only benefit a few of the already most privileged women. Feminism should have revolutionary change, not just equality, as a goal. So I would not say that *WAC Stats* is the bible of the women's movement, and I would not agree with Gloria Steinem (surprise, surprise!) that this book demonstrates that "WAC understands the depth of the problem" (back cover), but if you're looking for statistics to wave around or fill in a paper you're writing, this is it.

(Erin Immaculate)

Race Traitor

\$5 ppd or \$20 for 4 issues/PO Box 603/
Cambridge, MA/02140

Race Traitor is a self-proclaimed "journal of the new abolitionism", that publishes articles and promotes dialogue about white people defying whiteness. These defiant acts are what is called race treachery by the editors of this journal. The main premise of *Race Traitor* is that the U.S. is a society that could not exist without the social construction of whiteness. This whiteness is not "natural," it is socially constructed. If one is perceived as "white," one is entitled to certain rights and privileges at the expense of people of color. *Race Traitor* takes this right-on analysis further and advocates that since whiteness is not "natural" it can be undone. This can be done when white people stop being "white" and become human.

There is, however, a potential problem with this if white people fail to take responsibility for their privilege. I challenge the notion that one can give up whiteness just by saying they are not white anymore, as in one essay in this issue, "Who Lost an American". Even if someone doesn't see themselves as white, people of color will. White privilege is still intact. It is silly in my opinion to just say "I'm not white anymore." How can that be trusted? That's too easy. Appropriating other peoples cultures in exchange of whiteness is just another form of racism. In "Free To Be Me," white kids start dressing like African-American hip-hop culture and get

a lot of shit for it. Are these "socially effective" acts like *Race Traitor* says? Are they breaking the rules of whiteness or just participating in capitalist individualism? White people have to smash the white race. However this won't happen merely by declaring oneself not white, but by actively fighting racism - as white people. Of course, I'm not saying that the *Race Traitor* analysis is this simplistic, but this is a potential problem if it is not specifically addressed.

Some contributors to the journal have also broadened the concept of race treason to include class and gender treason, as in Christopher Day's "Out of Whiteness". This is a welcome addition.

Despite the criticisms, *Race Traitor* is a must-read for people struggling against racism. There is a well developed analysis of whiteness that is critical in combatting white supremacy, the articles are interesting and thought provoking. *Race Traitor* is open to be utilized by the anti-authoritarian left to facilitate conversations and



actions to end white supremacy. It is an offer we should take them up on.
(Tricia)

Free Society

Vol. 2 #2

\$2ppd / PO Box 7293 / Minneapolis, MN 55407

If you think that there's no thought behind the actions of those crazy anarchists you see running around on the streets causing trouble, read this and think again. Possibly the best English-language anarchist theoretical journal available today, the purpose of *Free Society* according to their political statement is "to foster theoretical discussion" and bridge the gap "that too often exists between radical scholarly work and activism. We want to make theory relevant to activist projects, and help to develop theory that is informed by contemporary conditions."

However, don't go thinking that just because this is a journal of anarchist theory you won't be able to understand a word. While it is true that some articles in this issue are written in a scholarly style that make them a bit tough to get through, most articles are clear, thoughtful, and easy to understand, which is important to someone like me, who reads most of his radical literature on the bus, away from handy access to a dictionary or English professor.

Identity politics and revolution is the key theme tying the articles together in this issue. Ynestra King has an excellent article in here about disabilities and identity politics, Laura Lib writes about Jews, anarchism, and identity politics, and Michael C. addresses the need to create a political identity in his "Epistemology of the Barricade." Don't know what in the fuck identity politics are? Don't know what the fuck they have to do with revolution? This journal is a good place to start looking.

Other articles of interest in here include an excellent analysis of radical pro-choice forces' victory over Operation Rescue in Minneapolis last summer (as well as a first-person account from a woman who got an abortion during the Week of Refuge) and a good history of the Minnesota 8 case. Who needs *The Nation* when you can have a *Free Society*? (Joel)

Love and Rage

Vol. 4 #6 & Vol. 5 #1

\$1.50ppd or \$9 for six issues / PO Box 853 / Stuyvesant Station / NY, NY 10009

This revolutionary anarchist bi-monthly has gotten better and better, as the material covered in the past few issues has become increasingly diverse, interesting, and well-written. A paper put out by the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation (of which *Agitator Index* is a member collective), the paper does a good job reflecting the revolutionary, anti-authoritarian, and activist politics of the

Federation (in fact, sometimes it does it better than the federation!).

The leading articles in #6 revolve around the theme of Tearing Down the Borders between nation-states, particularly between the U.S. and Mexico. But you can bet this ain't a pro-NAFTA paper, baby: abolishing some taxes and restrictions on the flow of capital between nations has nothing to do with abolishing borders. But an international movement linking American and Mexican workers against government repression of immigrants and against a global reorganization of capital does, as this issue points out. Also included are several good analyses of

anarchist gathering in North America, national and international news, reviews, letters, and an inspiring interview with Jeet Kai of Roots of Resistance.

The latest issue (Vol. 5 #1) has two main focuses: 1) feminism and revolution, and 2) the uprising in Chiapas. The section on feminism and revolution is excellent, particularly the essay on radicalizing "Stonewall 25". The section on

Chiapas has a lot of good communiques from the EZLN, an interview with Subcomandante Marcos, and more, but the highlight here is the anarchist analysis of the uprising, which is easily the best analysis of the uprising I've read yet, making this issue mandatory reading.

Be sure to check a copy of this out. A Spanish-language edition (*Amor y Rabia*) is also available. (Joel)

Bottomfish Blues: The Coming of Black Genocide & other essays.

Mary Barfoot. Vagabond Press: New York, 1993.

As the back cover says, "Bottomfish Blues is an underground Amazon publication that has appeared anonymously and episodically in NYC since 1986. Its two main themes radically challenge white women's complicity in both the on-going Black Genocide and the patriarchy's war against women." This book is a collection of essays that appeared in issues of *Bottomfish Blues*, which have not been widely available before. The writing is not academic at all, it's written zine-style, and this made me even more excited to check it out.

The longest essay is the one the book is named after, "The Coming of Black Genocide." The analysis of *Bottomfish Blues* is that the U.S. was built on exploited and enslaved Black labor, but has now come to a point where capitalism no longer needs Black people, and has come up with genocide as the solution. They attempt to trace the history of the coming of Black genocide up to the present, especially focusing on the role of attacks on Black women and children. *Bottomfish Blues* is a wake-up call, especially to white feminists. It has an important message to white women to refuse to align themselves with white men

in support of genocide. As it says on the first page, "white women's equality is the key to white solidarity."

As important as I think this book is, and as excited as I was to read it, I found myself getting increasingly frustrated with its style and sometimes too-heavy conspiracy theory tendencies. *Bottomfish Blues* is written with a very wide scope and has a tendency to make absolute statements without backing them up. For example, "Back before the dawn of 'civilization', that is before classes and private property and patriarchy - rape was non-existent, was, in fact, unthinkable." These kinds of generalizations (in this case about something no one could ever prove) weaken their arguments.

Bottomfish Blues also gets a little too into conspiracy theories for my taste. We need to have a more complex understanding of the way power works in this society. It is too impractical to believe that there is actually a unified group of people pulling the strings or an actual plan for Black genocide drawn up somewhere. Of course, policy consistently ends up benefitting the same people, and does all add up to an attempt to destroy the Black community, but this does not necessarily equal a conspiracy. The markers of genocide *Bottomfish Blues* points out are all there, and what becomes clear is that this doesn't require the kind of conspiracy that the book tries to lay out. Sure, there's the scary official government plans of the 1960s, but elaborate conspiracies are impractical, especially now. This genocide doesn't need anyone guiding it, it was set in motion long ago and can keep on going on its own momentum.

The essays in this anthology were written in the late '80s, so some of the examples in the book are slightly dated, but the genocide they describe seems even more true today. Sure they had Reagan then, and now we have a "liberal" president and a more "tolerant" atmosphere, but what we really have is the entire political establishment fighting over the rhetoric the extreme right has been spewing for years, media-fed public hysteria, and a nightmarish

political terrain that can't get enough of crime, drugs, drive-bys, street gangs, and sexual assaults. In the years of "p.c." and multi-culturalism, no one is willing to point out that get-tough crime bills, gun control, the war on drugs, "community policing", C.A.R.E./N.R.P., condemnation signs on low-income housing, and purposeful neglect of inner-city neighborhoods all add up to genocide.

Bottomfish Blues is an interesting and worthwhile read. The thing is, I felt like they were right, even as I was frustrated by their conspiratorial and generalizing tone. No matter what else, this book will make you think, and hopefully act now to stop genocide.

(Sister Immaculate Conception)

Buy, Buy, Buy!

Most everything reviewed here can either be found by writing to the addresses given, or (locally) at Mayday Books, Arise!, or Emma Center. Also, check out *The Blast!* distribution on the back cover.

Also received...

Miscellaneous cool punk rock from Blu Bus Recs; Hothead Poison, Homicidal Lesbian Terrorist, book by Diane DiMassa; Infinite Onion; Prison News Service; and Turning the Tide

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ZAPATISTAS

cont. from p. 11

limited because they will soon confront this fundamental contradiction, "the contradiction between the authoritarian official project [of the government] that generates poverty in wide sectors of the population and the social popular project that, with diverse expression and forms of struggle, has for years demanded a real transition to democracy and towards a society where rights belong to all."

This contradiction of capitalist democracy lies in how democracy is defined. The capitalist says that all a nation needs is political parties and elections (even rigged ones) for democracy to exist, while a radical democrat defines democracy as a form of political organization that enables people to participate in making all decisions—including economic ones—that affect their lives, in addition to enjoying basic human rights.

The Zapatistas are fully aware of this contradiction. They know that not only is Mexico not heading in the direction of democracy (neither the radical nor the capitalist variety), and that democracy will never come to Mexico as long as the ruling class has their way. That's why they entered the negotiations: not only to get whatever economic aid they can force out of the government to alleviate the incredible poverty of Chiapas, but also to flirt with the government negotiators in a bid for time.

The EZLN wants time because as long as they maintain their demands for a transitional government and free and fair elections, they remain in control. This is because their demands are essentially for the end of capitalism (though they are careful never to explicitly say this) through a change in the political process, which ties the hands of the government precisely due to the contradiction of capitalist democracy between its high moral claims of equality and democracy and its reality of defending the rich at the expense of the poor. How can the government, which everyone knows rigged the last presidential elections in 1988, claim to be against democracy and free elections while still refusing to meet the Zapatista's demands? Of course, all of this depends on the EZLN refusing to surrender their arms, but Marcos has promised that they will disarm not after the agreement is signed but only after significant progress has been made in the political and material conditions of Chiapas. It remains to be seen what "significant progress" means.

The Zapatistas, even by going to the negotiating table, are far from a dead movement. In fact, the negotiations may even strengthen them, because should the PRI rig the elections again and "win" come August, the EZLN will have full recourse to another armed revolt, only this time others may join them.

The Possible Ends of the EZLN

Despite the cunning strategy of the EZLN, their apparently genuine calls for democracy, and their explicit denial of wanting to seize state power, there is no guarantee that the EZLN represents the

future of a new anti-authoritarian movement that will create a free and equal society. Much of the EZLN's politics remain unclear. Are the Zapatistas asking for a deepening of democracy in Mexican society beyond mere elections? There are two ways this question can be explored, though it cannot be answered yet.

The first is by examining the internal politics and structure of the EZLN, because as any victim of Stalinism can tell you, in building a revolution means must be consistent with ends: the way a revolutionary movement is organized is a good indicator of how free or repressive its society will be after the revolution. If a revolutionary movement is anti-democratic (or democratic only within the vanguard party), the society that comes from it will likely be anti-democratic as well.

How democratic is the EZLN internally? This is difficult to tell; as of yet no one seems to know who makes up the Clandestine Revolutionary Committees or the General Command of these Committees, nor how decisions are made within these bodies. However, when the EZLN first took San Cristobal and a reporter asked a rebel who commanded the EZLN, he pointed to fellow Zapatistas occupying the municipal building and said, "The collective of the people that is right there." Is this genuine or is it just puffy revolutionary rhetoric?

Also, their January 6 declaration says "the use of masks to hide our faces is in keeping with elemental security measures and also as a vaccine against caudillismo." Caudillismo roughly means authoritarianism, which possibly indicates that the Zapatistas are concerned to prevent members from becoming too power-hungry and authoritarian. However, the revolutionary laws issued by the EZLN are a mixed bag. Some laws and proclamations are truly inspiring and revolutionary (such as the Revolutionary Agrarian Law), others are curious but interesting (like the Women's Revolutionary Law), while others seem downright suspicious with great potential for abuse (such as the Law of Rights and Obligations of Peoples in Struggle).

Another way to analyze the EZLN's anti-authoritarian potential is to examine their relations with the local indigenous communities they claim to come from. It's too early to say for sure, but it does appear that instead of coming from the outside to "organize" indigenous Chiapaceno communities, the EZLN genuinely comes from these communities. The Zapatista movement may indeed be as indigenous as the people they claim to represent. Further, a key component of EZLN politics seems to be community autonomy, which fits perfectly with the legacy of Zapata.

After the negotiations with the gov-



Two of the thousands of women who fought with Zapata in the Mexican Revolution of 1910-18

ernment concluded in early March, Subcomandante Marcos said the agreements were subject to approval from the indigenous communities involved, which also indicates the democratic character of the EZLN. However, there is no way to determine just how accountable the EZLN is to indigenous communities in Chiapas, who gets to participate in making decisions in these communities, and who (if anyone) has the most power in determining decisions made by a community. Only when these questions are answered can we be assured of the anti-authoritarian character of the EZLN, but for now it should be clear that the potential is definitely there.

Tearing Down Borders

In order to support the Zapatista struggle and all struggles for justice and democracy and against capitalism, we need to internationalize the struggle in the West just like the Zapatistas are doing in Mexico. There are two ways we can do this. One is to tear down the borders in our home countries. In the U.S., this means organizing against Immigration and Naturalization Services' (INS) attempts to find and deport "illegal aliens", many of whom are *Mexicanos*. It means fighting the borders between Mexico and the U.S. and between Canada and the U.S., especially when these borders split traditional indigenous lands in two. Further, we need to fight NAFTA, which supports "free trade" between nations only in the sense that capital (and jobs) are free to move across borders unhindered, while the free movement of humans is prevented.

Secondly, we need to follow the Zapatistas' lead and revolt ourselves. When it comes right down to it, a revolution in the West—particularly the United States—will make it much easier for a radically anti-authoritarian and free society to develop in Chiapas and the rest of the "Third World" as well. Let us all hope that Chiapas is merely the first of a string of successful rebellions that will rock the world of capitalism and white supremacy into the 21st century. The ruling classes are mustering their forces; it is time to summon ours. Let the new millennium begin.

—Thanks to the Zapatista Solidarity Committee, Chris K. / Atlatl Collective, Love & Rage, and Amor y Rabia

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Agitation Index continued

WESTVILLE INDIANA "SUPERMAX"

Prison breaches promise to negotiate in "good faith" as human rights violation and torture continue.

Since the Maximum Control Complex (M.C.C.) within Indiana's Westville Correctional Center opened in 1991, the running of the high-tech dungeon has violated international law, international human rights treaties, the Eighth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution (forbidding cruel and unusual punishment), and the humanity of anyone with a conscience. The human rights abuses and torture continue, despite the pending "agreed entry" to be signed by the Indiana Department of Corrections and the group of M.C.C. prisoners who took legal action to save themselves from continued abuse. In fact, incidents of abuse have escalated in recent months, making the "bad faith" of the Indiana C.O.C. quite clear.

The Coalition Against Indiana Control Units and Prison Abuse (CAICUAPA) has been monitoring and documenting the patterns of abuse and torture at Westville.

The following actions are necessary to reverse the deplorable conditions at the Maximum Control Unit within Westville.

- An end to blasting cells with constant air conditioning during the winter months.

- Stop brutally violent "cell extractions" and other beatings.

- Stop physical and psychological abuse of mentally unstable prisoners.

- Stop targeting legally and politically active prisoners for abuse.

- Stop illegal censorship of mail, both personal letters and printed material.

- Increase prisoners' access to telephone, and the number of visits allowed. Stop no-contact visits with prisoners shackled.

- Allow recreation, exercise, and time out of cells.

- Develop access to educational programs.

- Allow meaningful access to legal advice and the court system.

- Develop proper medical care procedures and staff. Stop blatant indifference to prisoners' health.

CAICUAPA and Amnesty International have repeatedly contacted the Indiana D.O.C. regarding these changes. Despite their promise to negotiate in good faith, conditions within the M.C.C. have

continued to deteriorate. This escalation of abuses appears to further punish the prisoners who sought legal action. CAICUAPA now demands that an independent investigatory team inspect M.C.C. and hold the institution accountable for its human rights violations. The structure of the Maximum Control Complex at Westville Correctional Center is built around abuse and torture. CAICUAPA believes the only way to restore the human rights of the prisoners held within the M.C.C. is to close this prison-within-a-prison.

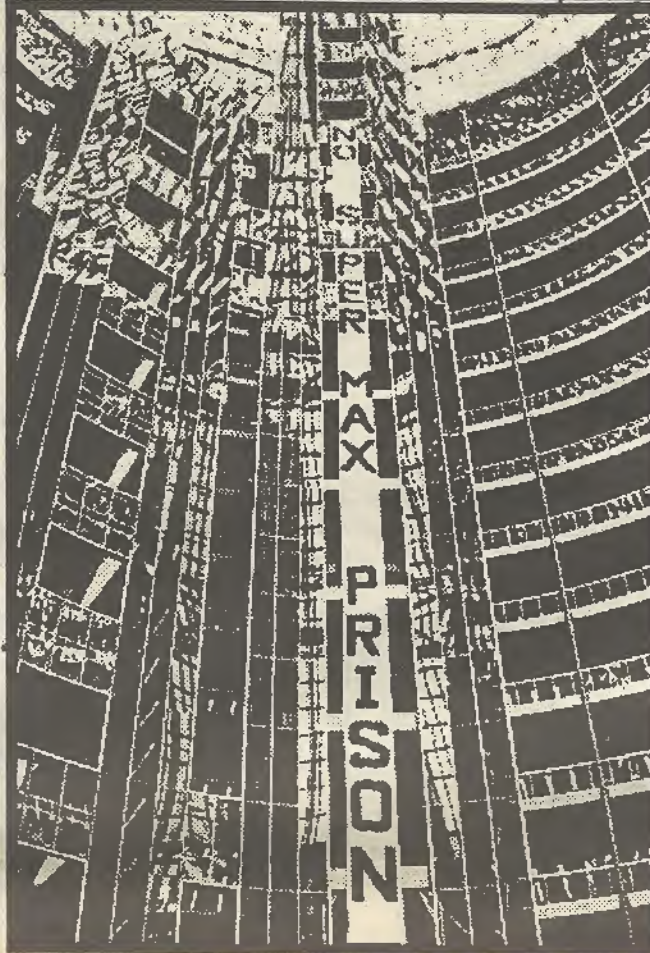
DEFINING "SUPERMAX"

What defines a supermax? A supermax, otherwise known as a "control unit" prison, can be defined by three features:

- 1) permanent lockdown (solitary confinement in cells for approximately twenty-three hours a day).

- 2) isolation/sensory deprivation (the elimination of work, education, and all forms of group interaction).

- 3) administrative, i.e. arbitrary assignment (the administrative [as opposed to disciplinary] transfer of prisoners to supermaxes, thus denying prisoners some of the minimal procedural safeguards to challenge their assignment. Prisoners can be transferred to supermaxes on the basis of such vague criteria as gang affiliation and activity. This provides prison officials with wide latitude to target and repress politically, religiously, and/or culturally active prisoners under the guise of neutralizing gang activity).



Banner hung in the State of Illinois building during protest against proposed super-max prison.

Up and Out from page 4

and Seed" program of fascism instituted in Los Angeles in response to the uprising. "Weed" out "negative" elements in communities as defined by the capitalist class; "Seed" into the communities gentrified housing and those of Eurocentric descent. C.A.R.E. utilizes coercive functions and institutions of the Empire (Housing Inspections, Child Protection, Welfare, Police) to evict and victimize communities. State funded and organized, the C.A.R.E. process is such: predominantly white property owners organize to "target" alleged "problem properties". Up and Out of Poverty Now monitors and disrupts these meetings of organized bigoted vigilantism, and outreaches to those "targeted" to offer support and create a strategy of resistance. Up and Out of Poverty Now has also developed a strategy of political housing takeovers, reclaiming housing that should rightfully belong to humans as a basic right, if only but for a period of hours until UOPN sustains arrests by the fascist upholders of privilege and exploitation. UOPN takes upon a responsibility in organizing

litized to the struggle. It is to this end that UOPN continues to "agitate, educate, and organize".

Also, UOPN organizes extensively within the homeless and "disenfranchised" communities, offering alternatives to the apathy, hopelessness, racism, sexism, homophobia, classism, and ignorance inherent within the dehumanization of the capitalist system. Monthly, UOPN creates meetings, outreaching to the "dispossessed" communities with the idea of politicizing and involving people into the resistance. As in the Zapatistas revolution in Chiapas, Mexico; as in the students and workers revolt in Paris, 1968; as in the racial and sexual civil rights movement in Amerikkka, resistance and revolution must come from the oppressed themselves, and to this achievement, UOPN struggles.

Decidedly, there is a need for anarchists to support oppressed peoples and further educate and politicize our communities. Officially, thank you to the anarchist comrades who have supported the actions of UOPN. The impact that anarchists can have as supporters and creators of social justice and liberation is inspiring.

Toward a society free from racism, sexism, homophobia, and all forms of oppression; toward a liberated society and culture; all power to the powerless! - Michael Wood / UOPN

SERIOUSLY AGITATED cont.

Down the Walls

We are actively opposed to the brutality and state slavery that is the current prison system. The abuse of peoples basic human rights must stop, and the system doing so must be abolished. The prison system is quickly becoming the new projects. We believe the connections between race and class and who's rotting away in the prisons is no coincidence. In fact, we believe that, through bullshit programs like the "War on Drugs" and the new Crime Bill, it is a concerted effort on the part of the ruling class to control people of color.

We will work to free prisoners. Political prisoners and P.O.W.'s are of our highest priority. We will work to gain their freedom by any means necessary. We will support prisoners, and not let them become isolated and alienated from the struggle. As New Afrikan Anarchist Political Prisoners Ojore N. Lutalo so clearly states, "any movement that does not support its political internees is a sham movement." We support the Anarchist Black Cross and other organizations doing direct support for and legal assistance to prisoners. Raze the walls!



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opposition to the C.A.R.E. process on a mass level, yet, as in all levels of resistance, communities must be involved and po-

Lorenzo Interview cont. from page 19

Johnson, a white Anarchist in Chattanooga, and we set up the *Ad Hoc Coalition Against Racism and Police Brutality* in 1992. John was a member of Love and Rage and one day we started talking and then he showed me the *Love & Rage* newspaper, the issue denouncing Nazis and racists, it really floored me! So I said to myself, maybe there is hope for the Anarchist movement yet, and wrote to L&R pronto. My letter was published and a number of persons contacted me, and I became active again.

I still am disappointed that more Blacks and other People of Color have not been brought into the movement, and that there seems to be some sort of defeatist or fatalistic position about this. It really disturbs me, and then silly people ask me why Blacks are joining the RWL or Socialist Workers Party. My answer: there is no Anarchist alternative that has shown they are interested in Black or People of Color causes or having non-white membership. This ultra-democratic position has been explained to me, but it smacks of paternalism and hands-off nonsense. The very idea of wanting to "spare those Blacks" the benefits of membership or worrisome recruiting is super-silly and insulting.

This is how white people misread what Black people have on their minds; believe me, they are not concerned with such nonsense, they are looking for serious political alternatives, and what insults them is when white people treat them like children who cannot understand Anarchist concepts. If most people were treated this way, well, they would also be outraged. But even so, there is not a lot of comparison with the 1990's? you see the open racist position was the majority position, now it is a minority position or at least is not openly expressed. Everyone has to at least give lip service to being an anti-racist.

What do you see as the main weaknesses of the contemporary anarchist movement?

The contemporary Anarchist movement is too white, too anti-intellectual, too middle class, too young, and too non-serious. There also seems to be a serious anathema about getting organized on a stronger footing, which totally befuddles

me. There is no recruiting of non-anarchists, too much herd mentality, too much "purism", and too much political "brown-nosing" and sucking up to "historical figures" or well-published authors like Bookchin, who I have nothing against, but do not agree that he is a revolutionary. I also think the movement is too pacifist and idealistic, and afraid of persons who do not agree with their ideas or whom they have to win over. They are slaves to spontaneity, even on organizational questions. Finally, I think the movement is too counter-cultural, rather than political.

Could you elaborate on the idea of creating a Dual Power and why it is important to revolutionary activity?

When you ask me to talk about what a revolutionary dual power would look like, I assume that you are asking me to speculate on the nature of post-capitalist society as I see it, as well the insurgent nature of communes and workers councils while capitalism still exists. I talk about much of this in my book *Anarchism and the Black Revolution*, but let me say that though I am talking about a cooperative commonwealth

historical experiences. I am not talking about racial segregation because that has always been enforced by the state, but I am talking about affinity.

First, I am talking about building rebellious, anti-capitalist communes in cities right now as part of the struggle. Free cities, breakaway regions, insurgent neighborhoods lost to the government already a reality to some extent, but politics are not in command at this moment. South Central Los Angeles is an example.

All I am saying is that we can begin to build this infrastructure now on a larger, more serious basis than has ever existed before. We must challenge the right of the state to exist and we must prove out our ideas in real social life. I have no doubt that Anarchism will not just come one glorious day, but rather will have to exist in pockets in today's society. We must fight and weaken the state on a daily basis, while building to overthrow it in one fell swoop. We must also win people over to the popular conception of a revolutionary Anarchist way of life, as an alternative to today's disease-ridden social system.

People fight for hope for the future, not just a set of ideas alone. They need a vision of how life can be, and that is why we build the commune in the belly of the beast. I am not just talking about "intentional communities" or "utopian communes" such as have existed in America. They are too small, diffuse and

non-political; no, I am speaking of subverting existing institutions, while exposing the inability of the state to meet people's needs.

What is it about the state that prevents the liberation of oppressed peoples? Why, for example, can't a "worker's state" lead to a free and just society?

I have explained all this in my book, but let me say that a state, any state is inherently undemocratic. The petit bourgeoisie would rule over the masses, just like has been done in most places in the world: Angola, Mozambique, Cuba, and other countries with so-called "revolutionary governments". In no time they would swipe all opposition movements, not just the bourgeoisie, but ideological opponents as well. Which means that they are just as bad as the capitalist bourgeoisie.

Imagine Louis Farrakhan in his Black state; it would be the worst sort of feudal, religious fundamentalist, anti-woman, class-biased sort of place, and he would be jailing and killing his ideological opponents in no time at all. Anarchists would be repressed right along with the restive poor, who though things would be better off.

The state is an instrument for

class rule and a dictatorship. For sure, people like me would be in the wrong class, would quickly be designated "an enemy of the state and the leader" if I even grumbled about the Honorable Farrakhan's wealth while we poor folks starved; it would get me killed or jailed. These kinds of xenophobic nationalist movements are not revolutionary, but rather conservative to the bone, and do not provide an answer.

Why do you think the South, despite all the stereotypes, is a ripe place for revolutionary organization and activity?

I do not believe the Southern struggle is finished: the high levels of unemployment, lowest wages, most prisons and state executions, "right to work" laws, and political repression still reside in the South. There is a different history and economic foundation still to the region, which will almost mandate a new outbreak of struggle led by Black workers, and the Southern struggle will once again be a vanguard to a new generation of struggle. A social revolutionary movement, which is "anti-racist", but has a broad agenda of struggle can be extremely effective in leading a movement in the US, and I believe Anarchists can intervene on today's stage, if we will study our history, which I believe should include SNCC during the 1960's.

We must create the infrastructure for serious struggles in this important region. I am in favor of the creation of a Southern Anarchist organizing project based in Atlanta, GA. which can intervene in labor, Black, and other social struggles in the South. I also believe a National Black Community Organizing Institute can be started in Atlanta to reach Black youth, and create a new generation of community organizers. Both of these institutions would spread anti-authoritarian ideas and our conception of the struggle. I hope I can get the support of Anarchists - financial and political - for the creation of these and other projects in this region. I don't know what stereotypes you are referring to in 1993, and hope people will leave their regions in the North to come to Atlanta just like white students did in 1964 when the call went out for such activists to leave their lives of privilege and join the struggle. The experience radicalized them for life. Think about it.

Gonzalo from page four

September 1992 capture by undercover cops disguised as a barbecue party.

Last December, Gonzalo supposedly called off the People's War in order to be allowed conjugal visits with his revolutionary main squeeze and real clothes instead of striped pajamas.

The class-enemy New York Times also claims that scads of troopers in the so-called Shining Path have bailed out since Gonzalo's "turn."

The Fujimori government could be lying. Even if it's true, remember that the dude was psychologically tortured.

In any case, a movement with one Gonzalo chief is a Gong Show loser.

The Blast! salutes those fighters who haven't deserted in the wake of Guzman's Goof. Or maybe we salute those who have. Maybe they'll regroup into a movement a with less Gonzalo, more freedom, and fewer car bombs randomly blowing up working-class people.



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Crime Bill cont. from page 15

cans, either because they're walking down the street and happen to fit some vague description of a "crime suspect" (such as 18-25 year old Black man wearing a baseball cap being a potential "gang member") or because they lack opportunities in a racist and capitalist state other than to participate in a drug economy.

The War on Drugs and the Crime Bill are interconnected. Because of the War on Drugs, law enforcement is concentrated in the inner city and not in the suburbs. This is intended to make it seem as though the "crime" originates in the inner city. Most drug users are white, but it is black folks who are singled out. It is very rare that the white folks in the suburbs who wholesale drugs to the inner city will ever get their homes raided and be imprisoned. Many of the crime bill provisions relate specifically to punishing gang activity and drug-related activity in the African-American community. We must understand that harsh punishment of drug activity is racist and classist because a drug economy does not exist in a vacuum.

One of the crime bill measures that is most drastic and will serve to punish African Americans disproportionately is the "three strikes you're out proposal," which mandates that someone convicted of three violent felonies will be punished with life imprisonment. Because of racial bias in the criminal justice system African Americans who come up for trial on their third "violent" felony will be disproportionately found guilty. Studies have revealed that arrest and prosecution rates of African Americans are vastly disproportionate to their percentage in the population as a whole.

Punishment for certain crimes is a conscious tactic that has already been used to silence the most oppressed in this country. With the passage of this bill, life imprisonment will be used for crimes that will not warrant so harsh a penalty. "Violent felony" is defined as a crime involving the threatened or actual use of physical force against the person, or the property, of another; or any other offence that by its nature involves a substantial risk that may be used against the person or property of another. Under this "substantial risk" specification, the actual use of force is not required for a person to be charged with a violent felony. In addition Sen. Gramm's (R-Texas) proposal includes felony drug offences as strikes towards automatic life imprisonment. This whole notion of somehow being able to identify violent criminals from their official records is ludicrous and racist precisely because of the disproportionate number of arrests made in communities of color and the disproportionate number of police in the inner city which raises the likelihood of arrests.

The present crime bill and previous crime bill proposals have also focused on punishing immigrants. Borders are important to U.S. imperialism. In the light of recent INS sweeps, the passage of NAFTA, and the crackdown on immigration rights that is proposed in the crime bill we can see how total and far-reaching the U.S. government's fear of political upheaval in North America goes.

Immigrants pose a threat to the existing social order in this country. The U.S. government fears a political alliance between immigrant workers and exploited American workers. Also, keeping "third

world" labor out of this country by creating and enforcing borders makes labor even more exploitable by U.S. corporations who move their operations abroad for cheaper labor and unsafer working conditions, thus furthering unemployment in this country and putting more people on the streets for survival to be picked up by "law enforcement".

The crime bill proposals on deportations and secret trials will also repress supporters of liberation movements abroad, including immigrants from all over the world who may be somehow affiliated with, for example, the IRA, ANC, or the PLO. The INS defines "terroristic activity" to include fundraising or recruiting members for any organization or government body that has engaged in unlawful or violent activity. Under this proposal guilt by association becomes a crime and immigrants who embrace politics that are counter to a U.S. imperialist agenda are deemed "terrorists".

The risk of having this crime bill pass and the reality of how it will affect people of color, immigrants, political prisoners, and political activists involved in race and class struggles brings us to the inevitable question of how we can organize against it. On the one hand we need to organize against the passage of the bill into law, but we must recognize that this is not enough. This is a long-term struggle because the racism that exists within the government, judicial system, and law enforcement will still exist regardless of whether or not the crime bill passes.

At a recent town meeting in Minneapolis entitled "52 Ways to Kill A Black Man", organized by the Committee Seeking Equal Justice For the Minnesota 8; strategies were debated on how to organize for justice on a grassroots level. Everything from boycotts to lobbying Congress to founding local political organizations was discussed. It was emphasized by several panelists that political leadership and direction must begin to come more from the oppressed and that people should hold agencies such as the NAACP accountable to the constituency it is supposed to serve. In addition to all the things brought out in the forum, it is increasingly important for coalitions to form locally and across the country to combat police brutality and racial bias in the courts. White anti-racist groups must work in coalition with racially oppressed peoples and their political organizations.

Also, send away for a copy of the crime bill. We need to get prepared and read this sucker because it's obvious that the state will use this law to repress all sorts of activities that serve to bring about freedom and revolution. Plus, as the economy worsens, jobs become fewer, and "crime" increases more

people will land in jail. The state is clearly starting to set up legal mechanisms to repress rebellion before it gets out of their control.

The Center for Constitutional Rights is putting out a call for people to contact the following to voice opposition to the crime bill: (all phone numbers-area code 202).

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 Kennedy (MA), Subcommittee Chair, Immigration & Refugee Affairs 224-4543
 Kohl (WI), Subcommittee Chair, Juvenile Justice 224-5653
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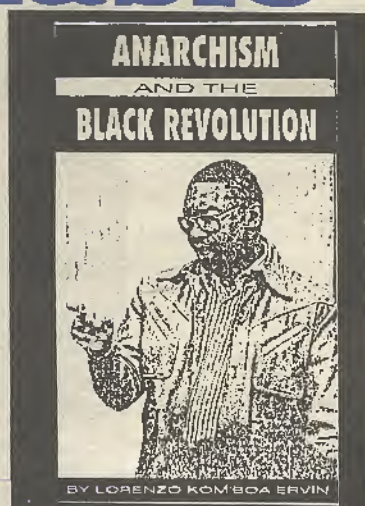
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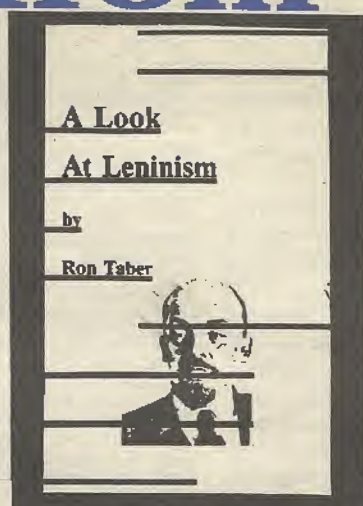
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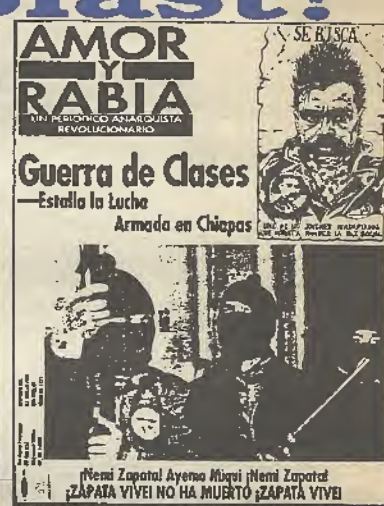
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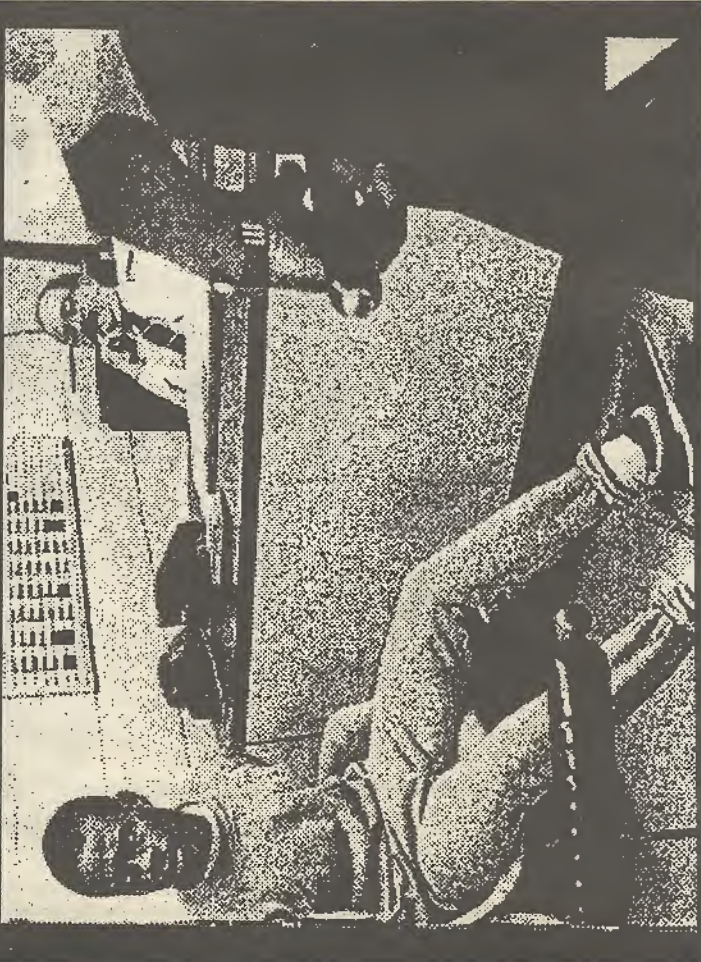
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THE CRIME OF BLACK IMPRISONMENT

There is no evidence to support the claim that Black people commit more crime than whites in this society, but when we take a look inside of the prisons we see that Black men make up over 43% of the prison population. Keep in mind that Blacks make up only 12% of the population.

Black men are incarcerated at a rate 8 times that of white men, and five times higher than Black men living in South Africa. One in four Black men are under some form of control by the criminal justice system, one in twelve are actually behind bars. Racism permeates every level of the

Black imprisonment. - *Facts from CEMIL*



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