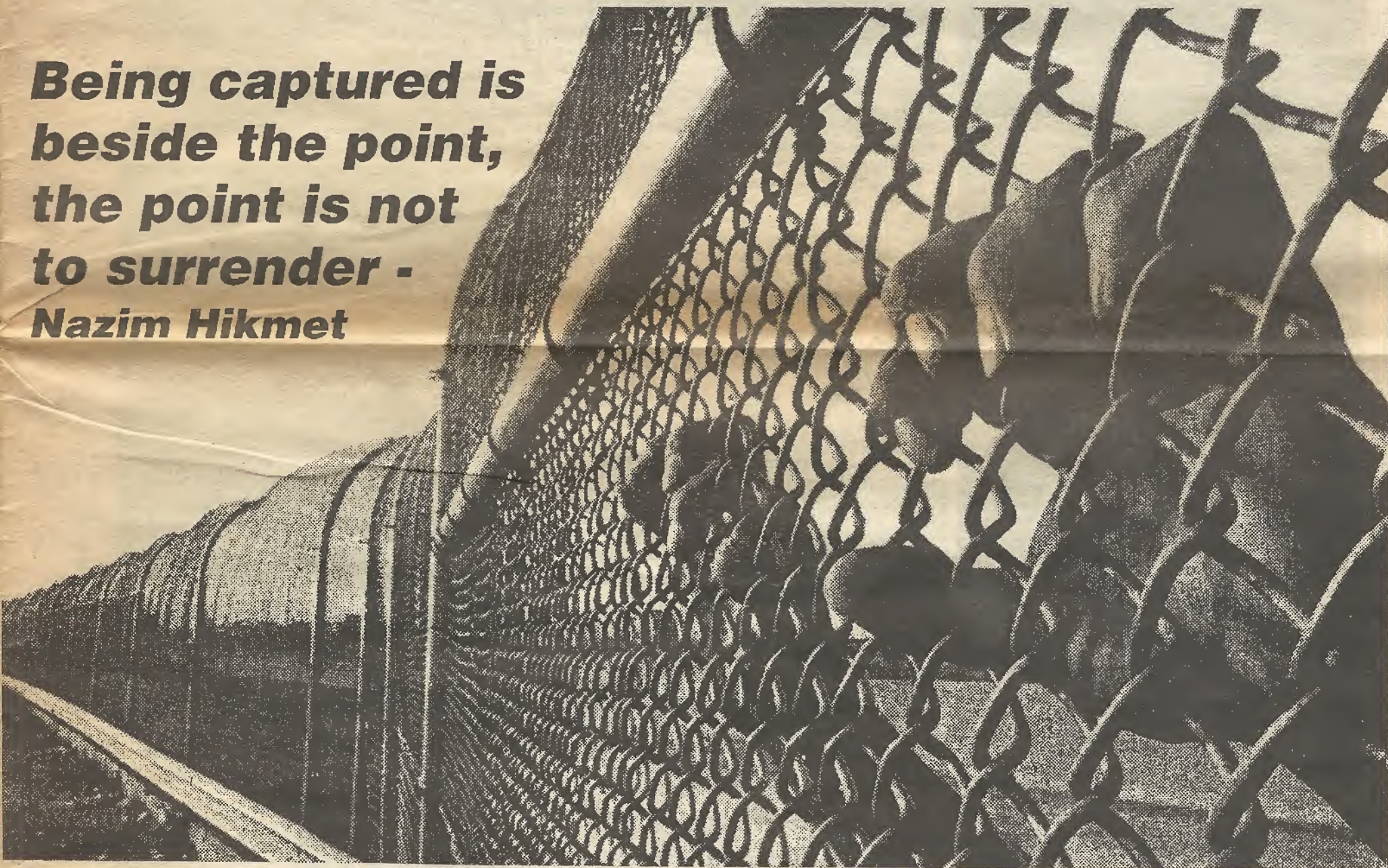


'THE BLAST!

AUG/SEPT 1994 • NUMBER THREE • FREE IN MINNESOTA

**Being captured is
beside the point,
the point is not
to surrender -
Nazim Hikmet**



BURIED ALIVE

CONTROL UNIT PRISONS IN THE UNITED STATES - CENTER

INSIDE: OAK PARK HEIGHTS RACE RIOT • 3~ THE TRUTH ABOUT D.A.R.E. • 10~ RADICAL STONEWALL • 13~
ZAPATISTA DEMOCRACY • 17~ EVERYBODY GET A GATT • 18~ MINNEAPOLIS ANTI-FASCIST DEFENSE • 20

PO BOX 7075
MPLS, MN 55407
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WHY THE BLAST?

The Blast! is dedicated to revealing, celebrating and encouraging resistance to the forces of oppression that choke this world in a vice-grip. We take aim at those who would deny us a life of freedom, equality, mutual aid, and dignity.

The Blast! is put out by the Agitator Index collective in Minneapolis. We are six people who believe that the only way to stop the injustice in this society is by turning resistance into revolution.

There are three key things we believe. First, there is nothing "natural" about the way the world is today. Capitalism doesn't rule the world because it is "human nature" to be selfish and greedy. Race and racism do not exist because certain people are different "by nature." Men and women are not distinct and unequal because of "biology". Race, sexuality, and oppression are human relationships that are created by social and historical conditions, not some unchangeable "human nature" or biology.

Second, the world we live in is oppressive and unjust. We see four fundamental oppressions that have shaped this world: capitalism and imperialism, white supremacy, patriarchy (male domination and homophobia), and the state. All of these things work to grind the majority of people in the world into obedient servants, or if that doesn't work, into dust. While all four of these oppressions are interconnected and work together to oppress people (for example, the way white supremacy has been combined with capitalism to oppress Blacks in North America), each oppression is also relatively independent from the others. Therefore, any revolutionary struggle has to fight all of these oppressions, not just one.

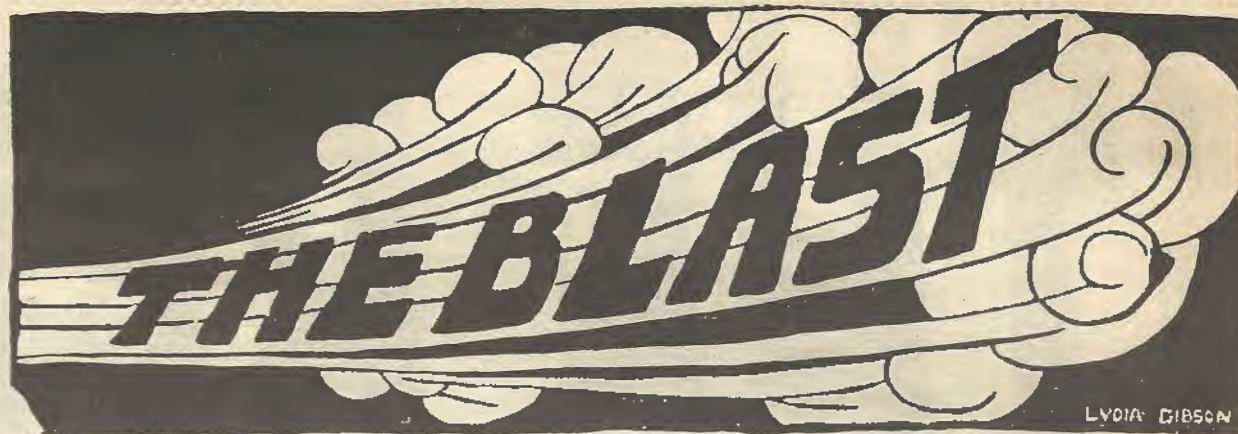
Third, because the world is unjust, and because injustice is not natural, the world should and can be changed. This requires revolutionary change. That's why we support the creation of a mass, bottom-up, democratic, participatory revolutionary movement that can overthrow the powers that be and build a free society. We need to start building this anti-authoritarian revolutionary movement now.

We want *The Blast!* to be relevant to all kinds of people and communities who are in some way fed up with this filthy world. We want to be a resource for revolutionaries around the world to use and contribute to. 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.

We have a political statement that we published in our first issue that expresses our politics in much greater detail. If you would like a copy, please send us \$2.

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

Agitator Index is a member group of the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation.



Damn, We Hate Goodbyes, But...

The Agitator Index collective, the rag-tag team of anarchists who put out this paper, recently celebrated our first year anniversary. *The Blast!* is even younger, with three issues in a wee six months. However, big changes have already come upon the collective.

After this issue, two key collective members are leaving Minneapolis to move on to other things. Tricia Meleiko is moving to Mexico City for a year to study Spanish and help spread *la revolucion Mexicana*. Tod has moved to Milwaukee to go to school and tour all the breweries. Both Tricia and Tod were vital members of Agitator Index, contributing immensely to the political development of the collective and the shape and direction of the paper you are now reading. They've also done a lot of shitwork for the paper, especially Tod.

Both will continue to work on *The Blast!* in various ways, but they will no longer be able to be regular collective members. Their absence creates a hole in the collective (and in our hearts) that will be damn near impossible to fill. For these reasons, the rest of the collective dedicates this issue to Tricia and Tod. *Buena suerte, compañeros*, you will be missed.

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Please add \$2 to each subscription to help cover a prisoner's subscription

*Prisoners: When you request a sub to 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. Prisoner subs need to be renewed once a year.

Blast! Is Broke!

Yeah we know we say this every issue, but it gets truer and truer every issue. It's also getting harder and harder to pay printing and postage costs every issue (we are now \$800 in debt), so here's where you come in:

- **Subscribe:** It's cheap! See info below.
- **Advertise:** It's damn cheap! See more info below.
- **Distribute:** Some distributors won't carry *The Blast!* cos we're too damn cool, so you can help us out. It's free for postage in Minnesota, 50¢ a copy outside of this lovely misquito haven.

- **Become a Sustainer:** Help keep this paper going by donating us some money. One-time donations or monthly donations of \$5, \$10, \$20 or \$3 gadzillion would be great. All sustainers get a free subscription and all their parking ticket fines waived.

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Special thanks to Brenda and M. "Mommy Warbus" Treloar

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November 5, 1994

Issue #4 on the street November 15

Any Questions call Justine 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.

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OAK PARK FIGHTS

MN 8 Committee Grapples With Future

A series of fights between African-American and white prisoners lead to a lockdown in a Minnesota state penitentiary on June 26 and to charges that authorities instigated or manipulated the conflict. Officials appeared to single out for discipline one prisoner, framed in the 1992 shooting death of a police officer, and may have encouraged white-supremacist prisoners to attack him.

Shannon Bowles, one of the Minnesota Eight, eight African-American men wrongly convicted for the unsolved killing of a white cop, told supporters he was only slightly hurt in what he described as a race riot at Oak



Shannon Bowles

Park Heights, a maximum-security prison 25 miles east of the Twin Cities.

Shannon also reported being put in a recreation yard July 4 with a white prisoner who had the word "Hitler" tattooed on his chest. Shannon said the nazi attacked him, and he fought back.

Shannon appears to be the single most heavily-charged prisoner in the first fight, and the only one of the two to be charged in the second. He faces 270 days in segregation, under the charge "inciting to riot." The lesser charge of fighting carries only 15 to 45 days.

Several Black prisoners reported that white skinhead prisoners were not disciplined for fighting.

Further, one of Shannon's most consistent visitors, Connie, a member of the Committee Seeking Equal Justice for the Minnesota 8, was refused her weekly visit three days after the first fight, and barred from the prison for 3 months.

The lockdown ended on July 6.

Shannon had been released from segregation, or the "hole," only nineteen days before the fight, after 120 days in isolation following a January disturbance. That time, the prison's riot squad thumped Shannon, fellow Minnesota 8 prisoner A.C. Ford, and 11 others for refusing to take their recreation outdoors, in sub-freezing weather.

A third Minnesota 8 prisoner, Larry Flournoy, is also at Oak Park Heights.

Outside support

In response to the lockdown, the Committee Seeking Equal Justice for the Minnesota 8 issued a flyer and secured accurate coverage in two local alternative weeklies. Minneapolis

Anarchist Black Cross mailed copies of the Committee's leaflet to prisoner support groups in the U.S.

Committee members and activists in the group's periphery also pressured Oak Park administrators by telephone to end the lockdown and rein in white supremacist prisoners.

The crisis was the first test of the Equal Justice Committee's ability to react swiftly since its June strategy-planning retreat. [See *The Blast!* number two.] While on retreat, members decided to spend the summer assisting the prisoners with their appeals, organizing an "extravaganza" forum about the frame-ups, and launching a campaign against random police stops of motorists. While the decision was unanimous, some members worried that the group might be too busy with these ambitions to respond to a sudden threat to the prisoners' safety.

Indeed, Shannon remains in the hole and nazis continue to strut openly. But the Committee, a small group working on hostile terrain, was nevertheless able to act fast, even with several members out of town in June and July.

Auto stop campaign

Upon returning from their retreat, Committee members launched a survey of Twin Cities motorists who have been stopped by the police, asking about police behavior and any traffic tickets or criminal charges. Members have also staked out the courtrooms to gather statistics on police racism in making auto stops.

Among African Americans, Natives, and growing numbers of Asian Americans and Latinos/as, being pulled over for a "broken tail light" is so common that the campaign is likely to tap almost bottomless anger. Minnesota state law requires motorists to carry insurance, which forces many poor people to chose between putting gas in their tanks or leaving their insured autos in the driveway. Driving illegally in order to work or take kids to daycare becomes calculated risk.

As a result, police know they have license to harass any driver who looks poor. Any invented excuse, such as an alleged illegal lane-change, will do. The officers begin by asking for proof of insurance and frequently end by searching the car, driver, and passengers, towing the car, and even making arrests.

Committee members hope that taking surveys will lead to demonstrations and public speakouts. At their retreat, they discussed the possibility of class-action lawsuits, if racial bias could be proved in court.

Unrealized potential

Because auto stops are such a sore point with so many people, the campaign against them is a chance for the Committee to grow.

All along, the powers that be have feared that the Committee might blossom into an ungovernable movement. During the 1993 and early 1994 trials of the Minnesota 8, coverage of the Committee in the establishment press waffled between panicky attacks and patronizing approval. For various reasons, including the Committee's inexperience, the upheaval didn't happen. The group remained small.

Now, following a year and half of organizing and the important planning retreat, the Minnesota 8 group still has that potential for popularity and militancy; for shaking things up far beyond its small numbers; and for stimulating the growth of other political groups. Its members acknowledged this last point when they drafted their mission statement to include "promoting grassroots organizing and networking."

That is why a modest campaign by a small group like the Committee may mushroom into very large and militant, if temporary, movement, and an embarrassing scandal for the state. Picture this:

The Minnesota 8 Committee proposes a coalition to other grassroots groups in oppressed communities. Demonstrations and lawsuits against the police build to a peak. Mainstream civil rights leaders attempt to put themselves at the head of the growing movement.

A march the size of Minneapolis's Rodney King protest more than two years ago comes on the heels of angry community meetings like those that followed the 1989 "crack raid" police murders [see p.4]. Perhaps an impatient public does not confine itself to legal protest. Imagine nightly TV coverage of at least one anti-police trial, like the recent Sauro case in federal court.

In such a moment (especially in "nice" Minnesota), a section of the local ruling-class breaks away from the hard-liners and imposes reforms. The African-American woman mayor, some Democratic lawmakers, influential editorial-writers, and judges presiding in the various civil suits might all reach an unofficial consensus to rein in the police. Many people's daily living conditions might improve, for a while. All the while, the police federation and conservatives are howling treason.

In the relations of a weak Government and a rebellious people there comes a time when every act of the authorities exasperates the masses, and every refusal to act excites their

contempt....

— John Reed, *Ten Days that Shook the World.*

In such a situation, popular organizations have temporarily seized the initiative from the government.

But the key word is "potential." None of this may ever come to pass.

An embryonic movement

This movement is waiting to hatch out. Already, it is quivering inside eggshells like the Committee and other groups. The Committee's cool-sounding demand ("Equal Justice") conceals the hot reality that justice is impossible in this city, in this world, under this system. On the surface are only a few people currently willing to build an organization, attend early Saturday morning meetings every week, and go to demonstrations. Beneath the surface is a whole city of people harassed by the cops every day.

If it ever does hatch, it will be no mere chick. It will have teeth.

But large, militant demonstrations tend not sustain themselves, either in the face of defeat or apparent victory, and the govern-

ment inevitably recaptures the political initiative and closes ranks. That is when the nascent movement will survive or die in the confusion that always follows reform and cooptation. It's called being killed by your own success.

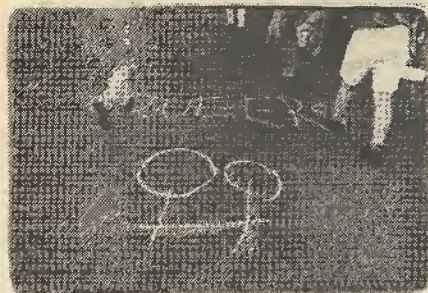
Groups that survive are those who have moved past the single-issue focus with which they started. The Committee has already raised its sights beyond eight ugly frame-ups, and is targeting white supremacy in the criminal sanction system as a whole. The challenge the auto-stop campaign poses to the Committee is to keep aiming high, above the goal of nicer cops. The paradox the Committee faces is that it must fight specific, limited battles (this beating, that prison lockdown), but it must not forget that "equal justice" is only possible in a future than can barely be imagined.

Whatever reform battles are won or lost, equal justice is an implicitly revolutionary demand. And the final challenge: to accomplish all this while never forgetting the eight Black men whose cause started it all.

—Nikolas Kautz



MINNEAPOLIS DYKE MARCH DOES IT AGAIN!



photos: Polly Pagenhart
milktoasty LGBT Pride Parade.

Sounds of drumming and the rev of motorcycle engines rallied the women who collected in Loring Park in front of Amazon Bookstore. As the march stepped off, somewhere between 400 and 700 dykes, lesbians, gay women, bi women, queer women and a smattering of queer guys chanted, hooted, toted signs and caught street chalk being tossed out to them to use for civic beautification along the way. The march streamed onto Hennepin, then over to 12th and up Nicollet as Dyke March marshalls—wearing armbands sporting such monikers as Carpet Muncher, Muff Diver, Ball-Busting Dyke and Sodomy & Gomorrah Tour Guide—stopped two lanes of traffic, held intersections, and stalled the cops along the way. About a dozen gay men kept appearing and reappearing along the march route sidelines, yelling and carrying signs reading “Cocksuckers for Muffdivers,” “Dykes Rule,” and the like, much to the entertainment of the women marching.

The march, organized by the Lesbian Avengers, was to be a spontaneous expression

For the second year in a row, hundreds of dykes took to the streets of Minneapolis in an unpermitted display of frisky and militant lesbo energy on Saturday, July 9, the night before the official and comparatively



of whatever women showed up. Two possible march routes were suggested, to be decided upon depending on the numbers of women present, the collective energy, and the rapidity with which the cops figured out and attempted to squash what marchers were up to. Dykes on bikes led the way and circled around the throng, picking up info from marshalls about which route women wanted to take next.

Officers attempted to shoo the women of the streets and onto the sidewalks, but fortunately most marchers totally ignored the police and continued along Hennepin avenue until they finished what they set out to do. Avenger marshalls Vikki and Maria distracted a cop who wanted to know who organized the march, where it was going, and who he should collar for a report. The interchange went something like this: Cop: “What is this?” Dyke: “A dyke march.” Cop: “Don’t you have a

march tomorrow?” Dyke: “Yep.” Cop: “Then what is this?” Dyke: “A bunch of women who wanted to march tonight.”

At the end of the march four dykes ate fire in memory of the Oregon Martyrs, a Black dyke and a white gay man who were killed when their apartment was firebombed by neo-Nazi skinheads during the Oregon Measure 9 anti-gay referendum fight in 1992.

Twin Cities dykes appreciated the significance of an unpermitted and militant display such as this, and organizers plan to continue the march as an annual event. Minneapolis Avengers hope to work in coalition with other groups over the next year in order to schedule the march at the best possible time and to help the Dyke march represent a genuine coming together of not only enthusiastic individual dykes, but a strong collectivity of organized activist Queer women. Though Avengers will be putting a call out to interested would-be Dyke March and Dyke Ball organizers and contacting groups in the months to come, interested women can contact the group anytime at 491-

"Bad" Cop Busted?

There's a great new state lottery game, and the jackpot is monster-sized. Check it out. If an off-duty Minneapolis cop moonlighting as a bouncer handcuffs you and kicks the shit out of you for half an hour, you can sue. And, 4-and-a-half years later, a federal jury can award you 700 thousand dollars.

If you live. And you're a clean-cut college kid. And you're white.

It helps if the the cop is already a notorious thumper, like Lt. Mike Sauro, who, as head of a raid unit 5 years ago, burned up two innocent, elderly Black people with a “flash-bang” grenade. Turned out it was the wrong “crack” house.

It helps if the city already shelled out 350 grand for the same cop, who, along with his buddies, shoved a bunch of partiers around.

It also helps if you get an ex-LAPD cop as your expert witness, to testify that this

Sauro character is one of the scariest dudes he's ever seen, a real-life “cop out of control.”

If you've scratched off all these boxes, and they all match, you and your lawyer may be the lucky winners of big bucks and media sympathy. The lucky boy who made bank in mid-July is Craig Mische, a former University of St. Thomas hockey player who jumped on Sauro's back in a 1990 New Year's eve scuffle at a bar called Juke Box Saturday Night.

Acivillian bouncer dragged the hockey star out to the sidewalk, but Sauro cuffed him and dragged him back the other way. In the kitchen his feet started itchin' and he danced on that boy's head and neck while another officer looked on. Ho hum you say. Happened to my cousin last year you say. Only thing different is my cousin didn't win the jackpot. Nope, and I bet your cousin ain't Joe College, neither. —Kautz

EMMA CENTER: ALIVE & KICKING

Emma Center is what you make it. As a result of that philosophy Emma Center has been home to a variety of autonomous projects and has seen a lot of changes in the past year. When we first opened in the summer of 1992, many people thought of us as an extension of the local “lefty” punk scene. When in reality the birth of Emma Center was in many ways a union between activists and punks with cross-over between the two. But since then we've developed into a more inclusive collective, open to the involvement of more diverse people.

One of the priorities of Emma Center is making information, especially from diverse radical perspectives accessible to more people. Towards this

goal we maintain a radical/political/cultural book lending library, a zine archive, and organize forums and political discussions. We welcome a diverse array of music gigs. We also are accepting donations for the free clothing and food distribution. Because all the things that help people survive should be free.

Emma Center is coming up on its 2 year anniversary. Respect out to all those who've made it happen. —Jeff Subhumyn & Shawn Dicentralisti

EMMA CENTER WOMAN'S ONLY SPACE REVITALIZED!!!

Living in the patriarchy, Emma Center's Women-Only-Space develops a consciously feminist politics within the anarchist community. Women's space meets every Sun. at 3PM. Women's music space meets at 8:30 PM—Yee Won, Rachael, & Pam.

SOO LINE WORKERS ON STRIKE

On July 14th the United Transportation Union went on strike against the Soo Line railroad to force a decent contract. Management's final offer included a below-standard wage, scaled back health benefits, and loosened job security. Perhaps most important, the company wants to ram down a massive set of new work rules undercutting the ability of the workers to decide for themselves how to do their jobs. The new rules raise the specter of layoffs, increased workloads, and safety hazards.

Soo Line pleads poverty as necessitating the harsh contract, but as a part of the Canadian Pacific conglomerate, it belongs to the 5th-largest corporation in Canada, one that routinely returns high profits on its investments.

The strike involves about 1500 workers in 11 states. There are numerous picket sites around the Twin Cities, and the UTU has asked for public support on the lines. Their strike HQ is 1404 Central Ave. NE, Mpls., or call (612) 789-7521 for info on how to help.

Sixteen other unions that have contracts with the company are honoring the picket lines. This craft solidarity is

crucial to UTU's struggle. As one speaker noted at a July 11th support rally, “we have to fight on our own without the protection of government and without the protection of the law.” That leaves only the workers themselves, who must all pull together for this strike to be won. The perennial failure of isolated strikes has shown time and again that only all-craft solidarity can win the war against capital.

Initial impressions of the strike have been encouraging, but the company's response has also been swift. Amtrak trains have switched to different rails, causing passenger delays much ballyhooed in the mainstream press. UTU says they have no pickets up on Amtrak, which is free to go through on the Soo Line. It is thought that this rerouting is a ploy by the railroad to turn public support against the strikers or perhaps spark government intervention. Several people have also been overheard saying that acts of vandalism which occurred regularly before the strike are now being reported as instances of union “terrorism.” One only wishes it were true....

—IMPULSE '94 with info from Straight Talk and Union Advocate

CARPENTER LABOR EXPLOITED AT AREA RESTAURANTS

Perkins, Red Lobster, and Cracker Barrel Restaurants [editors note: Cracker Barrel also has a history of discriminating against queer workers] have hired rat contractors to do carpentry work. Rat contractors don't pay the Area Prevailing Wage rates and tear down the standards that have taken years to build up. The Minnesota Statewide District Council of Carpenters are asking consumers to Boycott these restaurants and instead support local community businesses. Working people deserve the profits not the bosses! —Minnesota Statewide District Council of Carpenters

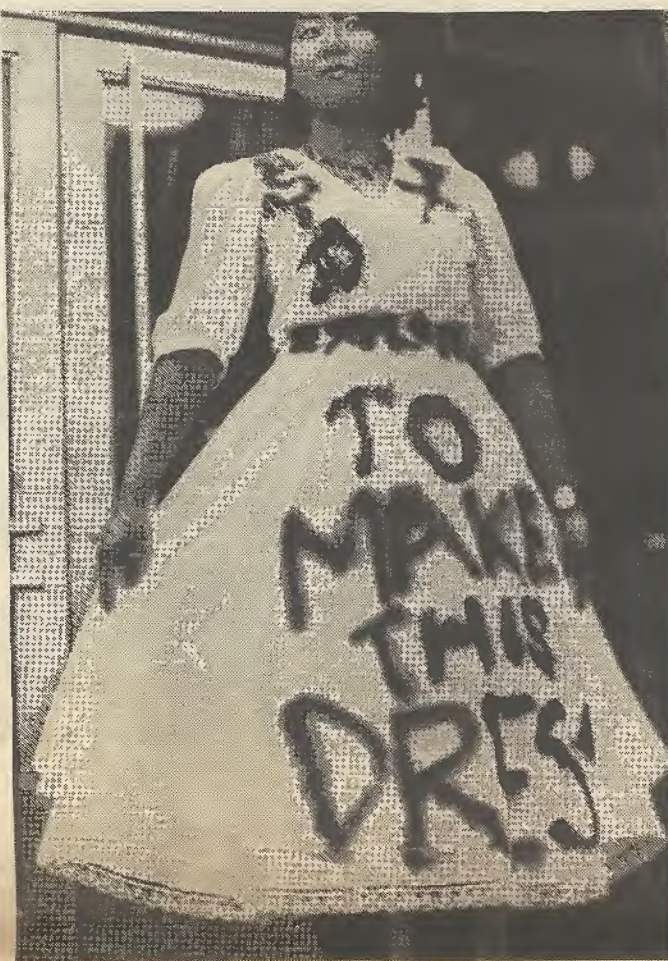
CALENDAR

August 15, 8pm- Films From Mexico, The real document of the Chiapas uprising as filmed by the *Seis de Julio* group. Plus a chronicle of the 1988 electoral fraud. Red Eye Theatre, 15w. 14th St., \$5
August 17, 6:30 PM- Forum, Carol Thomas & Diane Gorney will speak on secret chemical testing the U.S. army conducted on young students in the 50's., Sabathani Community Center, 310 E. 38th St.
August 19-21, Queer Gathering, various locations. For more info contact YF+MA, P.O. Box 80089, Mpls MN 55408
August 25, 8:00pm- Films, *Are You Disposable?* about temporary labor and *Politics Of Revolution* about grassroots organizing against nuclear storage on Prairie Island. Red Eye Theatre, 5\$, address above.
August 25, 7:30pm- People's Study Group, will study a wide range of political theories and come up with our own call to action, with particular emphasis on class, race and gender, Powderhorn Park Building, 34th St. and 15th Ave, for more info call The Emma Center 729-5498.
August 27, 11:30am (Vigil) and 12:30pm (Demo) on National Radioactive Waste Day, at Prairie Island Nuclear Power Plant, for more info contact PICANS, 612-770-3861 or WAMM, 612-827-5364.
August 27, 7:30pm Music, Lockjaw, Marcus Noise, and Peter Super, The Emma Center, 3451 Bloomington Ave S. \$5 or \$3 with a can of food.
August 30, 7:30, Forum, How Sexism Gets Tolerated in the Radical Community, The Emma Center.
September 11, 7:00pm-Forum On Haiti, Jewish Activist Minyan will address refugee and immigrant issues and asylum policies, Arise! Bookstore, 2117 Lyndale Ave. Mpls.
ONGOING: Thursday Nights, 7:30-9PM, Women's Space, Arise! Bookstore 2117 Lyndale Ave. Mpls
Sunday 3PM til whenever, Women's Space, EMMA Center, 3451 Bloomington Ave S. Mpls. Contact Yee Won for more info, 724-8286

Jessica! Jessica! Stitch By Stitch! Sweat Shop Labor Made You Rich!

Asian Pacifica Lesbians and Bisexuals (APLB) organized a demonstration on July 30 as part of a national day of action to protest Jessica McClintock Inc.'s attempt to impose a gag order against garment workers and supporters. 20 protesters, including members of Lesbian Avengers and an adopted Korean women's group gathered in front of the Gavidea Commons shopping mall. Inside is the local McClintock Boutique where lace slithers off froofy dresses like icicles.

To stop garment workers and their supporters from picketing her boutique and residence, manufacturer Jessica McClintock sought a temporary restraining order against Asian Immigrant Women Advocates (AIWA) in San Francisco Superior Court on July 20. A hearing



ASIAN WOMEN EXPLOITED TO MAKE THIS DRESS

photo: Justine Abinni

to determine whether a long term injunction will take place is scheduled for August 25. McClintock's action drew angry responses from workers and supporters across the nation.

Demonstrations occurred in Atlanta, Beverly Hills, Boston, Chicago, Portland, San Francisco, and Seattle. In Minneapolis, on July 30 a roving picket chanted and handed out information to passersby. One activist forced single minded downtown shoppers to take some notice by crossing the street and yelling questions about McClintock's labor practices to the demonstrators who ragefully responded.

Jessica McClintock subcontracts to local sweatshops, where common conditions include 8-year old children sewing buttons and cutting cloth, workers forbidden to talk or go to the bathroom, and wages far less than minimum wage. Women who worked in Oakland sweatshops have not been paid for dresses they sewed over a year ago.

For more information, contact Asian Immigrant Women Advocates at 510-268-0192 or your local support committee at 612-899-3773.—AIWA press release and Abinni

INS Declares Open Season On Mexicans

As part of the nationwide wave of anti-immigrant bashing, La Migra (INS) has locally been specifically targeting Mexican people with illegal raids. Workers from the Mexican community have been the subject of harassments by that government agency due to national origin. Many, including U.S. citizens, have had to submit to suspicious intrusive blood testing. M.E.Ch.A. is asking that all who have been subjected to this mistreatment or who know of such incidents please contact: Fraternidad Cultural Mexica at 339-4666. — from MN chapter of M.E.Ch.A.

Jaywalking Youths Cause Police Riot While Jaywalking Yuppies Rest In Their Lovely Homes



photo: Jill B.

On the afternoon of Saturday, June 11, 1994, Frameworks (a nonprofit community space for homeless youth run by and for youth) held an art fair called the Street Freak Fair on the block of 27th Street East in South Minneapolis between Nicollet Ave. and 1st Ave S. A Headwaters grant funded the Street Freak Fair, which was attended by nearly 100 people, punk rockers, homeless youth, and some community folks. Live punk bands and puppet

youth and other people from the community together.

At around 6:50 p.m., four youth walked up to Butler drug store. Three of the four crossed Nicollet against the light and were detained by police officers for jaywalking.

The youth report that they did not resist but did try to protect themselves from what they perceived to be threatening officers. The first youth detained was grabbed by his back and dragged to the

shows, youth selling their art, political info tables, and kids with chalk characterized the days events. Frameworks had gotten city permits and the whole shabang so that they could have a worry free festival that brought

squad car. He was in a defensive position when he was hit by one of the police officers present. Several fist blows were given to his head by one of the officers. One of the jay walkers ran back to the Fair to inform others to what had happened. He was pursued by a squad car which proceeded to drive into the sectioned off part of the street that was designated for the Fair; not a brilliant idea since there were a lot of little kids present.

At this point the police determined that they could damn well do whatever they pleased. More squad cars arrived. Some people were grabbed by the police who were attempting to detain them. Mace was used on several people. One woman was thrown to the ground when she attempted to grab a young man who the police were trying to lead to the squad car. Upon being thrown to the ground, she was sat upon by three officers and was in a neck hold until she couldn't breathe and bruises formed around her neck.

Another young man grabbed at an officers raised arm in an attempt to protect himself from what he perceived was an imminent assault. The young man was

maced and fell to the ground. He was held down by two officers and hit five times to the groin area with a flashlight by a female officer while stating "I'm not resisting. Don't hit me!"

Ten people were arrested for yelling at the police officers and asking too many questions. They were booked for interfering in a lawful arrest. Did ya ever see a yuppie get arrested for jay walking? All were released the next morning pending investigation except for two individuals. One of the two is awaiting trial on November 1, 1994. Michael "Violetta" Haldeman is being charged with 5th degree assault and damage to property.

For more info pertaining to Violetta's case call the Gay Lesbian Community Action Council (GLCAC) and ask for a Crime Victim Advocate, 822-0127. If you'd like to contact Violetta leave a message for him at The Emma Center, 729-5498.

...meanwhile, jaywalking yuppies rest in their lovely homes, waltz through their skyways, and basque in their privilege because they "break laws" wearing suits.

GERMAN COPS SLAY KURDISH YOUTH, 16; ANTI-FA RAIDED

Liberals Place Faith in Gov't as "Anti's" Pick Up the Gun

by Nikolas Kautz

Not the church, not the state, women must decide our fate.

Recent events have emptied this pro-choice slogan of any practical meaning. Taking its place as the word of the hour is the regimental motto of the murderous Special Air Service, which does the British dirty work in Northern Ireland and elsewhere: *Who dares wins*. This thought alone now guides the actions of the anti-choice movement. Pro-choicers should take careful note.

The murder on July 29 of an abortion provider and a clinic escort in Pensacola spurred Attorney General Janet Reno to dispatch U.S. Marshalls to numerous clinics, including one in Fargo, North Dakota, a 5-hour drive from Minneapolis. These clinics have received threats in the past. President Clinton's cabinet-level cop decided that preventing more shootings at clinics was in the interest of her boss. The move signifies *nothing* more. Radicals already know this. Clinton voters may need reminding.

Consider the contrast between the slogan quoted at top and the current situation. Well before this April's anti-choice planning confab in Chicago, which the forces of Christian Jihad dominated, the pro-choice movement had already handed all its initiative over to the government. Happier among judges and politicians than in the company of street-level feminists, the National Organization of Women sued a fistfull of anti-choice groups under the federal Racketeer-Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act. They got the Supreme Court to extend RICO to just about anybody who does anything with anybody else. The Department of Justice joined NOW in the suit. (See Ray Luc Levassuer's thorough RICO analysis in *Prison News Service* number 46, May-June 1994.)

The people charting the national course of the pro-choice movement do not agree with the slogan at top. Stating this is not the same as calling them traitors, or sell-outs, or any other sectarian epithet. It is simply saying that they believe that women's reproductive rights can be guaranteed under the current system. They do not see U.S. Marshalls as enemy soldiers.

Nor is it a call to arms to point out that "who dares wins." If independent radicals

Continued On Next Page, col. 3



Toronto, Austin, Minneapolis, Honolulu, and Philadelphia Avengers declare Dyke Independence at Independence Hall. Lesbian activists caravanned to the Stonewall '94 celebration.

Pride Rides: Lesbian Avengers Take Their Visibility On The Road

by Polly Pagenhart

On June 20, eight lesbian activists — six from the Twin Cities, one Belfast-based and one Seattle-based — hopped into two overstuffed cars and left Minneapolis for Lansing, MI, the first stop on the Lesbian Avenger Northern Pride Ride to Stonewall/NYC. Four days and six states later we had collected women in Lansing and Pittsburgh, converged with a ten day-long Southern Avenger Pride Ride in Philadelphia, and our numbers had grown to thirty five women from around the continental u.s., Hawaii, and Canada.

Almost a year ago, women working with the Lesbian Avengers in Austin, TX, hatched the idea of a road trip through the south to do actions and connect with other lesbian activists along the way to Stonewall/NYC. On June 17, 24 women left Austin in 3 vans, ransacking as much of the south as possible: first stop was Vidor, TX, Klan stronghold, where they drew attention to racist and homophobic harassment in that town; next was Ovette, MS, where they helped build a fence at Camp Sister Spirit, the multi-issue feminist resource center and retreat under siege by local fundamentalists; they stopped in Birmingham and in Atlanta did an action around the Cobb County, GA, anti-queer organizing; through North Carolina they did visibility actions and got kicked out of a local mall; in Richmond, VA, they did an action in support of lesbian mom Sharon Bottoms the day after a ruling allowing her to keep her child (on appeal). After another action in D.C. around breast cancer, the Southern Avenger Pride Ride arrived in Philadelphia on June 23 to join up with Grassroots Queers in Phillie and a coalition of local feminist organizations to do a demo about the recent ruling in Pennsylvania stipulating that rape not count as such unless "sufficient force" can be proven.

Though we had less time and fewer resources for a long trip, Minneapolis Avengers decided to run a northern route with the same goals in mind: drawing attention to local issues, doing visibility actions, and especially laying groundwork for connections

with women doing work with Lesbian Avenger groups between here and New York. In Lansing we worked with the Lansing Avengers, who concocted a mock-mayoral campaign rally in front of the MI state capitol, designed to out the mayor for an under-publicized ordinance he passed to provide "protection" to gay and lesbian city workers and to agitate for more far-reaching structural change in city life for lesbians, gay men, all women, and workers. With another carload of dykes, the caravan left the next day for Pittsburgh, doing a photo op at Detroit Nipple Works (a plumbing supply factory). At the Dairy Depot outside Toledo, we had a spontaneous kiss-in, and the spritzhead manager called the cops to charge us with indecent exposure. Any boycotts or actions against Dairy Depots across the midwest are greatly appreciated. In Pittsburgh, the group did workshops with lesbian activists in the evening, and left the next morning to join up with the Southern Pride Ride at the action in Phillie.

The next day in front of Independence Hall the group, now 35 Avengers — including two snare drummers and women brandishing placards reading "Revolutionary Dyke," "Give Me Sodomy or Give Me Death" and the like — marched up, read out a Dyke Declaration of Independence (from compulsory heterosexuality, violence, oppression, etc.), signed it, ate fire, and climbed up the George Washington statue and poked a rainbow pride flag in the founding father's hands. Tourists stood agog and snapped pictures.

The caravan left Phillie for NY in a convoy of seven sign-bedecked vehicles (like Lean Mean Girl Sucking Machine). While the weekend actions in NY symbolized and actualized collective militant queer energy, before any of the Pride Riders crossed the Brooklyn Bridge many felt they had already pulled off the more significant work of the trip — quite a feat, considering 15 - 20,000 women took over 5th Avenue for the International Dyke March on the 24th. But getting

Protests In At Least 8 Cities

BORDER SEALED AND KURDS BARRED FROM ATTENDING RALLY

In ten days in June and July, German police raided the centers and homes of anti-fascist organizers, seizing computers and documents; shot and killed a 16-year-old Kurdish boy who was hanging posters for an outlawed group; and prevented Kurds from entering the country to join a massive Kurdish demonstration. Resistance movements struck back each time.

Although the raids, the shooting, and the border crackdown took place in different cities, they underscored that the German state, no less than the fascists, threatens immigrants and radicals.

The fascists themselves in June published a call for an "anti-antifa" campaign of spying, organized attacks, and individual violence against people of color, Jews, and political opponents. Police in the Rheinland region reportedly knew of the 42-page pamphlet before its publication and did nothing.

"Stop squandering the enormous violent potential" of the racist movement and "neutralize all anti-German and anti-nationalist forces," urges the rightist pamphlet, "Der Einblick" or "Insight." It advises fascists to forge links to the police.

Anti-Fa Raided

On July 5, at least 12 people were arrested and briefly held in Goettingen, a city in Lower Saxony, when special police units burst into the homes of 17 anti-fascists and also stormed a leftist bookstore called Rote Strasse, or Red Street. Police confiscated computers, literature, address lists, and personal items.

During a third raid in Goettingen, activists attempted to defend a university student center against police, who fought their way in with clubs. That day and the next, over a thousand protesters marched through Goettingen's center, terming the raids a "criminalization" of the anti-fascist movement.

A July 16 protest in Goettingen drew 3,500. A large, masked black-bloc battled police near the heavily-guarded justice department building, during which seven cops were injured. In addition to left-wing autonomists, Greens and social democrats also supported the Goettingen demo. That night, masked antifascists attacked a right-wing student office and three police cars. Police reported one arrest.

Although the demonstration had no permit and was illegal, more than 30 left, liberal, and citizens' groups in Goettingen supported the action.

The raids targeted the organization "Autonome Antifa (M)," which police claim is forming a terrorist group and has links to the Red Army Faction. Under Paragraph 129a, a law that allows police to label political groups "terrorist" and outlaw them, authorities banned the group in 1991. More than 50 bombings and other antifa actions had rocked

Continued on Next Page, col. 2

Continued on Next Column

Germany

Goettingen.

Despite the ban, the group works in coalition with labor unions and Greens on informational events and demonstrations.

"Autonome Antifa (M) has been a significant organization within the autonomist anti-fascist movement in Germany, and helped to found the AA/BO (Anti-fascist Action/Nation-wide Organization). It is clear that these police raids are just another attempt by police and government authorities to isolate and criminalize a very effective and militant anti-fascist organization," an activist stated in an e-mail message from Berlin.

A Racist Police Murder

Close to midnight on June 30, a plainclothes police officer in Hannover fatally shot a 16-year old Kurdish asylum-seeker in the back. The unarmed youth, Ayhan Esser, was with friends hanging posters for the outlawed ERNK, or Kurdistan National Liberation Front. Surprised by police, Esser and others fled, and the policeman opened fire. Officials termed the murder an accident.

On July 4, 50 ERNK supporters occupied the German embassy in Athens to protest Esser's murder. After two hours, the demonstrators left the embassy with no arrests. The ERNK issued a statement calling for police to apologize for Halim's murder, lest the Kurdish resistance feel forced to respond with "similar means."

Following Esser's murder, anger flared in Hannover, Berlin, and at least five other Germany cities. Protesters in three cities attacked police stations with stones and molotov cocktails. In Berlin, a Turkish travel agency was fire bombed, and windows broken at more than two dozen stores.

The poster Esser was hanging became an emblem in protest marches, along with his photo and the flags of the ERNK, which was banned in Germany in November 1993 along with the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) and more than 30 other Kurdish organizations.

The marchers also demanded the resignation of the German interior minister, Kanther, who pushed for the banning of the Kurdish movement.

Esser's family had been in Germany six weeks. The Turkish army had destroyed their village, like many others in Kurdistan.

Frontier Closed to Kurds

This most recent cycle of state repression and popular resistance began in Frankfurt on June 25, when between 50,000 and 100,000 Kurds demonstrated against German arms sales to Turkey, and for a peaceful, democratic end to Turkish occupation of Kurdistan.

Border police closed Germany's frontiers to more than 2,000 Kurds trying to join the march. In response, Kurds blocked highways at three border crossings, and dispersed with no arrests.

More than 3,000 riot police, some with fire extinguishers on their backs, shadowed the demonstration, but no serious clashes were reported.

The demonstrators also demanded that the PKK be given a key role in Kurdistan's future. Speakers repeatedly called on the German government to lift its ban on the PKK, and the other banned Kurdish groups.

--Kautz; info: Autonome Antifa (M); Omega Infoleden; class-enemy press



"KILL THE BILL!" At least 20,000 marchers opposed Britain's criminal justice bill that would criminalize nearly all demonstrations, public gatherings of youth, music concerts, and more. These acrobats tried to visit Prime Minister Major at home.

Jewish Feminist Anti-Fascist League Fights in Toronto

The Jewish Feminist Anti-Fascist League (JFAFL) came together in November 1992, to join the fight against fascism at a time when fascist and racist organizing was escalating in Toronto and globally. Fascism is manifested in many ways. We feel that as Jewish feminist activists our experiences of anti-Semitism, and also sexism, homophobia, classism, ableism, and so on, help provide us with a complex analysis of the structure and operations of oppression. The far right has made many gains; consider the number of recently established white-supremacist groups and the increase of 'above ground' anti-semitic race-hate literature, as well as fascist violence. The extreme right has also gained legitimacy in mainstream electoral politics across North America, as well as internationally. Symptomatic of the rise of the neo-right are the renewed and vicious campaigns against immigrants, refugees, gays, lesbians, people of color, women and people with disabilities. (excerpt from JFAFL pamphlet, March 8, 1994, International Women's Day) JFAFL, P.O. Box 291, Stn. B, Toronto, M5T 2W2.



Avengers Caravan: On the Road for Pride

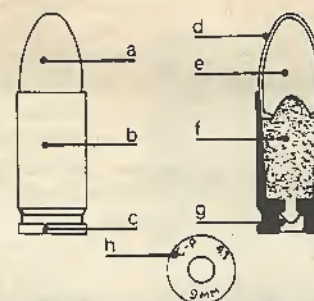
to New York to connect with radical lesbian activists for the International Dyke March and Stonewall was the closing event of the Pride Rides; the national network of activist connections we cemented and the militant dyke energy we left in our path is what made the journey worth our whiles. After sore butts from the days of driving, cars vandalized by homophobes, and minor to severe harassment in every city, not to mention too much processing and too much stress for good sex -- 'til we got to NY, anyway -- any of us would do it again in a minute.

FIDEL CALLS HAVANA RIOTERS 'PROVOCATEURS'

Police and Communist Party militants battled thousands of rioters Friday, August 5, along Havana's waterfront tourist area. At presstime, only class-enemy accounts were available, which claimed the fighting broke out when authorities tried to prevent hundreds of Cubans from seizing boats to escape.

The waterfront is home to luxury hotels and stores that accept U.S. dollars only, causing no small resentment in the "workers' paradise" of the Western Hemisphere.

¡CUBA SI! ¡CASTRO NO!



Parts (left) of a modern cartridge.

- a Bullet
- b Case
- c Rim
- d Bullet jacket
- e Bullet core
- f Propellant
- g Primer
- h Headstamp

Anti's Praise the Lord and Pass the Armor-Piercing Ammo While Liberals Phone 911

are too weak to influence pro-choice strategy, and have ceded that task to Clinton loyalists, we are also too weak to defend clinics ourselves from Evangelical shooters and bombers, and must leave that task in the merciful hands of the government. If your're the prayin' type, now would be a good time.

Radical weakness in the pro-choice movement is odd indeed. As Ray points out, NOW v. Scheidler snatched a courtroom defeat out of the jaws of victory in the streets. In the summer of 1993, large, militant, and well-organized pro-choice crowds defended clinics in several cities against Operation Rescue's "Week of Refuge" -- and did so against the force of the police and political attack by the liberal establishment. But local direct-action victories did not a strategy make. Veterans of the disarmament and Central America solidarity movements learned this in the 1980s. Just look at the Gulf War.

Only a determined effort to draw together the independent radicals in the pro-choice movement can restore meaning to our pretty-sounding words, "Not the church, not the state...." At the very least these forces need a national forum in which to talk tactics in light of the antis having picked up the gun. Sooner than later, though, we need much more. The antis can dare so much, and win so much, because they have become so much more than a single-issue outfit. They espouse a comprehensive vision of how people should live their lives. That millions of people find this vision repulsive and constricting does not change one critical fact: Its advocates make up the only social movement in the U.S. that is noticeably growing. "We who believe in freedom cannot rest" until our vision, that humans can live ethically without coercion (that is, with neither church nor state), seems as practical and attainable as theirs, and seems so to at least as many people.

LETTERS

Dear Blast Editors,

We're writing as representatives of the Jewish Activist Minyan (JAM) to express our concern about your treatment of our article describing a protest at Khalid Abdul Muhammad's recent lecture at St. Cloud State University which ran in your last issue. The editors of *The Blast!* felt it was necessary to add an editorial note at the bottom of this piece. We are disturbed that JAM's article was the only article to receive such "special treatment," which brought the content of our article into question. Both the presence and content of the note act as a disclaimer that delegitimize not only the message of this particular piece, but JAM as a political group. Moreover, *The Blast!*'s decision to run the article in the back of the paper, rather than with other local news, further isolates JAM within the local political community.

Despite their apparent desire to separate themselves from the content of JAM's article, the editors also felt free to speak for JAM, by stating a position in their note which they claim, "Both JAM and the Blast believe," without contacting our organization. We feel that it is absolutely inappropriate for *The Blast!* to speak for us at all, but especially when when defining Anti-Semitism. We feel that JAM, a Jewish organization dedicated to eradicating Anti-Semitism, is more qualified to speak on this issue than is the Agitator Index. Your own admission that you have failed to address Anti-Semitism previously in your paper indicates to us that struggling against Anti-Semitism has not been a priority for you. It is not JAM's responsibility that our article about Khalid Abdul Muhammad was the first discussion of Anti-Semitism to appear in your paper. *The Blast!* had every opportunity to address Anti-Semitism in its 5 page political statement which includes the collective's position on a variety of oppressions and identities, in which neither Jewish experience nor Anti-Semitism was mentioned.

JAM is concerned that *The Blast!* seems to be falling into the pattern of neglect and minimization of the oppression of Jewish people that has so often characterized White Leftist politics in the United States. Because we feel that our experience is important, we demand that *The Blast!* take steps to remedy this grievous error, first by printing a retraction of the editorial note, and by continuing to treat the issue of Anti-Semitism seriously in the future.

Sincerely,
Rebecca Hill
Sue Ostfeld
Max Sparber
Jewish Activist Minyan

Editors note: The Blast! regrets running the editorial that followed the JAM article in issue two. We ran it because we were concerned about the shooting of Khalid Abdul Muhammad, which happened as we were in production of issue two. Further, given the history of racism even in the revolutionary left, we feel we have a responsibility to be conscious of the problems raised when a white organization, like Agitator Index or The Blast!, publishes a criticism of a Black organization, even though we agree with the critique of the Nation of Islam presented by JAM. However, we agree with JAM that running the editorial was inappropriate, and had the unfortunate, unintended, and anti-Semitic effect of delegitimizing JAM's important article. The Blast! apologizes to JAM and to our readers for this mistake. (For a copy of our longer, direct response to JAM, send an SASE).

To whom it may concern—

I just received my first issue of *The Blast* and after reading it I now understand why you named it so.

The paper is like a breath of cold, fresh air, awakening the senses by speaking its mind. Some people may think it is radical and off the wall but that all depends on how one views the truth.

When one presents issues uncensored in its opinion they should be applauded. I have now spent many years here as a prisoner in a restricted confinement and *The Blast* helps me get past these walls.

It's comforting knowing that there are still people who are willing to confront the problems and issues of this society head on. Keep up the good work.

Sincerely,

Robert C. Fuentes C88749 • C-12-117 • P.O. Box 7500 • Crescent City, CA 95532

Dear Friends and Comrades,

Ojore N. Lutalo argues in his letter to *The Blast!* that Love and Rage is not revolutionary because (among other reasons) we have not created armed formations, because we have not been imprisoned, and because we have not been assassinated. I hope the absurdity of these sorts of arguments is clear to all. To be attacked by the enemy may be a good thing, but to be killed and captured is most certainly not a good thing and neither is inviting attacks when those are the only results one can reasonably expect. I believe that creating armed formations of the type that Ojore suggests now is to simply expose ourselves to repression that we are not equipped to effectively resist.

We are in a period when the revolutionary movement is very weak. Our organizations are small and

the activity of the masses is at a very low level. I am optimistic that this will change soon, but I believe that the first responsibility of a revolutionary is to make an honest assessment of the possibilities for action that exist under a given set of circumstances. I believe that at this time it is crucial that anti-authoritarian activists who are coming to revolutionary conclusions about the nature of this society and what it will take to bring it down need to be able to discuss openly and frankly a wide variety of political questions. I think that this purpose is best served by a relatively loose formation like Love and Rage. The price of that commitment to struggle and discussion is that less developed and non-revolutionary ideas sometimes get publicly expressed in the course of the discussions. Ojore seems to think that all the big questions about what it

argues that we should both take up arms and attempt to establish distribution centers and medical outlets in oppressed communities. I believe that to do the first at this moment would be suicidal and I feel that for a largely white group like Love and Rage to do the second carries very real dangers of setting up a colonialist/social worker relationship with those oppressed communities (it would be another story if the initiative for such work was coming from organizations based in those communities). There are people in Love and Rage who probably disagree in varying degrees with either or both of these assessments. I think that at this time that diversity of opinion is crucial to building a serious revolutionary movement. No doubt there are many people in Love and Rage who still cling in different ways to what is and that tendency must be



takes to make a revolution have been answered and that all that is lacking is the courage to do what must clearly be done. A consequence of this position is a tendency to attempt to bait people into action by accusing them of not being sufficiently revolutionary. Frankly I think this approach is very destructive. It creates an atmosphere in which honest disagreement becomes impossible and in which all differences become a basis for attack. It also entails the very real danger that people will feel compelled to take actions that are ill-considered in order to prove to themselves that they really are revolutionaries. We already have enough comrades behind bars, there is nothing revolutionary about increasing the work load of already over-worked prisoner solidarity activists.

I don't believe that Love and Rage has come to any sort of consensus about revolutionary strategy. We are still a new formation and a part of a new tendency and many questions remain unanswered. Ojore

struggled with. Many people who strongly desire revolution still doubt whether it is actually possible. This defeatism must also be fought. But we are not so strong that we can afford to chase away everybody who is not yet ready to die for a new world that seems to exist only in the minds of a tiny minority of humanity.

What is revolutionary in one period may not be in another. The decision to take up the armed struggle is revolutionary in certain circumstances, and counter-revolutionary in others. The commitment to extensive open discussion of certain questions is revolutionary under certain circumstances, but can become counter-revolutionary when it impedes taking necessary action. What is it about the current situation that makes Ojore so sure that the strategy he advocates will be more successful now (when the movement is very weak) than it was in the 70's (when the movement was comparatively strong)?

Revolutionary Solidarity,
Christopher Day

G'day Blasters!

Well, what a thoroughly inspiring read! Analysis without stodge, good layout and no puking punks! This is what I've been waiting for yanks to do ever since I laid eyes on *Profane Existence*. And the stuff Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin is saying: is this guy a fucking mind reader or what?!! Mind you, I don't know it all by a long shot and there's plenty to learn from what he is saying.

Angry People is made up of a few individuals (6-10) who are separated by huge distances. Most of us are pissed off with the anarchist movement as it does little and is very insular and inward looking. We want to create an alternative to Labor, Liberal and the rest which most anarchists don't/won't even consider because they refuse to take themselves seriously.

For a truly classless society and a thoroughly organized bottom-up, radical working class movement. In Solidarity,

Keith / Angry People • Box 183
Waterloo • NSW 2017 • Australia

Re: "The Blast".

Thank you (everyone with the Agitator Index and the MN-ABC), for your letter, offer of support and *The Blast* #2.

The Blast is very good, very informative, and should be very helpful to Anarchists everywhere. MAC (MidSouth Anarchist Collective) will do our best to support and utilize this major communication resource — for the revolution.

Communication, education and agitation are among our priorities. As I may have already said, MAC is fairly new, mostly prisoners, 100% pure anarchists, for Anarchy NOW and organized to FREE all imprisoned soldiers of the Revolution.

MAC currently networks with many of the newly forming Anarchist Black Cross (ABC), Anarchist Youth Federation (AYF) and Anarchist groups and individuals nationwide; we also are affiliated with the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation (L+RRAF).

Your group can best support MAC now by continuing to publish your excellent *Blast*. The free prisoner subscription is greatly appreciated.

Thanks again for your support — MAC is looking forward to a collaborative anarchist effort with the Agitator Index collective and the Minneapolis ABC.

Best regards,

@NOW,
Phillip M. Wheat for MAC.

To the Collective,

I have only one thing to say to Carol Leigh, author of "HF219 Is Anti-prostitute," (*Blast!* Issue #2, p. 10), who criticized one of the most progressive legislation efforts against commercialized sexual slavery to date: If you don't like the law Carol, DON'T USE IT!!

Unlike any other existing laws for prostitution, HF2519 empowers prostituted women, children, and men, recognizing for the first

time the incredible brutal violence leveled against them by pimps and tricks. The cause of action under HF2519 was specifically designed to address the barriers that prostitutes were faced with whenever they tried to take legal action against an abuser. For example, the law requires coercion to be determined by looking at the totality of the circumstances, and includes a list of actions that are evidence of coercion, like isolation, exploiting a need for food and shelter, and physical force, to name a few.

Contrary to Leigh's claims, this law does not "infantilize" women, nor does it "throw prostitutes out on the street, at the mercy of the underground." If a prostituted woman does not believe she is being coerced into prostitution, THEN SHE WILL NOT USE THIS LAW. In other words, it is entirely up to the individual to bring a cause of action. No one else — not the police, not the government, not their family — NO ONE but the prostitute her/himself can initiate the action.

Frankly, I am shocked the advocates of prostitution would object to this law. After all, wouldn't they object to coerced prostitution? Leigh's reaction is extremely revealing.

I am also disappointed in the Agitator Collective's decision to run Leigh's diatribe without printing the law itself alongside. This would have better informed the reader as to what Leigh was, and was not, saying about the law. And seeing

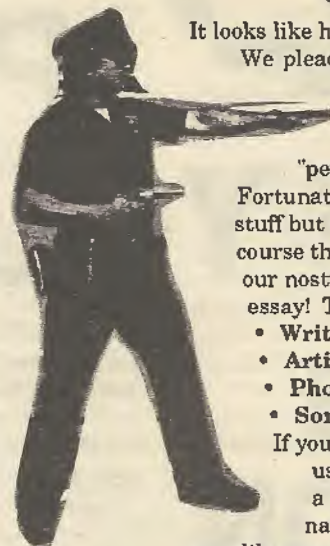
as Leigh was unwilling to summarize, or even quote relevant passages from the law, your readers were not able to make a truly informed opinion about it. Although this was probably Leigh's exact intention, I am concerned that the Collective did not strive for more accuracy.

Furthermore, I was surprised to see the Collective allowing Leigh and her "group" SWAC (Sex Workers Action Coalition) to use *The Blast!* to gather information on individuals and groups in the Twin Cities area. Aren't you just a little concerned as to what they are going to do with that information? Knowing what I do about Leigh — interrupting feminist conferences, defending and protecting pimps, and pimp-run organizations — I would say that what the Collective just did is comparable to printing an article by Feminists For Life with a concluding request for information on abortion provider groups. Not good politics, people.

Sincerely, Patricia Barrera

Editor's note: Carol Leigh did email us the text of the proposed legislation HF2519 along with her article which was printed in issue 2. Considering the length of the law, printing it was out of the question, financially and space-wise. The law itself is public information and in addition, SWAC's phone number, e-mail and earth mail addresses were all listed following Carol Leigh's article for those wanting further information. We are sure Leigh would be happy to pass along the text of the law to those interested in reading it, as she did for us.

STOP! OR I'LL CONTRIBUTE!



It looks like he means it, folks.

We pleaded with him all we could, but after reading the first two issues, Officer Dingleberry has demanded that *The Blast!* provide more "balanced" and "objective" coverage of local, national, and international news, politics, and analysis. If we don't, he threatens to start writing articles and, uh, "persuade" us to publish them.

Fortunately, Cop Dingleberry is pretty stupid, so we told him we'd love to print his stuff but we already have enough contributions to fill the next 7,639 issues. Now of course this isn't true, but if Dingleberry catches on to our fib he'll put a large gun up our nostrils and force us to print his "Police Are AOK (We Only Shoot Scumbags)" essay! To prevent this we need you to contribute and help fill each issue. We need:

- Writers
- Artists
- Photographers
- Someone to take out Dingleberry

If you're interested in contributing in any of these ways, please get in touch with us. Send a sample if possible. Your payment is the pleasure of never seeing a cop's words ever printed on these pages. Women, people of oppressed nationalities, and prisoners are especially encouraged to contribute, because cops like you the least.



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COPS, KIDS AND COERCION

What is the D.A.R.E. Program and Why is Its Curriculum a Secret?

By Karen Gohdes

Like sixty thousand other fifth and sixth graders in Minnesota, my son was a participant in the D.A.R.E. program last year. The program is huge; in 1993, D.A.R.E.'s literature reported 14,000 D.A.R.E. officers with an audience of six million kids for the core curriculum alone. Yet despite its widespread use, the content, effectiveness and purpose of D.A.R.E. are little-known and seldom discussed. A brief investigation on my part has led me to believe that the D.A.R.E. program serves the interest of increasingly authoritarian and repressive police forces, to the harm of our children, our communities, and ourselves.

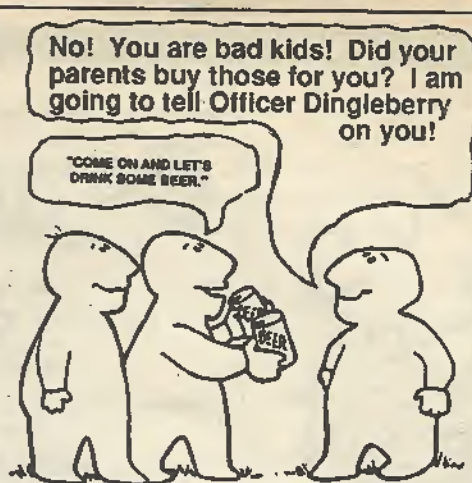
The D.A.R.E. program was founded in 1983 by the infamous Daryl Gates of the L.A.P.D.. Its stated purpose is to "[instruct] young people to develop the skills to resist peer pressure to experiment with drugs and alcohol." This long-winded but rather modest goal provides the rationale for a 17-week curriculum taught by a uniformed police officer. The program is taught during the regular school day for about an hour. Although it is technically a voluntary program, neither the kids nor their families are informed of this.

In Minnesota, D.A.R.E. is administered by four organizations: an appointed advisory council chaired by the Attorney General; Minnesota D.A.R.E., Inc., a private organization with charter authority from D.A.R.E. America, Inc. to control the D.A.R.E. name in the state; the Minnesota D.A.R.E. Officers Association; and the Bureau of Criminal Apprehension, which provides the officer training. Local police and sheriff's departments provide the cops, and school districts provide the captive audience.

I phoned the Bureau of Criminal Apprehension (B.C.A.) to find out where I could get a copy of the curriculum to review. I expected some minor hassles, but I assumed that a publicly funded program

presented in the public schools would have to be available for public review.

If my experience is any indication, however, the cops and the D.A.R.E. corporation keep the tightest control they possibly can over access to the curriculum. At the B.C.A. I was told that the curriculum is available only to D.A.R.E.-trained police officers; that there was no legitimate reason for anyone else to have it. Their sug-



What D.A.R.E. wants kids to say to peer pressure...

gestion was that I make an appointment at my local police station to speak to a D.A.R.E. cop about my concerns.

I tried to get access to the curriculum through the national organization, through the school district, through my son's local school and even through the state legislator for my neighborhood. The national organization's representative said that the curriculum could not be released because control must be maintained over who teaches it and how it is taught. She said they feared that churches and civic groups would teach it on their own, and stressed that the program is copyrighted. My legislator met with the same response from the

director of Minnesota D.A.R.E. The principal of my son's school said that the cop who teaches it takes the D.A.R.E. curriculum with him when he leaves. When he asked the officer to leave him a copy, he got a six page description, not the curriculum itself.

Despite my insistence that the curriculum should be available for review without police presence, I eventually ended up meeting with Martha Weibel of the Minneapolis School District and Sgt. Mick Ganley of the Minneapolis Police Department. At that meeting Weibel promised to ensure that in the future, the complete curriculum would be available in each school for citizen review, in accordance with district policy. Unrestricted access to review and discuss D.A.R.E. was not especially to the liking of Sgt. Ganley. He suggested that meetings take place only with a D.A.R.E. cop present. Weibel, however, said the schools could not enforce such a policy.

It remains to be seen whether the school district's promise of access will be kept. The effort to keep the D.A.R.E. curriculum from public access raises questions about the purpose of such secrecy. No other aspect of the school curriculum is handled in the same manner; math, reading, social studies and sex education curricula are freely available to interested parties. In stark contrast to D.A.R.E., most non-profit public service organizations encourage the replication of their service programs as part of their mission.

D.A.R.E.'s insistence on maintaining complete control over its curriculum might well be because the program could not achieve its goals without the component of the uniformed officer in the classroom. The classroom cop is described by D.A.R.E. literature as "the most unique aspect of the curriculum." The literature also claims that cops "have unmatched credibility as teachers of this subject." This claim is somewhat puzzling, since cops have no particular expertise in the pharmacological, medical, or social aspects of drug use or abuse. Of course, it becomes less puzzling if the goal is not drug education, but rather authoritarianism and obedience to the state.

In fact, Officer Ganley freely admits that the curriculum contains no drug education. I didn't even have to ask the guy a question; we sat down and he proudly proclaimed that one thing he promised about the D.A.R.E. program is that kids wouldn't know anything more about drugs when they left the program than when they entered. The official defense of this aspect of D.A.R.E. seems to be based on the idea that if you gave kids truthful information about drugs they would use them.

The lack of substantive content in the

program means that kids are not getting information they need to make informed judgements and keep themselves safe, removing the very reason to support any kind of drug education program. There are other serious problems with the D.A.R.E. curriculum, including outright misinformation and an overemphasis on authority. Most of the curriculum, however, is in my judgement inoffensive. Thinking about and practicing comfortable ways to refuse unwanted invitations and social pressure is fine, as is thinking about stress management. It seems to me, however, that these could be better taught by someone who has chosen to learn how to teach rather than how to be the armed instrument of state repression.

The essential characteristic of the D.A.R.E. program is the cop in the classroom. The content of the curriculum is more or less irrelevant to the real function of D.A.R.E.; the curriculum is just the passport into the classroom. D.A.R.E.'s literature says that strong relationships of trust and friendship develop between officers and the kids, that young people learn to view cops as allies, not enemies. This seems to be precisely what the pro-



What kids really want to say...

gram is designed to do. It is not a drug education program in any meaningful way. In fact, a major study commissioned by the U.S. Department of Justice found that D.A.R.E. was for most part ineffective in preventing drug use or increasing drug refusal skills, and that even where it was effective, programs without classroom cops were found to be more effective. D.A.R.E.'s primary effect was, unsurprisingly, in creating a pro-cop attitude. (The report was quashed after these preliminary findings were released, but the full study may yet be made public.)

D.A.R.E. actively encourages kids to

Continued on page 12



TRUTH OR D.A.R.E.

By Ms. Applebomb

Ms. Applebomb is a fourth-grade teacher at a north Minneapolis elementary school. Her class had the distinction of being one of the very few classes to fail the D.A.R.E. program.

Although I was never awarded a D.A.R.E. t-shirt or even a pencil, I do consider myself a D.A.R.E. veteran. I cannot call myself a graduate as my class failed the D.A.R.E. program. It all started in the winter of 1992 when the staffroom was abuzz with the "shocking and disgusting" behavior of Robert, an infamous fifth grader. Officer Sue had been dutifully teaching D.A.R.E. to the fifth graders when Robert raised his hand. "Have they caught the dudes who killed Haaf yet?" he inquired. (Minneapolis police officer Jerry Haaf was shot and killed in October 1992.) Officer Sue responded that yes indeed, several of them had been caught and were in jail. "PSYCH!", yelled Robert, "The rest of them got away. I'm glad they capped that pig!" Officer Sue stormed out of the room and Robert got expelled.

Robert was begrudgingly let back in the school (I guess as of yet you can't officially be expelled for being rude to a

police officer). No one thought of talking to Robert to find out why he, an African-American working class boy, would have hostility toward the cops, and he was mostly ignored by the staff after the incident. I was "impressed" with the hold that the police had on the administration of the school. At a school where you can expect your mother to be insulted in cruel and creative ways on a daily basis, an insult to a police officer was an unforgivable sin (and to the principal, a threat to the institution).

In the fall of 1993, I returned to the same elementary school. Throughout the fall, my D.A.R.E. encounters were fleeting: students asking me if they could please skip D.A.R.E. that day; seeing them troop off to class with their yellow plastic folders; myself trying to avoid Officer Donut in the staffroom. I wanted to know what

exactly

WHAT I LIKE TO DO

Directions: Read the story and complete the statements that follow:

The students in Mrs. Reed's class were asked to tell what they like to do best in their spare time. Billy said that he liked to play basketball. Sue liked to fly kites. Mary liked to paint pictures, and Ralph liked looking at the stars.

Now you know the ways to which some students spend their time. What are some of the things you like to do? Use the lines below to describe your interests in my spare time. I enjoy the following activities: Kill my sister

I do the following things well: Shoot my gun and drive a car

My favorite game is: guns

My favorite hobby is: guns

My favorite way to have fun with friends is: gun

My favorite way to have fun alone is: guns

I would like to learn to: I already know how

Why are these activities better than taking drugs? because they are

lot's

Another youth who won't buy into D.A.R.E. propaganda. Bet the D.A.R.E. cop loved this one.

was taught during D.A.R.E. What propaganda was drilled into the minds of young children before earning the privilege of free advertisement for the police in the form of a t-shirt?

Finally, my yearning thirst for D.A.R.E. knowledge was offered a long-awaited drink. A five-week pi-

lot D.A.R.E. program was being tested on fourth graders. Trying not to ap-

pear too anxious, I volunteered my room. I wanted to be the teacher to witness the program so that the students did not see

yet another teacher merely kiss butt to a police officer. I practically salivated on myself thinking of the pro-cop, "anti-drug" (mis)information I would witness and be able to laugh about with my friends and de-program from my students' young, wise minds. I told the kids of their guinea pig status and they all had the same question... "When do we get the t-shirts?"

Much to the kids' dismay, fourth grade D.A.R.E. was not as materially-oriented as the real D.A.R.E. Plastic yellow notebooks were replaced with photocopied papers stapled together. The 5th grade D.A.R.E. graduation gift of a pencil and t-shirt was wittled down to a D.A.R.E. eraser and sticker. The students were skeptical from the start.

As for a curriculum, there wasn't much to speak of. Every class the students would open their red covered booklets and Officer Donut would ask them for the definition of a word such as "drug" or "peer pressure." The officer allowed only one student a chance to produce the textbook definition he was looking for. When they failed to do so, he would bark out the answer. What followed was a frustrating fifteen minutes of kids frantically writing a long formal definition in the small space provided on their worksheets while the officer had already moved on to the next word. The fourth graders seemed to learn nothing from this part of the course. Little to no discussion was had of the concepts and words on their sheets: "drugs" and "self-esteem" turned into avalanches of words too confusing to grasp. The kids

Continued on next page

WHY D.A.R.E. SUCKS

A Survivor's Tale

By Dylan Thuras

Dylan is a recent graduate of the D.A.R.E. program in Minneapolis.

The reason I'm writing this is because the D.A.R.E. program and the cops that run it SUCK!! What caused me to think this more than I had before was this. After seven or eight weeks of listening to bull from the D.A.R.E. cop we had to write a report telling why drugs stink and the D.A.R.E. program is so great. Instead, I wrote about why the D.A.R.E. program stinks. The D.A.R.E. cop read this during an assembly we were having for D.A.R.E. He waited until it was over and almost everyone was out of the assembly room and asked me to come over to him to talk. As soon as the last few people filed out and closed the door he started to lay into me. I think he thought everyone was gone but two of my friends were still there about to turn off the lights. They heard him yelling as loud as he could at me. After a long argument I went to my classroom where I talked with my friends about what had happened. So that's why I'm writing this. So basically what I'm gonna say in this article is why the D.A.R.E. program sucks and how it really doesn't work at all.

One of the things that really got me angry was the fact that the D.A.R.E. cop knew practically nothing about drugs and told us lies. For example, I asked, "Is it not true that cigarettes are addictive and marijuana is not?" He said that cigarettes have an addictive substance called nicotine and marijuana has something called T.H.C.

This made everyone think that marijuana was addictive, which I later found out from the encyclopedia was not true. Another thing I noticed was that the first thing he did when he met us was show off his gun (him and his big manly gun). He didn't help with anybody's confusion about drugs and let things slide. For example, a kid said you could die from smoking marijuana and he nodded his head and wrote it up on the board. The cop might have mistakenly thought that to be true but another kid later said a consequence of smoking marijuana was to cough up blood and he didn't correct that, either.

I think the only reason D.A.R.E. is around is to be a "get to like cops at all times no matter what" class. For example, the D.A.R.E. cops would go out to the playground and play with all the younger kids (not wearing their cop wear) and then would tell them they were cops and ask if they liked cops. So as you can see, they're obviously trying to suck up to the little kids and make a false friendship with them.

The D.A.R.E. program was completely dumb and didn't inform anybody at all. It said nothing about cigarettes, which kill over 134,000 people each year. The cop also said nothing about crack or any of the more dangerous drugs but kept on talking about how bad marijuana and alcohol were. In fact, no one learned anything at all.

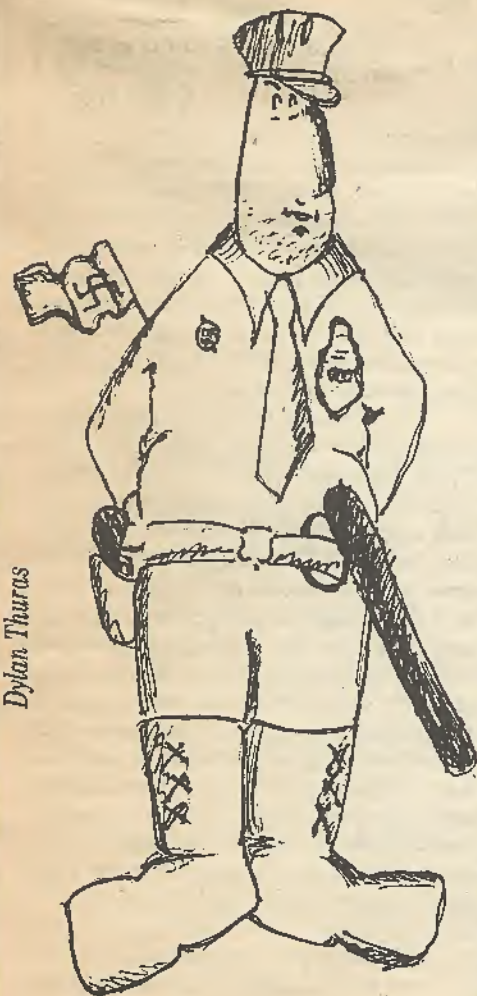
Sickeningly, most of my classmates agreed and complied with everything the cop said. Some decided that it was too much trouble to say anything and others

were afraid to say anything. And many didn't want to say anything because they wouldn't get the D.A.R.E. shirt they were promised (which was crappy anyway).

One of the things you had to do to get a t-shirt is write a report titled "Taking a Stand Against Drugs." So I titled my report "Taking a Stand Against D.A.R.E." Basically, what my report said is that the D.A.R.E. program stunk and that I thought it didn't inform anyone and tried to bribe kids. A lot of what I said in the D.A.R.E. essay I've said in this article as well.

As I said before, after everyone left the auditorium in the basement of our school, the D.A.R.E. cop asked me to come over to him. When the last kids left the auditorium he started yelling at me. He accused me of lying in my essay even though everything I said was true. I defended myself but I was intimidated, scared, and angry. I'm a little embarrassed to say, but I started crying. The cop kept yelling. Later on during the argument I said something about the D.A.R.E. program being founded by Daryl Gates, the former chief of the L.A.P.D., which is true, but he saw no reason why that mattered and ended up defending Daryl Gates. The cop took down my address but my teacher made him give it back to me.

I think it's sad that more kids don't realize the problem with the D.A.R.E. program and the ones that do don't say anything. I think if more kids said something then we could show everyone why the D.A.R.E. program sucks.



Dylan Thuras

COPS AND KIDS

Continued from page 10

form bonds of loyalty with the cops. The cops are encouraged to spend time on the playground with the kids. The kids are encouraged to share their fears and concerns with the cops. The cop in my son's classroom also explained that busting parents for drugs based on what their kids say in D.A.R.E. classrooms is not an abuse of the D.A.R.E. program, since drug-using parents are, simply by using drugs, abusing their kids. This little lesson, with its implicit threat, served both to stifle dis-

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sent and to promote the idea that police surveillance is an acceptable part of everyday life. Clearly, the desired effect of the D.A.R.E. program is to develop an unquestioned acceptance of police presence and authority, not to educate kids about drug abuse. No doubt such an uncritical attitude would make life easier at the Bureau of Criminal Apprehension and the local copshops.

Of course the obvious question here is

why Minneapolis parents and other residents would want their kids to be taught to trust what is widely known to be an excessively brutal police force with no regard for basic human rights. This is miseducation. It is particularly ironic that the program enjoys popular support which most likely arises from the impulse to keep kids from harm.

Despite the fact that even the weakest liberal agrees that blind trust in authority is in no way part of a democratic culture, D.A.R.E. continues to expand its pro-cop program. The program is able to benefit from the demonization of drug users at the same time it works to reproduce that demonization. By raising the drug specter, D.A.R.E. is able to command automatic support and undermine any dissent. Any opposition is stigmatized; who can be against a program to keep kids off drugs?

In this way the D.A.R.E. program makes use of a familiar drug war strategy. Fears of drugs and crime are manipulated by racist, classist, and inflammatory rhetoric; this same exaggerated fear then becomes the justification for an increasingly authoritarian and pervasive police presence. The D.A.R.E. program is insidiously different in that instead of using drugs as the excuse for authoritarian displays of force, it uses drugs as the excuse for directly inculcating authoritarianism in kids. If the D.A.R.E. program is successful, the next generation will not question an increasingly pervasive police presence.

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Truth or D.A.R.E.

Continued from page 11

were frustrated and their relations with Donut started to deteriorate during this time.

After this torture, however, came the treat. Notebooks and pencils put away, students stuffed their crumpled up questions into the D.A.R.E. box. Now was the time for Officer Donut to answer several of these randomly selected queries. Not one

**D.A.R.E. TO
KEEP
THE COPS
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HOME**

question was about drugs. On the other hand, "What kind of gun do you have?" was an extremely popular question. Tipper Gore would certainly theorize that this gun-crazed mindset illustrates the damaging effects of violent media. But the motivation behind these questions is much more simple. Kids know that cops have the power to control. They know that the cops can enforce their repression because they have guns. Finding details about the police's weapon is an attempt by these children to assess exactly how much power the police have (and for many, how to work around it).

I'll never forget the day nine year-old Tanisha asked Officer Donut, "Have you ever shot a kid?" The officer freaked out. He bombarded her with loud rhetorical questions like, "What kind of opinion do you have of policemen???" What followed was a ridiculous tirade about how the police only fire when necessary and OF COURSE he never shot a kid. Tanisha looked humiliated, and I felt like vomiting when from his lips came the quote of the century: "The police don't shoot people by accident."

Officer Donut used this Q and A time to portray certain images of the police to the students. Donut strove to create sympathy for himself and his profession. After all, he was working on the streets in a bad, crime-ridden, neighborhood. Cops had a bad rap, according to the officer, so he tried to push the good-cop "to protect, to serve" line. These strategies didn't work. First of all, the enemy territory Donut was talking about is called home to these fourth graders, and they know full well that they may be the ones considered "the enemy" at any time. The "serve and protect" gimic was swallowed by some, but spit out by many others who knew about police brutality on a first hand basis.

For example, one D.A.R.E. day, Officer Donut was interrupted by the lyrics of Public Enemy's "911's a joke" rising above the din of chattering students. LaFondra was looking right at the cop and singing her heart out. (I had to hand it to her!) The cop walked briskly to her seat and towered over her. "You got a problem with police officers?" he shouted. When she didn't answer he repeated the "question" two more times. Was this a safe place for her to

explain how the week before, her 14 year-old brother walked out of his house and was falsely arrested for "looking like" someone who had robbed a store? Situations like LaFondra's are commonplace in this school. Antuan had been arrested two years ago, at age 8, while trying to help an elderly man who had been beaten. He was taken down to the station and questioned (without a parent present). He was then driven to an unfamiliar street corner and dropped off.

The D.A.R.E. program and the officer involved did not attempt to address situations such as these. In fact, the D.A.R.E. program had nothing to do with the students' lives. The program provided no context of the oppression of inner city life. Basically, the D.A.R.E. message is drugs are bad, people who do them are bad, and drug users deserve nothing less than to have their family members and/or neighbors tell on them. A child can, however, break the chains of the "criminal" Black community by stepping over the thin blue line to the cop's side.

Hip to this not-so-hidden agenda, I felt no obligation to make Officer Donut's job any easier than it was. I took this classtime as an opportunity to walk around and help the kids, but did not lift a finger to quiet them down when they shouted at him to stop or explain something. During my social studies class, I invited a lawyer

**D.A.R.E. TO
KEEP
THE COPS
OUT OF YOUR
HEAD**

to discuss what to do if the police were to arrest them. And of course, we had many whole-class discussions about police brutality and racism. These discussions may have had some impact on the students' attitudes toward Donut, as many of them used D.A.R.E. time as a time for social interaction, playing MASH and spreading new, outrageous rumors.

Finally the last D.A.R.E. day arrived and the kids didn't hide their excitement. There was not only "no more stupid D.A.R.E. class," but also the expectation of their very own D.A.R.E. erasers as a graduation reward. Officer Donut walked in the room and the class became silent. But only for a second, before they ignored his presence and went on with their business. Donut tried to quiet them to no avail: "Stop talking!" he bellowed. In the second of silence that followed the scream, he dashed the hopes of the potential narcs of America. "I am sorry to say that this class did not pass the fourth grade D.A.R.E. program due to lack of respect." A small groan ensued, but not a moment later the kids were too busy talking to even notice Donut leave the room.

All's well that ends well. On his way out the door, that defeated cop forked over the erasers.

Not All Queers Party On Battleships

Unless you were actually in New York City for Stonewall's twenty-fifth anniversary, it might look as though the entire legacy of the Stonewall riots is a celebration of the successful mainstreaming of "gay and lesbian people" into society. So, just in case you were fooled by the corporate media, here's a chronological rundown of radical Stonewall events.

Kicking off the weekend of radical organizing, a lively forum was held on Wednesday, June 22, organized by Queers Against U.S. Militarism and Stonewall Now!, a coalition made up of radical queers including activists from ACT-UP, Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation, ISO (the International Socialist Organization), the Radical Fairies, and QUISP (Queers United in Support of Political Prisoners). The forum, called "Queer Liberation: From Stonewall to Sellout?" featured, among others, Stonewall veteran and founding member of the Gay Liberation Front, Jeremiah Newton who gave his first hand account of the nights of the rebellion, and Rita "Bo" Brown, a former political prisoner and member of the George Jackson Brigade who spoke about her experiences as a Butch dyke using drag to rob banks and survive underground, as well as her current work for prisoners. Joan Gibbs from the Center for Constitutional Rights, Christine Lipat of Kambal Sa Lusog (a Philippine lesbian and gay organization), and Colleen Gallagher of the War Resisters League also spoke about current activism and strategies for resistance. It was an inspiring beginning for a radicalized celebration of Stonewall.

Friday night was the first march of the weekend, the Jesus Loves Drag March, hosted by the charming and heroic Church Ladies for Choice, best known for their daring clinic-defense. The demo started (precisely on time!) from Tompkins Square Park and headed to Sheridan Square, the locale of the Stonewall Inn. Along the way, the Drag March became more and more

festive and charged with positively righteous anger. A skull-and-crossbones rainbow flag and dozens of amazingly realistic hot pink foamcore automatic weapons made by Queer Action Figures set the mood for a militant yet campy protest march. As the drag march made its way towards Sheridan Square through the yuppified West Village, marchers started chanting "Out of the co-ops and into the streets" at the expensive co-op apartments surrounding the square and then quickly changed it to "We've come for your co-ops!" When we got to Sheridan Square, no one wanted to stop and there was spontaneous momentum to take the intersection. Eventually, pink rifles held high, the marchers forced the cops to give us our rightful public property and then stayed to celebrate.

After the Drag March, many of the same demonstrators relocated to a protest against "Operation World Pride," a benefit dance for gay, lesbian, and AIDS organizations aboard the U.S.S. Intrepid, a retired U.S. Navy Battleship. Queers Against U.S. Militarism called the demo out of concern about "the glorification of U.S. military aggression suggested by holding parties on the Intrepid," which was stationed in the Tonkin Gulf during the Vietnam War and now holds an

exhibit commemorating the Gulf War. On that rainy Friday night, the hulking grey battleship seemed not only an offensive, but an incredibly gloomy place to be throwing a party. Several dozen demonstrators confronted the party-goers to be with signs saying "U.S. War Machine ≠ Hot Queer Scene," and attempted to remind them of the thousands and thousands of Vietnamese people who were killed by planes taking off from the Intrepid, only a year before the Stonewall rebellion. Asked by one protestor, "Would you dance at Auschwitz?" too many people attending the dance replied, "Yes!" It was a depressing reminder of the sad political state of affairs in the mainstream "gay and lesbian community."

June 25, Saturday afternoon was the Lesbian Avengers' Dyke March. In probably the biggest lesbian march ever, somewhere between 15 and 20 thousand dykes took 5th Avenue all the way from Bryant Park to Washington Square. This was thrilling in its own right, but the march itself was unfortunately lacking in energy and seemed fairly vacant politically. Visibility is the mission of the Avengers, and along those lines it is certain that we showed our numbers (even if it was roundly ignored by the corporate media), but with that many dykes in one place it seems like there should have been some excitement (I mean, besides girl watching, of course). Let's face it, visibility alone leaves a lot to be desired.

In contrast to the Dyke March, Saturday night's march, planned by Stonewall Now!, was probably the most explicitly radical demonstration of the weekend. Stonewall Now! was formed to address the wide spectrum of issues facing the queer community, and the opening statement for their demo elaborated on many of these issues: addressing police brutality, the religious right and anti-gay ballot initiatives, critiquing imperialism and the glorification of the US military, affirming the right to self-defense against rape, domestic violence and hate crimes, calling for explicit safe sex education, better AIDS research and treatment, free child care, housing, and health care, and linking queer oppression with all other forms of oppression.

So far, at the Drag and Dyke Marches, the police had been relatively laid back, most likely because of the million additional

queers in town for the weekend. This time though, they were out attempting an intimidating show of force from the beginning. Half a dozen vans plus paddy wagons and cars and hundreds of cops were evident in Sheridan Square, where the demo was to begin. Nevertheless, with Stonewall

with a stop at an Operation Rescue church, continue on to the piers, then to a site of recent queer-bashings, and finally to end up at the police station in the Stonewall Inn's precinct. Despite the cops who outnumbered us and were running in formation alongside, the demo started well. People were lively and loud, and the incredible planning skills of the coalition showed as fireworks exploded in the air above the piers while we took the street all the way there (OK, so the fireworks were a coincidence—but it was a nice touch). The protest went well as long as we remained in the queer part of town where there were a lot of people out partying, but it was when we headed into het neighborhoods on the way to the site of a recent queer-bashing that the cops closed in and decided to shut us down. Outnumbering us significantly, the pigs managed to fracture the demo and cause some pretty major confusion. However, no one was permanently arrested (although several people were unarrested) and the

demo was not stopped from finishing out as planned with speakers at the police precinct. The demo broke up chanting in reference to the next day's early morning ACT-UP! march: "Today's pigs, tomorrow's bacon—let's do brunch!"

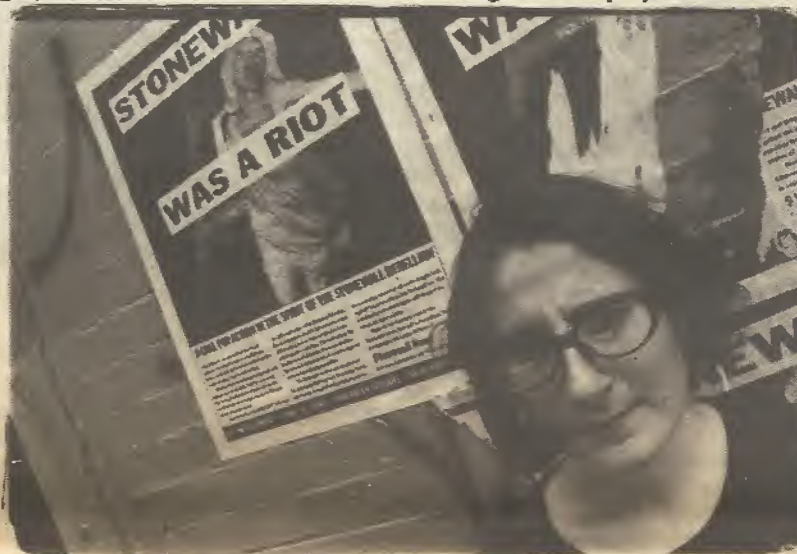
Sunday morning was met with two

simultaneous marches, the officially sanctioned Stonewall 25 march and an illegal march organized by ACT-UP. The official march started at the United Nations with a focus on abuses of gays and lesbians in countries outside of the (allegedly more enlightened) US. The Stonewall 25 Committee, which was headed up by a lesbian Republican Party hack, excluded bi's and transgenders from the title of its march, which it called an "International March on the United Nations to Affirm the Rights of Gay and Lesbian People," because it claimed that bi and transgender identities would not be understood internationally. This, of course, was just one symptom of the narrow and compromising political agenda of the Stonewall 25 Committee, which worried that international queers would be confused by the inclusion of bisexuals and transgender people, but not by the prominent place of the imperialist U.S. military in the march and other pride events.

Same time, different place: ACT-UP's march was organized as an illegal alternative with the intention of highlighting AIDS issues. The result was two separate marches running parallel, the ACT-UP! march down 5th Avenue (the traditional Pride route) and the huge Stonewall 25 march running down a less prominent avenue with the pig Mayor Giuliani at the lead. The two marches met at Central Park, taking most of the afternoon to arrive because of their size.

Besides ridiculously sore feet, the 25th anniversary of the Stonewall riots left me with a million questions in my mind about where we queers are going as a movement, and if we can call ourselves a movement at all. At times it seemed like the legacy of Stonewall was still alive and kicking—like when some pedestrians, impressed by the police presence, were overheard asking if the Stonewall Now! march was a reenactment of the original—at others it appeared that all of the rebellion had been marketed out of Stonewall. The weekend of small but inspiring protest demonstrations and huge marches which seemed routine and aimless by comparison points to the problems of keeping a militant and radical liberation movement alive once a group starts to gain some mainstream acceptability.

By Erin Immaculate



Stonewall Now! wheatpasting, Lower East Side. photo: Polly Pagenhart



Dyke March, New York City.

photo: Polly Pagenhart

Now!'s call to action: "We march tonight to assert our right and ability to take control of our lives and fight for our liberation, to be militant, flamboyant, creative, radical, outraged, and above all queer in the streets and everywhere," the several hundred protesters got off to a running start to avoid police blockades. The demo route was planned to begin

Welcome to amerikkka's kkkontrol units

By Shaka Shakur

Kkkontrol units, lights, video cameras, tear gas, k-9s and pepper gas. Swat teams, extraction teams and unit teams.

Welcome to where corrupt politicians, mass murderers in double breasted suits, black-robed baby killers, and rapists in starched uniforms in de ivy halls of corrupt power claim they are holding de worst of de worst, de most dangerous and incorrigible prisoners. Politicians who like magicians do "magic" and hide de truth, who claim they have to make de world a better place, a safer place for humanity. Who will make it safe from "them"?

Defining kkkontrol units

De leading definition of a kkkontrol unit has been articulated by de Committee to End de Marion Lockdown. De kkkontrol unit must either be a separate unit from de main prison, i.e. designated a prison or part of a prison that operates under a "super-max security regime." De kkkontrol unit must be on a permanent lockdown status where prisoners are locked inside de cell at least 23 hours a day. There is no congregate dining, no congregate exercise, no work opportunities and no congregate religious services. The conditions are officially justified not as punishment for prisoners but as an administrative measure.

The term "control unit" was first coined at United States Penitentiary (U.S.P.) at Marion, Illinois in 1972 and has subsequently come to define all kkkontrol units.

Marion was where de first official u.s. kkkontrol unit was established. In 1973, H-unit at Marion was officially designated as the long-term kkkontrol unit. Marion would become de model for all kkkontrol unit prisons across de u.s. empire. As time progresses, de enemy continues to develop and build better and improved kkkontrol units with tighter security, more sophisticated technology and heightened forms of systematic torture, thereby creating new models to set de standards such as Pelican Bay, Maximum Control Complex in Westville, Indiana, Florence, etc. Yet Marion was de original.

Proliferation of prisons in general

As we see de kontradictions becoming sharper in de kkkapitalist/imperialist socio-economical superstructure, we see prisons and imprisonment (a booming business for de u.s. economy) being utilized on a dual level. On one hand they are being used to repress and socially control a segment of de population and on de other hand they boost depressed local economies, particularly in rural areas. It is allowing states to amass millions from prison slave labor-produced products and de hiring of local residents as guards (which diminishes de need for unemployment benefits and increases those who will pay taxes).

As prisons become more self-sufficient, producing their own food, clothes, soap, toilet paper, etc., it cuts costs for de state and helps increase profits by improving cost effectiveness.

As de amerikkkan society becomes more and more destabilized and de kkkapitalist economy undergoes its death throes, it becomes necessary to build more and more prisons in an attempt to crush the potential for resistance, for revolution, for any ambitions of a radical transformation of society.

Just as prisons are used as a tool of social control and not punishment for so-called kkkcrime, kkkontrol units are used as a form of social control of de population behind de walls, to crush de resistance or potential for such resistance behind de walls. They are also used to target particular types of prisoners such as political prisoners (P.P.s) and prisoners of war (P.O.W.s) for isolation and destruction.

They target these particular prisoners for several reasons. One reason is to intimidate anyone who might follow in these P.P.s and P.O.W.s footsteps and challenge de authority of de state. Second, they want to prevent these P.P.s and P.O.W.s from spreading revolutionary ideals to other prisoners. Third, they would like to break these prisoners' spirits and have them renounce their views and betray their principles so they can be used to discourage others. Lastly, kkkontrol units are laboratories where all kinds of behavioral sciences are practiced as a prelude to practicing them upon de larger society. Prisoners are just the front line; you're next.

Maximum Control Complex

M.C.C. was opened in April 1991, a 12 million dollar komplex built as a kkkontrol unit. M.C.C. houses a total of 224 prisoners who are locked down 23 hours a day. We have no physical contact with any prisoners; all social contact is denied. Anytime we leave de cell a pig runs his or her hands over every inch of Our body. We are cuffed and shackled with a dog leash attached to de cuffs and We are given a military escort. Several guards carrying steel-tipped foot long clubs and donned in fatigues and combat boots escort Us anytime We leave de cell. We are locked in cells with boxcar doors, cells where de light shines 24/7/365, shines onto and reflects off of bright stark white walls. For de first 2 1/2 years, all year round we were exposed to temps droppin' as low as 45 degrees in de middle of January. When they did decide to turn de heat on they suffocated Us.

Imagine being in a cage with barely any clothes where a concealed force manipulates de temperature of de cage from one extreme to another, lights stay on 24/7, your diet regulated/manipulated, listening to other prisoners around you in de other cages being attacked. Extraction teams of riot gear-clad

pigs storming cells, attacking prisoners and chaining them spread eagle to bed frames. You never know if you're next for doing something real or imagined or just general principle. No sensorial stimulus, not even allowed to be told what time of day it is. People, this ain't no movie or fiction novel, this is M.C.C. and de same drama is playing itself out all across dis wicked land, leaving thousands of casualties in its wake.

Recently de administration has embarked upon a campaign of painting over de two to three foot narrow windows in de back of de cell, painting over them with black paint and taking strips of steel and welding them around de cracks and corners around de edges of de cell doors, effectively sealing you up in a sound proof tomb. Where We used to be able to scream and shout through de cracks of de door We are not even afforded dat luxury any longer. Entombed alive in a casket with a listening device.

I've just completed my third year in a kkkontrol unit and on one hand de experience has left me strong and on de other de experience has left many scars and many battle wounds in de flesh of one's mind, in de deep recesses of one's psychology. Wounds and scars dat shall haunt one to de grave. A form of post-traumatic stress syndrome.

De u.s. government is carrying out a counter-insurgency war in its prisons, a war dat is high tech. One of its weapons of choice are kkkontrol units, where de behavioral science of sensorial and perceptual deprivation is practiced in conjunction with solitary confinement.

Their claim that they are holding de worst of de worst in kkkontrol units is a lie. For example, de state of Indiana has embarked upon a systematic program of weeding out all prisoners who are politically inclined and capable of organizing other prisoners as well as prisoners who are jail house lawyers and known to litigate de kourts about rights violations—all are sent for a tour of duty at M.C.C. Any prisoner dat shows any form of conscious resistance is a candidate for M.C.C. Yet if you're a right-wing white supremacist you're not sent here.

In de last 5 years there has been a current moving within de prison system where a strong tendency towards kultural nationalism has developed in conjunction with a revolutionary current being spearheaded by social prisoners turned political. As a result de state has built

continued on back cover



Tim Blunk *Se Desaparecen*, 1987

Bonnie Kerness on

PRISONS AND B

The U.S. currently imprisons over 1.2 million people world. Depending on geographic location, between 65 and 75% of those of Afrikan descent, Latinos and the original people, Natives, are under some form of social control, which is a high priority in South Africa. In other words, apartheid in America is everywhere.

If you are a young male of Afrikan descent in this country, you will be set so high you become an economic hostage. For that meaning. You will sit in a cell for up to two years without a trial by a jury of your peers. You will be defended by a lawyer who cannot possibly be treated as a priority, and finally you will be released as a caucasian would for the same crime. If you have seen the conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction, intended to prevent births within the group, and e) forcible sterilization. If we use this definition, it is not hard to see how the nation is guilty of genocide. Coupled with data on high infant mortality, early death of children, and lack of opportunities and education that is afforded to whites; a

The definition of genocide, according to the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes Against Humanity, is: a) the causing of serious bodily harm to members of the group, b) the causing of serious mental harm to members of the group, c) the causing of conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction, intended to prevent births within the group, and e) forcible sterilization.

If we use this definition, it is not hard to see how the nation is guilty of genocide. Coupled with data on high infant mortality, early death of children, and lack of opportunities and education that is afforded to whites; a

Bonnie Kerness is a member of American Friends Service Committee's Control Unit Monitoring Project. The passage above was taken from her book, *Prisons and Politics*.



GARDENS OF THE LAW

The Role of Prisons in Capitalist Society

By joel

Prison isn't a place to keep the "bad apples" from spoiling the rest of society. It is for the social control of the entire population—good and bad apples alike. Capitalism requires a politically obedient population so it can put that population to work making profits for the wealthy. Prisons ensure this politically docile and economically useful population. Prisons are useful for the powers that be; they are only a problem for those locked inside them, their loved ones, and those who want a free society.

Myths of the Prison

Prisons are not about decreasing crime. In 1976 the Panel on Research on Deterrent and Incapacitative Effects examined the role of prisons in deterring crime. Their report concluded that states like California and Massachusetts, for example, would have to increase their prison populations 150 percent and 310 percent (from mid-1970s levels) to achieve a mere ten percent reduction in crime. Minnesota's Assistant Commissioner of Corrections admits, "There is no relationship between the incarceration rate and violent crime. We're in the business of tricking people into thinking that spending hundreds of millions [of dollars] for new prisons will make them safe."

Prisons are not about rehabilitation. In 1981 New York State Correction Commissioner Thomas Coughlin confessed, "The department is no longer engaged in rehabilitative and programming efforts, but is rather forced to warehouse people and concentrate on finding the next cell." Packing in more and more bodies inside their walls is what prisons do; rehabilitating lost souls in order to return them to society is not.

Perhaps most shocking of all to our common sensibilities, prisons are not about punishing people for crimes they commit. Of course, this is one of the things they do (as well as punish people for crimes they did *not* commit), but it is not the primary function of prisons. Prisons are first and foremost about social control, about suppressing dissent, about creating a more politically obedient and economically useful population. Sure, they lock "criminals" up to keep them from the rest of us, but prisons are about controlling "the rest of us" as much as they are about controlling "criminals."

How prisons achieve social control

In a capitalist society, when most people think of crime, they

do not think of the acts themselves so much as they do an imaginary "criminal class" that commits them. It's always these few "delinquents" that commit violent crimes and have to be brought under control, so the story goes. The criminal in capitalism is defined not by his or her specific unlawful acts but by the lifestyle s/he leads: gangsta, hoodlum, dope fiend, dealer, thug. The criminal exists before the crime is even committed; a prison record is merely a badge that recognizes him or her for doing what is expected. This is one reason why rich white people rarely go to jail: the rich and the white are not defined as "criminals" in this society, therefore when they break the law it's easier to have sympathy for them for "making a mistake" and to give them a lesser punishment, or no punishment at all.

Prisons are not just the storehouses of this criminal class, they *produce* criminality by concentrating otherwise decent people into a cramped, crowded, and oppressive environment. In prison, an individual is subject to isolation, confinement in a control unit, violence, torture, gang activity, guard brutality, organized white supremacy, and a life of boredom and useless toil. When and if a prisoner is released, s/he is often condemned to a life of poverty and run-ins with the law. Released prisoners often have a difficult time getting a job because they are required to notify all potential employers of their felon status. College scholarship funds for former prisoners have been slashed or eliminated. By sticking a person in prison, the prison system condemns that person to poverty and stigmatizes them as a lifetime member of the criminal class.

Created by the prison system that is supposed to fight crime, the criminal class becomes the scapegoat for America's social ills and the justification for spending millions of dollars on building more prisons, hiring more cops, and drafting tough new "anti-crime" laws. But by trying to make life tough for criminals, we make life tough for ourselves, because the laws that get passed to control the criminal class apply to everyone. If you the good citizen somehow run up against the law, well, you must be a delinquent, a member of the notorious criminal class. Better shape up, obey the laws and avoid any trouble so you won't be one of those, those criminals!

By distinguishing "criminals" from the rest of society—not by people's actions but for who they are—prisons and the "fight against crime" are used to attack target populations and garner obedience from the general population. This is what led writer Michel Foucault to write, "Let us conceive of places of punishment as a Garden of the Laws that families would visit on Sundays." Prisons are places where criminals are punished, but they are also "gardens" that remind citizens of what could happen to them

if they were to become a "criminal." In this way, prisons help craft a more obedient population *outside* the walls, outside the garden. Prisons put the cop inside your head. Prisons control your life even if you've never been inside one.

Blacks are America's "criminal class"

While prisons control the population on the outside by demonizing "criminals," they control "criminals" through terror.

In the U.S. the criminal class created by capitalism and the prison system are poor people of color, especially African Americans. Thirty-two percent of African Americans lived below the poverty line in 1992, and they make up 43 percent of the U.S. prison population. One out of every four Black men aged 20 to 29 is under some form of criminal justice control, which is more Black men than are in college.

Is this because Blacks commit more crimes? No. The total number of crimes committed in America is huge (estimates ranged between thirteen and thirty-four million in 1986, for example). Only a tiny fraction of the people who commit them are ever imprisoned. For example, the *Los Angeles Times* reports that 80 percent of the nation's drug users are white, yet the vast majority busted for drug crimes are Black. Why are most of those who are caught and convicted Black?

The only possible answer is that African Americans are the "criminal class" of America, or are at least its biggest subgroup (Latinos and Chicanos are an increasingly large subgroup as well). Of course, most poor Blacks are *not* criminals, but that's the role they are forced into in America. As the authors of *The Coming of Black Genocide* argue, "Black men are considered a criminal class, who must be pushed out to keep white people safe. Anything that is done to them, anything at all, is ok. Everyone is told to fear them, they are the threat."

Because Blacks are America's criminal class, and because in a capitalist society the criminal class must be subdued by terror, obedience from Blacks is acquired through terror: police violence, locking up loved ones, etc. Just like the rest of the population doesn't have to actually go to prison to be made more obedient by the prison system, Blacks don't have to actually spend time in prison to be terrorized by it. As Malcolm X said, "Don't be surprised when I say I was in prison. We [African Americans] have all been in prison. That's what America, means, prison."

The role of control units

Just like prisons create a docile and

continued on page 16

BLACK GENOCIDE

That is a larger number than any other country in the world. 85 percent of those we imprison are people of color—African Americans. On any given day, one out of four Black people are in prison, a rate far higher than in the openly white supremacist country of South Africa.

In South Africa, if you are poor, should you get arrested your bail is set at \$100,000. In America, the phrase "innocent until proven guilty" has little meaning. You will certainly be represented by a public defender who has a caseload so vast you will serve a sentence which is thirty percent longer than the sentence your father, your uncle, your brother, or your friend would serve for the same thing happen to your father, your uncle, your brother, or your friend.

Prison is a) the killing of members of a racial or religious group, b) the destruction of a particular group, c) deliberately inflicting on a group destruction in whole or in part, d) imposing measures of transferring children of that group to another group, e) mass imprisonment that is occurring fits that definition. The elderly of color; lack of the same medical treatment, the realization becomes more compelling.

Prison is a) the killing of members of a racial or religious group, b) the destruction of a particular group, c) deliberately inflicting on a group destruction in whole or in part, d) imposing measures of transferring children of that group to another group, e) mass imprisonment that is occurring fits that definition.

GARDENS OF THE LAW

Continued from page 15

useful population outside prisons, control units create obedience and usefulness within prison walls. Prisons put the cop in the citizen's head; control units put the cop in the prisoner's head. It's not the "worst of the worst" who gets thrown in control units, it's a specific section of the prisoner population, chosen for the perceived threat they pose to order and obedience.

Like in the larger society, the vast majority of those locked up in control units are Black. For example, all but a few in the Management Control Unit at new Jersey State Prison (home of Ojore Lutalo, among others) are Black. Most are in there because they make trouble for the prisonrats: jailhouse lawyers, political prisoners, activists, and revolutionaries. As Ralph Arons, former warden at Marion admits, "The purpose of the Marion Control Unit is to control revolutionary attitudes in the prison system and in the society at large." The crime itself doesn't matter—George Jackson did eleven years for a \$78 robbery—it's the class you belong to that determines whether or not you will go to prison, and once in prison, whether or not you will end up in a control unit. And a prisoner's class is determined by his or her "revolutionary attitudes," i.e. by a refusal to obey to those in power.

Prisons & liberal democracy: brothers in blood

The notion that crime, the "criminal personality," and imprisonment naturally go together is a capitalist myth. We need to separate the issue of imprisonment from the issue of crime; they are not about the same things, and one does not cure the other.

One complaint by liberals of the new incarceration society the U.S. is building (those few liberals who haven't jumped onto the "get tough on crime" bandwagon, that is) is that it is incredibly expensive. Of course, on the surface they are right: some control unit facilities cost \$800,000 per prisoner just to build, and that doesn't include living costs for the prisoner (\$30,000-40,000 a year for general population prisoners). However,



S. TOBOCMAN

those who hold power in this society might see things a little bit differently, and regard the rising costs of imprisonment as worth the investment. Since prisons control not just the "criminal class", but the entire population, compared with the possibility of a Northern Ireland-style military occupation of American cities, prisons actually obtain social control of the entire society at a relatively low social and economic cost for the rich. For most folks, though, the cost is devastating, which is why prisons must go.

Capitalism and its sidekick liberal democracy give us the vote, constitutional rights, consumer buying power, and a trunkful of goodies. Why aren't we free? Because even though some of us have toys, we still don't have power in this society; that privilege is reserved for capitalists and the state. Why does this tiny class of society have all that power, while the majority has so little? Why don't we just take power from the rich and "vote the bastards out?" Because the ruling class have developed other ways to control the population, so that our political power is much weaker than we are led to believe. Prisons are the linchpin to this social control; they guarantee our submission to the powers that be by opposing "criminals" to "citizens."

The way to fight this is for those of us on the outside to align ourselves with those on the inside in order to break the crime/prison connection. This can't be done outside the context of fighting capitalism and a white supremacist society. As capitalism and imprisonment go together, so must they fall together. The gardens must burn.

TEAR DOWN THE TORTURE CHAMBERS

A Strategy to Fight the Spread of Control Units

by Bonnie Kerness

Strategies to use against the proliferation of control units are beginning to come together. With groups across the country focusing their attention on control units in their area - a network is starting to form. The following is a very rough draft for the Proposal for a national control unit monitoring project.

Statement of Problem: Despite the proliferation of control units across the country during the past decade, no one knows how many there are, their locations, who is in them, and under what conditions. Control units are expanding with relative impunity, except for the cries of protest of those inside, and a few outside organizations and people.

History: During the past year a number of groups and people across the country have been dialoguing about the need for some coordination of effort and the development of a tracking system.

Objectives: To develop a national control unit monitoring network project with participants in each state where a control unit exists. In the ideal this could take place in each state with two or three people on the outside being in close contact with two or three inside the control unit. On a national level this monitoring project would be responsible for data collection: How many control units are there?, who is in them?, how many people are in them?, what is their stated purpose?, etc. Data should include length of stay, time out of the cell (alone or with others), access to programs, reading materials, TV/radio/other equipment. We would also be interested in length of telephone calls, if any are allowed, visiting conditions, information on cell extractions and general behavior of prison staff.

Methods: Our model could include local groups feeding data into regional centers, which would then feed into a national data base; or it could be developed to infuse data directly into a central collection point which could then issue national reports.

The growth of such a unified focus on control units can be integral to the development of a more activist prison movement in general by bringing together people on both sides of the walls, and by exposing the centrality of control units to the entire prison system. Individual groups would be encouraged to develop organizing components. Although initially the national project will focus on data collection, there is room for future negotiation of direction - i.e. national organizing work.

To get involved in the struggle against control units contact one of the organizations listed here. Thanks for help with these articles and for a commitment to abolishing control units goes out to:

- Colorado Coalition to Abolish Control-Unit Torture • P.O. Box 1156 • Boulder, CO 80306 • 1156 • 303-444-6981
- AFSC • Bonnie Kerness 972 Broad St. 6th Floor • Newark, NJ 07102 • (201) 643-3079
- Committee to End the Marion Lockdown • P.O. Box 578172 • Chicago, IL 60657-8172 • (312) 235-0070
- Pelican Bay Information Project • 2489 Mission St. #28 • San Francisco, CA 94110
- PSC Publishers • P.O. Box 5052, Stn. A • Toronto, Ont. • Canada M5W 1W4PNS
- Ojore N. Lutalo • CN-861-59860 M.C.U. • Trenton, NJ 08625
- FUSPPP • Box 565 • Madison, WI 53701
- Friends Of Political Prisoners • Box 3113 • Madison, WI 53704
- Ray Luc Levasseur • 10376/016, box 1000 • Marion, IL 62959
- Emmett Lasean Jones #128276 or Jerome Polk #194781 • 310 Wadaga Rd. • Baraga, MI 49908
- George Mosley C33118 • P.O. Box 7500-C7-121 • Crescent City, CA 95532

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Attica inmates raise their fist during the Attica rebellion, 1971.

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ZAPATISTA DEMOCRACY

A Discussion with Efrain Valdez of Chiapas

This is the transcript of a discussion with Efrain Valdemar Valdez Lopez, which took place before his speaking engagement at Sabathani Community Center in Minneapolis on July 18, 1994. His stop in Minneapolis was a part of a tour of the country during which he has been speaking about the Zapatista uprising. Valdez is a member of the Human Rights Association South-Southeast, which concerns itself with NAFTA, land reforms, and other issues. He was born in Chiapas and is a member of the Tzeltal Nation.

The Tzeltal, like other indigenous nations in Mexico, "are the most oppressed people in the world," says Efrain. "We live

in very poor conditions, humiliated and oppressed by those who want to exterminate our race and culture. These are the same people that want to steal our mountains (land) and our forests, and destroy the natural environment that we rely on, to benefit only themselves. We want only to live in dignity."



Delegates from various villages reviewing the results of negotiation between the Zapatista army and the Mexican government —J. Schwartz

The movement that began in January with the insurrection, the Zapatista insurrection, represents the most just demands of all the sectors of society. In that sense the Zapatista army has the capacity to bring together a very broad mobilization of all the sectors. What the Zapatistas have done is initiate an alliance that's of the different sectors of Mexican society. Take for example, the mobilization of 400,000 people on January the 12th in Mexico City. Also, on the 10th of April, the 1st of May, and the 10th of June there were mobilizations that came out of the Zapatistas' initiative. So at this time there is essentially a national alliance. And this is really

Does the EZLN want an American style liberal democracy, or is their idea of a democratic Mexico different from the American conception of a democratic society?

The democracy of the United States is a democracy of misery and exploitation. We in Mexico must create a real democracy, and it shouldn't be a democracy exclusively of the vote or the parliament. One person said that outside of having power, all of democracy is basically an illusion. If democracy is one that's really popular, of the people, of the masses, then the power should reside in the masses, in the decisions of the people of all the sectors. For example, the insurrection in Chiapas occurred because of the decision of the people in that area. And we believe democracy should be like that.

How will this type of democracy be structured?

Essentially, on a local level it would be local committees, on a state level, state committees, and on a national level, a national committee.

So how is representation on these committees determined, and once someone has been sent to one of these committees, is a person sent to represent the people's interest on a particular question and then is immediately recalled, or does the representative serve a particular term of office?

For example, in a community they will decide to talk about a certain subject, like health. The community discusses it, they debate the issue, and then decisions come from this discussion. These decisions have to be accepted by all the members of the assembly. So these decisions, with all of the other decisions made in other local assemblies, come together to a central assembly. For example, in March the government gave their response to the petitions, the demands of this assembly. Then there was discussion in different communities and from that

going to come through in the national conventions that they are convoking to happen in August. They're going to happen from the 6th to the 16th of August.

And that's before the elections. The elections are on the 19th, right?

The elections are on August 21st.

When you talk about sectors of society, is that like the workers, academics, and politicians, or what kind of sectors of society are we talking about?

Those sectors. Also, obviously, indigenous farmers.

discussion they decided not to accept the peace agreement that the government was proposing. This is just one example, I could give a lot more.

What kind of economic changes in Mexican society are necessary to put into practice this kind of democracy you're talking about?

Above everything, we know that the struggle in Mexico is not an easy one, because we're confronted with a very strong economic and military power. But to achieve a certain standard of living for all the people it is necessary to make these military and economic interests feel our power. For example, in the law that exists today, it says that a person has a right to have 200 hectares of land. But, for example, some people have forty to fifty thousand hectares of land. So the struggle obviously has to affect the people who have a lot of land for there really to be a resolution to this problem.

Would you say that the struggle is a socialist struggle?

More than anything, this is a struggle that is really about the right to have work, to have education, to have health. I'm not sure if you can call it socialist or populist—populist in the Latin term is different than populist in the American term, it means of the people.

Why didn't the Zapatistas want to seize state power? Why did they call for free and fair elections instead of trying to seize the state, as most revolutionaries do?

Really the call for elections is not a strategic decision but a tactical decision.

Is it true that, as Karen Lehmen has said, that if the P.A.N. [conservative party] wins there'll be popular revolt, if the P.R.D. [left-liberal party] wins, there'll be capital flight, and if the P.R.I. [Mexico's ruling party] wins, that leaves the option open for popular revolt? Is that kind of what you're alluding to, that whoever wins, the veil of democracy is gonna come down?

We really feel that the public project, struggle, will triumph. Even if all of the foreigners leave, we'd actually be delighted. We feel that we have the strength within ourselves to carry on, like the Cuban people are carrying on.

Special thanks (and apologies) to the translator. Joel lost his name and address.

What relationship do you have with the people in the EZLN?

I'm from a human rights organization. The problems of Mexico are of all people. For that reason they need to be solved by all Mexicans.

What is the relationship between the army and the population?

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GATT and the World Trade Organization

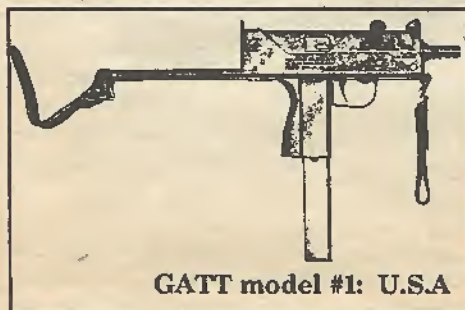
New methods of old-fashioned theft

By J Burger

On Friday, April 22, 1994, government trade ministers from 117 nations wrapped up negotiations on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and signed a 24,000-plus page document. This meeting was the culmination of eight years of negotiations on trade rules and regulations. One result of the negotiations is the creation of the World Trade Organization (WTO). The WTO, organized by heads of state, trade ministers, and executives from trans-national corporations (TNCs), will have broad new powers to affect international, national and local policies, which promise to touch every person on the planet directly. The final step

services throughout the world. It is essentially an agreement among nations to reduce tariffs on manufactured goods among all member nations. Realizing that wars are too destructive and that the colonized world was fighting back and winning its liberation, previously hostile nations got together and created new mechanisms of control, one of which was the GATT. Originally defined to be the 'International Trade Organization', and created during the same era as the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank, the GATT is changing from a body to reduce tariffs into an international decision-making institution.

The GATT is negotiated in what are called rounds. The most current is the Uruguay Round, launched at a meeting in Punta del Oeste, Uruguay, in 1986. The GATT is a large global bureaucracy, not run or controlled by elected members or democratically appointed representatives. Many of its working groups and so-called scientific panels are staffed and consulted by biased employees, past and present, of the world's most powerful corporations. For example, the banking section was written by the ex-head of American Express, the agriculture section was written by a chief officer of Cargill, and so on. Over its short history, the Uruguay Round has both progressively cut tariffs and other related subsidies at the global level while drawing decision-making power on issues such as labor, the environment, agriculture, intellectual property rights, textiles and foreign investments into its sphere, taking said authority away from people and nation-states. **An un-elected, illegitimate body called the GATT now wants to control more.**



GATT model #1: U.S.A

for implementation of this agreement requires the approval of the legislative bodies of all 117 member nations.

As living conditions of the vast majority of people nose-dived worldwide in the 1980's, survival became difficult for many, impossible for some. GATT will make conditions worse for most people by concentrating wealth in the hands of a few, furthering exploitation of the poor by the rich. This is not even denied by the ruling class think-tank, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), which is one of the biggest

GATT and Native Sovereignty

GATT will permit challenges to laws of all "sub-federal jurisdictions," which they define as "states and their political subdivisions, the District of Columbia, and Indian Tribes." Tribal leaders have apparently not been told of this major change in their status or of the implications of this action. This attempt to give foreign corporations and governments the power to challenge and potentially retaliate against Native laws and regulations is an unprecedented assault on treaty rights.

—from GATT Alert!, published by the Fair Trade Campaign (POB 80066, Mpls, MN 55408)

proponents of the GATT/WTO.

Growing hatred of the GATT and of TNC powers in developing nations over the last few years is a sign that resistance exists to what C. Raghavan of India calls the 'recolonization' of the South. Let's look at this GATT and the WTO, analyze its powers and development, and uncover what basic things people can do to stop economic centralization and reclaim control of our lives. In striving for a sustainable future, we must concentrate on bettering the lives of all people.

What is GATT?

The GATT was created in 1948 by capitalist nations to control the flow of goods and

What is wrong with the GATT?

For the vast majority of people in the world, daily life and democratic responsibilities are far apart. It is hard enough to change city hall, let alone some global institution based in Geneva, Switzerland. The WTO is designed to be similar to the UN, yet it remains fundamentally undemocratic because ordinary people of all nations do not control their own nation's

economy, let alone a global one. Paragraph four of Article XVI of the GATT agreement states: *Each member shall ensure the conformity of its laws, regulations and administrative procedures with its obligations as provided in annexed agreements.* In essence, the WTO will attempt to make laws for individual nations, requiring them to revise their national or local laws that conflict with its (the WTO) rulings. Decisions made by the WTO will likely, with the passage of time, prevail over individual nations' laws because of the threat of economic sanctions if nations don't comply. Overall the WTO will shun or discourage any attempts to set regulations on corporations or to strive for sustainable policies, let alone real changes in social rela-



graphic: Heidi

tions.

The GATT does not speak of the rights of individuals, or of freedoms extended to all under liberal democratic constitutions; it does not even pretend it is democratic. The GATT is an institution created and manipulated by large corporations to get what they want: more money, resources and power. The GATT is not a conspiracy controlled by the CIA, the Queen of England or whomever. GATT is a blunt and perfectly logical strategy under capitalism to increase the wealth of the few at the expense of the many. Looking at it within the context of the U.S., here are just a few examples of what's wrong with it.



GATT: China

1. Labor

In developing and developed nations, working people have always been exploited by the global corporate race to find the lowest common denominator in labor costs. This exploitation will increase under GATT because it will eliminate many of the labor standards and laws working people have struggled for and won over the past 300 years. Nations with relatively high labor standards like Sweden will be placed on the same level as a nation with no labor standards, like Guatemala. Instead of laws pro-

tecting working people being implemented globally, hard-fought laws could be eliminated as "barriers to free trade", while governments and corporations in developing nations will have a free hand to suppress movements for improved working conditions in their countries.

Organized labor in developed countries has often stood in the way of working people in developing countries. This became apparent in the fight against NAFTA when the call to "save American jobs" was pushed so heavily. What is missing is the understanding that as long as any worker is oppressed, all are oppressed. Unemployment and low wages are structural consequences of capitalism. The AFL-CIO blames "third world" nations for the loss of U.S. jobs rather than technology and the greed of TNCs. As Martin Khor with Third World Network points out, the recent trade talks and move to push the agreement through world governments resembles "an unjust international division of labor dating back to the colonial era."

2. Intellectual property

Intellectual property is an idea that is owned by a person or corporation. This idea can be, for example, how to make a light bulb brighter or how to improve an industrial process of making shoes or a piece of computer software. Corporations have always hoarded these ideas and patented them, thus protecting them from being used by anyone else. The corporation with the patent on a certain kind of light bulb then has a monopoly to produce said light bulbs for a deter-

mined number of years. GATT raises the stakes in intellectual property rights in a big way by both enforcing them globally and by allowing corporations to patent life forms,



GATT: Germany

both plant and animal.

The WTO creates major problems for all life on the planet in a section called Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs). Early in the round of talks, corporate interests put forth a proposal streamlining the process for the patenting of any plant or animal life forms that had been genetically altered. Under GATT, corporations will be able to manipulate a single gene in a tomato plant, for example, say they have created a new plant, and claim a patent for this tomato. At the same time, this corporation can buy up tomato varieties, so its new product is more prevalent. Soon this company can charge not only for its seed, but every time a planter uses it to grow.

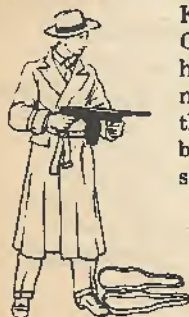
In this way, the TRIPs agreement encourages a monopoly control on seeds and plant material. It puts the burden of proof of a patent violation on the nation that is accused of a violation, thus forcing nations that might not have the resources to protect indigenous farmers into a difficult position: comply with international law or support their farmers.

GATT also opens the door further to genetic engineering of humans, a field with particularly scary implications. The US has already attempted to patent approximately 4,000 human genes that have been identified by the Human genome project, which was established to create a "map" of the human genetic code.

3. Food and Food Safety

The WTO will weaken food standards that protect consumers by setting international standards to the "lowest common denominator," potentially endangering all food supplies. For example, in the U.S., DDT was banned in the mid-sixties because it was discovered to be a cancer-causing agent. DDT is still manufactured in the U.S. for use in other parts of the world. The WTO could force the U.S. to repeal its ban on DDT because it is not prohibited in other countries. It will make it next to impossible for people to demand chemicals be banned from food production if they are found harmful, even if national laws are implemented. A Rome-based organization called CODEX Alimentarius will now be setting international food standards through GATT. It is advised by individuals who are on the payroll (or have recently been) for Coca-Cola,

Kraft, Cargill and Pepsi-Co Inc. In effect, people that have the most to gain financially from controlling the world's food supply will be given the chance to do so.



Since time immemorial, people and nations have attempted to store food each season in case of emergencies, building self-sufficiency into local and national life. The WTO would make illegal any national or state laws that attempt to maintain food self-sufficiency, claiming that this will hinder market forces. It will also prohibit national and local farm policies that strive to implement sustainable agricultural policies, claiming that these programs are subsidies.

4. Environment

The environment is an area where big business has asserted its "expertise" lately. The WTO calls for the banning of nations' ability to enforce environmental policies that might inhibit trade. State, provincial or local

GATT and Pesticides

GATT will undermine consumer health and safety standards in developed countries, and block attempts to improve such standards in developing countries. GATT plans for pesticide regulation is a clear example of this. As Richard Wiles of the watchdog Environmental Working Group argues, "The Uruguay Round (of GATT) could undermine the relatively weak pesticide limitations we have now and halt the progress that is underway."

Forty pesticides not allowed to be put on food in the U.S. will be legal under GATT. Of course, these pesticides have always been legal in many countries, even though eight of them are rated as "highly hazardous" and six are classified as cancer-causing.

The problem with GATT is not just that it will lower or eliminate U.S. health and safety standards for things like pesticides (selling DDT in poor countries but banning it in the U.S. is a crime with or without GATT). The problem is GATT will legally sanction and enforce the poisoning of poor people throughout the world, and there are no legal means to oppose it.

laws could be ruled as "technical barriers to trade" and ruled GATT/WTO illegal. In the race to pass the WTO, the Clinton administration has guarded the fact that if passed, thousands of popular laws could be overturned. Some include: Organic Standards Act of California (some of the strictest laws in the country that outline food safety regulations that producers must follow if they are to be certified as organic producers); A law that holds that corporations must buy fuel



GATT: Israel

efficient cars if they buy more than a set amount; Nuclear freeze bills; and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act.

In August of 1991, a GATT panel set the stage for years to come on how they would deal with the environmental question when they ruled that the U.S. must repeal its Marine Mammal Protection Act (MMPA) because it is a barrier to trade. The MMPA outlaws the import of tuna to the U.S. that is caught in a fashion that kills dolphins. A

simple upgrading of nets is required to stop this process. The law was brought to the GATT by Mexico, who claimed they could not compete if they had to obey the law. The MMPA was passed because hundreds of thousands of children heard of the news of dolphins being killed, needlessly, and they organized. But now, under GATT, popular opinion can be over-ruled by a secret panel of GATT officials. Logical extensions to this kind of ruling could mean that a corporate free-for-all is in store for us if it is not checked.

GATT and capitalism

We must go beyond criticizing GATT and criticize capitalism if we are to get to the bottom of things. As I have said, GATT is no conspiracy, but a perfectly logical plan in a system that gives the right to earn unbridled profits to those who own the means of production (corporations and those who own them), while those who work for a living are guaranteed nothing.

Most existing criticisms of GATT are liberal. Liberals are upset because GATT threatens the well-being and basic rights of human beings, but they assure us these human rights can be met under a nicer and kinder capitalism. Therefore, they don't criticize class relations within nations or imperialism but argue for representative governments and "sustainable policies." However, what liberals ignore is the fact that representative governments (i.e. liberal democracy) were created by capitalists two hundred years ago to help them rake in the dol-

lars. In the context of this new GATT, the WTO shows us that the capitalists no longer need liberal democracies to make profits. The key is then, to fight for our rights, not in the context of liberal democracy, but in the context of grassroots struggles for worker's control, participatory democracy and anti-imperialism. The WTO grows from the same family tree that NAFTA or the Gulf war came from, a dysfunctional family that would kill all of its neighbors to get what it wants. Ideally, all people—working and poor, homeless and disenfranchised, beat down and downtrodden—as consumers and producers should control the processes of trade and the flow of goods to and from different areas of the world. This is something to work towards. Labor in combination with natural resources creates all wealth, and people respecting the long term sustainability of the earth should control their own lives. As the WTO would subdue and dominate both nature and labor, so must both fight back. The struggle has to be waged, striving for a viable future free of class society and oppression

Is the WTO and the GATT

another doom and gloom victory for and by the rich of the world? NO! Should all people take this body seriously? Yes. Our work is cut out for us, because the rich will always goose step on those not willing to fight back. Organizing here in the U.S. (for example, fighting the racist 'Save Our State' bill in California [an anti-human, anti-immigrant bill]), the



GATT: France

Staley workers struggle in Illinois, and cross-border organizing in and around Tijuana and San Diego by and for workers) and indigenous people rising up in places like Chiapas are small pieces of the work that must be done to stop GATT. Demanding Congress reject GATT is important, but the demand must go hand in hand with fighting capitalism and not at the expense of the daily struggle for justice in our communities. Taking back or building new institutions at the local and national level is the place to start and will be more tenable as our movements become stronger. We want real cultural, economic and political democracy, not the phony baloney GATT stuff they would have us swallow.

The groundwork has continually been laid for progressive change. The period for upheaval and massive social change might very well be coming just around the corner. So long as capitalism is unbridled, the gap between the rich and poor nations and peoples widens, and class exploitation intensifies, we can demand nothing less than world wide revolution.

Suggested reading:

- *Recolonization: GATT, the Uruguay Round and the Third World*, by C. Raghavan
- *International Political Economy: Perspectives on Global Power and Wealth*, by J. Frieden and D. Lake

GATT and Working Women

With the passage of the GATT, we can expect the fate of the women of underdeveloped nations to follow the path of Mexico. Since the passage of NAFTA, Mexico has gained additional industrial jobs, especially along the borders. Three-quarters of the workers in low-paying industrial jobs along the borders are women, usually young women. These women and their children are the leading victims of skyrocketing cancer rates from the unregulated disposal of toxins in the zones.

Ultimately, trade liberalization from NAFTA and GATT will probably lead to a net loss of jobs for poor women, because small farms will be eliminated for large-scale corporate agriculture. This will push tens of thousands of people into the cities to compete for a relatively small number of low-paying factory jobs. Women, as usual, will be the hardest hit by this migration, forced into sweatshops and poverty.

—from "The Global Economy: A Bad Deal for Women", by Kristin Dawkins

EVERYBODY GET A GATT



Anti-Fascist Defense Committee

MEDIA AND ANTI-RACISM AT THE U OF M

On October 22 1993, the Progressive Student Organization called a demonstration to oppose racism at the University of Minnesota. The demonstration was called in response to an anonymous flyer put out by a group calling themselves the "U Nazis." This demonstration was attended by 150 anti-racists and 10-12 *Minnesota Daily* reporters and photographers. The *Minnesota Daily* must have been expecting a good story to dispatch 12 reporters to a demonstration at 7:00 pm on the Friday night of homecoming weekend. Unquestionably, this number of reporters were dispatched because of an event in late October of 1991 in which a member of PSO, a member of Anti-Racist Action and a reporter for the former campus radio station WMMR were sent to the hospital by chain and pipe-toting nazis. The following year, in late October of 1992 there was a 300-strong anti-racist demonstration, also called in response to an anonymous flyer. This was the kind of story that editors like, a story with a history and the potential for sensationalism.

The reporters found what they were were looking for. The naziskinhead (Daniel Simmer) lunged at an anti-racist activist (Kieran Frazier Knutson) with something metal in his hand. Kieran defended himself with a flashlight. Simmer was arrested a few moments later for disorderly conduct and possession of brass knuckles. Despite the facts, County Attorney Mike Freeman's office asserts that the entire blame for the incident lies with Knutson. Knutson is being charged with two counts of felony assault and faces up to ten years in prison. Even given the State's misguided theory of events, these are extraordinarily heavy charges. It is incumbent upon us to ask why the charges are so heavy and were brought nearly two months after the incident.

Are the two felony charges because Simmer was severely injured? Simmer, who himself admits to being tackled to the concrete by a police officer, went to the hospital with a chipped tooth and a cut requiring five stitches. Other individuals accused of injuring people worse have been charged with less. Clearly this is not a question of extent of injury.

Are these charges about making sure that no violence of any kind happens on campus, and to keep the campus isolated from the city around it? Two years ago when two anti-racists and a reporter were beaten by nazis the University Police refused to take statements and the *Minnesota Daily* demonized the victims for being somewhere that they did not belong.

The state claims that these are just the cogs and levers of the criminal justice system working as they ought to. The reality is that this is about the media, public opinion and fighting racism.

The *Minnesota Daily* wrote its account of the event's in a way which served its need for sensationalism. To do this, it skewed the feel of the event. The *Minnesota Daily's* story implied that the entire mob attacked two people when in

reality there were no more than a handful of anti-racists on the walk bridge with the two nazis. This type of coverage serves the paper because it needs not only circulation but to be the forum in which campus events are debated. One of the inherent problems of a campus paper is that it needs to generate public opinion to be seen as relevant.

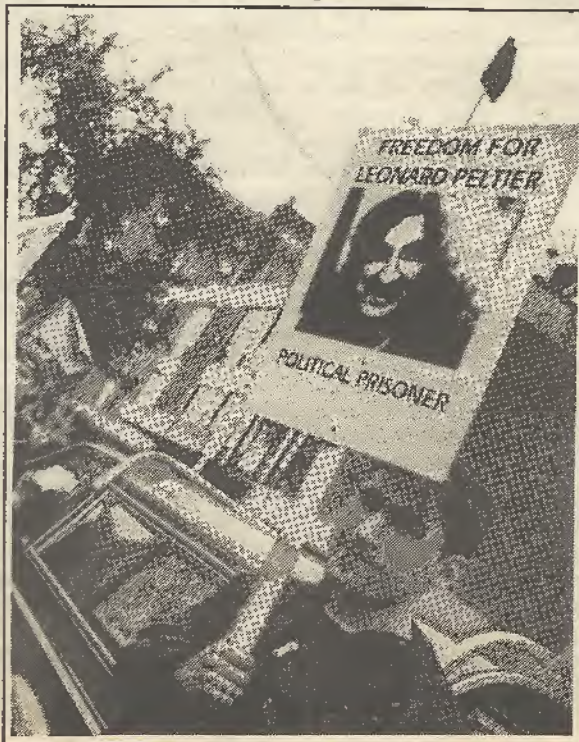
It is possible for a paper to churn up the waters of debate and still remain relatively neutral. The *Minnesota Daily* did not remain neutral, however. It chose to use letters sent in to the opinions page for its own editorial purposes and refused to print many letters sent in by people who were at the demonstration. Though this is within their editorial rights, it served to pull public opinion in a particular direction. This public opinion, as it often does, played a role in what kind of charges Knutson got. The coverage made the administration upset enough to call up the Student Organization office wondering whether they should ban the PSO from campus.

The media is a powerful tool which has played an active role in the direction which this case has gone. The direction which the *Minnesota Daily's* editorial position pulled the case is as important as the fact of their influence. The paper chose to say that it's not Minnesota Nice to have a demonstration against nazis and anchored their arguments on the ground of free speech. The *Minnesota Daily's* position comes down to saying that taking a firm stand against racism is wrong.

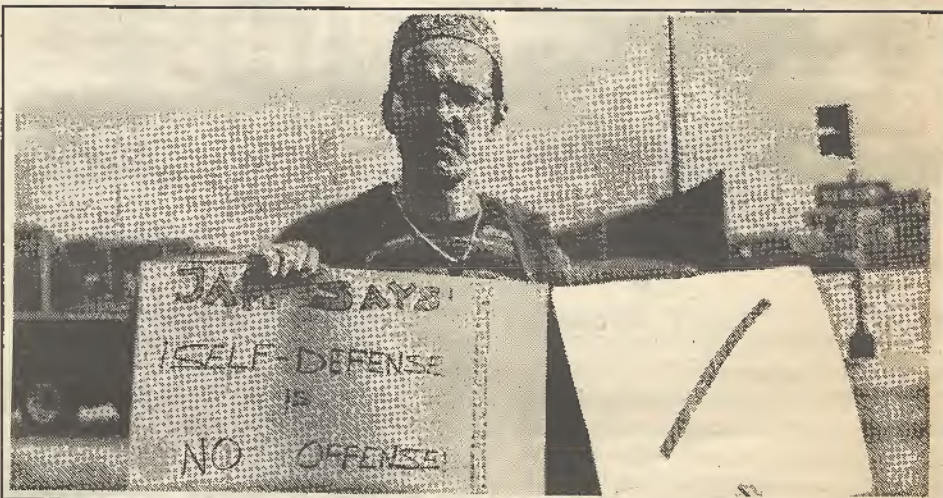
In the final analysis, Kieran Frazier Knutson is on trial for being a committed and firm anti-racist activist. The *Minnesota Daily* needs to examine the role it played in shaping public opinion in this case. If the media is going to purport to be a bastion of neutrality and the free expression of ideas it needs to examine whether it is not simply upholding the status quo in the way it chooses to report events.

— Jo-Marie Sasson

photo: Ghen



Kieran Frazier Knutson



Max Sparber photo: Laura S.

UPDATE

NEW TRIAL DATE: On August 2, the prosecution, succeeded in delaying the trial for the third time. The new trial date is October 3, which will mark almost a year since the charges were brought up against Kieran. So much for a speedy trial!

THE SUBPOENAS: Aside from being a word that we all now know how to spell, they are a part of the reason why this trial has been further delayed. It all started on May 3 when the prosecutor, Gemma Graham, pursued a last-ditch attempt to find evidence against Kieran by issuing subpoenas to the *Minnesota Daily* for unpublished photos and Jesse Rosen (an ex-*Daily* reporter who covered the October 22, 1993 that led to Kieran's charges) for his personal testimony. The *Daily* subsequently challenged the subpoenas in court. Judge Stanick ruled to uphold the testimony of Jesse Rosen but upheld the right of the *Minnesota Daily* to withhold unpublished photos. Both the *Daily* and the Prosecution appealed each ruling, respectively.

On August 2, Gemma Graham argued for a delay given the stay on the Rosen subpoenas. Keith Ellison, defense attorney for Kieran, argued that, while the prosecution delays the trial for one witness who they claim is unbiased; the defense is at risk of losing witnesses who have to move on with their lives. Judge Nord turned the decision over to Judge Stanick who granted Graham the delay in closed chambers.

WE PACKED THE COURT: On August 2 it was standing room only at the Government Center. The AFDC would like to formally thank all those who attended what we hoped would be the beginning of Kieran's trial. This show of support was encouraging. Let's do it again in October!

SAME MEETING TIME: The Anti-Fascist Defense Committee will continue to meet on Sundays at 6:00 PM, at Mayday Bookstore, 301 Cedar Ave. S.

FIGHTING RACISM IS NOT A CRIME!!!!

In any discussion of the legal trials and tribulations of Kieran Frazier Knutson it is important that the political context is not pushed to the side. Kieran wouldn't be on trial if there had not been a demonstration against the organizing of neo-nazis at the University of Minnesota. Why then, did a group of predominantly white students call that demonstration? The demo happened for two main reasons: 1) to oppose racism (individual bigotry and prejudice) and national oppression (systematic discrimination against whole groups of people) in the myriad ways it rears its head in the communities and institutions we participate, 2) and to oppose consciously organized racists.

People who actively organize in a grassroots way to propagate and carry out their ideas pose not just a threat on an individual level, they are also a threat to any quest to build a just society, one without oppression.

We actively oppose nazis and neo-nazis not just because they are right-wing fringe elements. We fight them because they are the grassroots of the American reality, expressing in honest terms the way the U.S. is orga-

nized.

We live in a country where the land was stolen from the Native American and Chicano people. We live in a country which gained its wealth on the backs of African-Americans. Of the five wealthiest families in the U.S., three of them trace the beginnings of their fortunes to the slave trade and the use of slave labor. Forced Chinese labor built almost the entire railroad infrastructure. This country is not wealthy because of a protestant work ethic, it's wealthy because other people were worked harder.

All this is history but the current situation has not changed. Oppressed Nationalities are still the poorest and most beat on by the cops. The U.S. imprisons more Blacks than the country of South Africa did during the apartheid period. The point is that the pillars of the U.S. are the oppression of people of color. We can only make a just society by dismantling these pillars. The way in which groups of predominantly white activists can do this in real life is by putting the privilege, we are conferred as whites in this society on the line. This means fighting racism and opposing neo-nazi activity. By doing this we can gain valuable experiences which can be put to use in being good allies to the struggle for self-determination of oppressed peoples.

— Jo-Marie Sasson

MINNEAPOLIS TEAMSTERS:

A History of Fighting Fascism

The same Teamsters local that waged the famous '34 strike also dealt a blow to the organizing attempts of an American pro-Nazi group, the Silver Shirts.

In the late '30's several racist, anti-Semitic, anti-labor groups appeared on the political landscape. One of them, the North Carolina based Silver Shirts, targeted Minneapolis for recruitment. Encouraged by sections of the Associated Industries (an organization of the rich) the Silver Shirts held two private meetings in Minneapolis where they declared their willingness to help reign in union militancy and even threatened to lead vigilante attacks against Teamster Local 544 (the renamed Local 574). When the Min-

neapolis Teamsters got wind of the Silver Shirts' activity, they acted quickly.

The Teamsters organized the Union Defense Guard and quickly recruited nearly 600 workers. Money was raised to buy rifles and pistols (many members already had firearms for hunting) and training sessions were held. An intelligence unit was created to keep an eye out for any fascist and anti-Semitic literature or activity.

When the national leader of the Silver Shirts arrived in town to address a rally, the Union Defense Guard was dispatched to the auditorium where the rally was to be held. The audience fled and the Silver Shirt leader never did show up.

The UDG followed up that action with a last-minute notice public drill in the center of the city designed to show the Silver Shirts and their friends among the bosses to step off. Three-hundred unionists wearing black armbands emblazoned with "UDG 544" drilled and marched through downtown. The would-be Hitlers got the message and Silver Shirt organizing ground to a halt, without ever having held a public meeting in this town.

—from an AFDC flyer

organize to confront these things on their own versus the importance of supporting the struggles of local non-white groups through coalition work (white anti-racist involvement in The Committee Seeking Equal Justice For the MN 8 has been an example of this direction).

—Justine Abinni

honest relationships

apples and oranges
knights in shining armor
wagonmaster



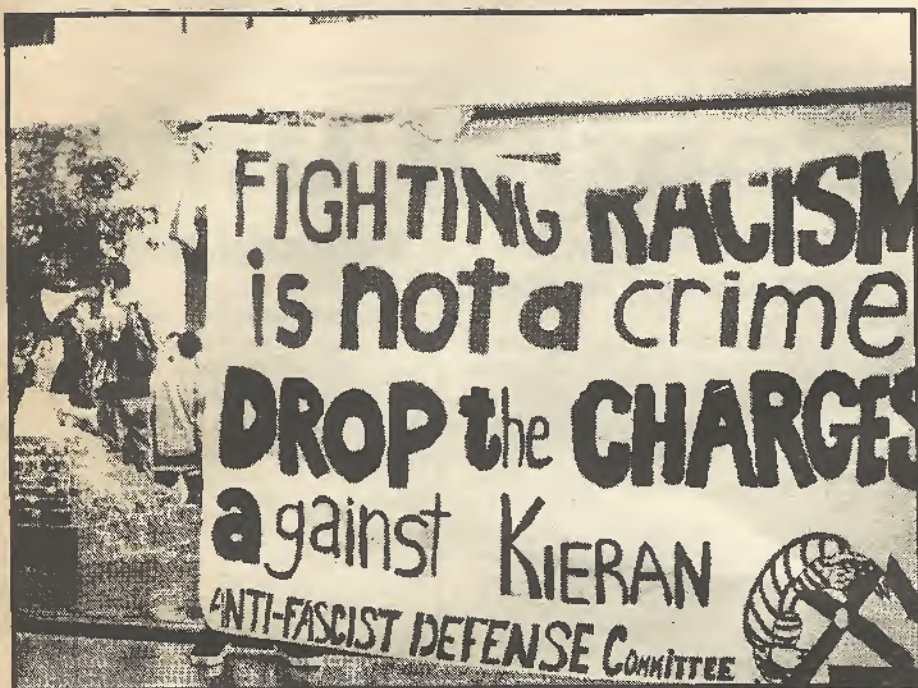
this is something you haven't heard.
this is new music.
this is three songs on one seven inch.
this is a song about you and your white privileges.
this is a song about
this is a song about the decline of
western civilization.
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THE ROLE OF THE AFDC

In December 1993, the Anti-Fascist Defense Committee formed to build resis-

tance to the prosecution of a fellow anti-racist activist, Kieran Frazier Knutson. Over the last year the Committee has organized letter writing campaigns and phone zaps to Hennepin

County Attorney Mike Freeman's Office, public forums, demonstrations, have published brochures and info packets that have been read in many parts of the world.

Putting public pressure on the state, via letter-writing campaigns, phone zaps, and petitions demanding that the state drop the charges against Kieran, are tactics we chose to make the state understand that the anti-racist community worldwide is up on what's happening in Minneapolis. But we do not think that using these tactics alone will bring Kieran justice. We do realize, though, that these tactics have the dual function of pressuring the state and increasing public awareness as part of the task of building an anti-racist movement.

We understand that asking the public to sign a petition is not enough. So we also organized forums and demonstrations. The forums included discussion of anti-racist movements that have flourished at different times locally, the global rise of fascist activities, the resistance movements that have grown as a result, and the history of Nazi violence on the University of Minnesota campus.

We organized two demonstrations at the Hennepin County Government Center and a Mike Freeman campaign fundraiser that received support from many different political groups. [Freeman ran for governor for a short time.] Demonstrations were a time for us to come together as a community and renew commitment and much needed energy throughout the waiting period before the trial, as well as make visible our anger against a system that supports Nazis.

The Committee also organized tabling at the DFL convention where Mike Free-

man vied for the DFL endorsement for candidate for governor. Our intention at the convention was to shed light on Freeman's gross willingness to spend taxpayer's money on the prosecution of an anti-racist activist while letting a Nazi virtually go free, and of course

answers.

Developing skills around defense work is important and can be used for movement building and coalition work, but we must also realize the blatant limitations of being stuck fighting within the legal system. It has become very important for AFDC to begin to think about what kind of momentum can be played upon to aid in forming a new anti-racist organization in the Twin Cities.

A local anti-racist movement, with the emergence of The Baldies began to take shape in 1986-1987 with the struggle to push out the White Knights, a Nazi group. This struggle corresponded with a national rise in the activities of Nazi hate groups. The Baldies succeeded in pushing the White Knights out of the city and smashing the organization.

Out of The Baldies came a local chapter of Anti-Racist Action (ARA) that worked with the Revolutionary Anarchist Bowling League (RABL), Progressive Student Organization (PSO), and Black activists from North Minneapolis. A lot of activism came in the wake of a police raid in 1989 on an elderly Black couple's home which resulted in their death.

In 1991, another ARA was founded after more heightened police brutality (two killings by cops) and a cross burning on the East side of St. Paul. At this time ARA was becoming a broader movement, including youth from different scenes and the involvement of more women.

In 1994, discussions are brewing, inside and outside of the AFDC about what form and direction a new anti-racist type of organization should take. So far, discussions have centered on whether the main focus of energy should be on confronting state-sanctioned hate groups such as the Minneapolis police or Nazi skinheads and the Klan (or both), as well as discussions about the responsibility of white anti-racist youth to

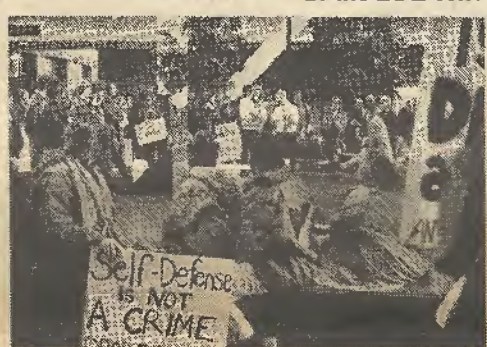


photo: Catherine Cosby brought the added bonus of showing up a politician.

One of our most recent actions was flying at the Annual Teamsters Picnic which commemorates the Teamsters famous '34 strike. Kieran is a worker at UPS and a member of Teamsters local 638 (see article page 21). We took Mike Freeman by



Ex-running mate Jan Smaby throws Mike Freeman gang signs. Both are known members of the notorious criminal gang the White Establishment.

surprise as at least six Committee members approached him asking him questions about his choice to prosecute an anti-racist activist, questions he couldn't answer or responded to with cool, rehearsed

energy should be on confronting state-sanctioned hate groups such as the Minneapolis police or Nazi skinheads and the Klan (or both), as well as discussions about the responsibility of white anti-racist youth to

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

International Prisoner Support and Anti-Prison Movement

LUCASVILLE

Guard-on-prisoner brutality is a 22-year pattern and practice at the Southern Ohio Correctional Facility (SOCF), which involves handcuffing prisoners behind their backs and in some cases leg shackling them, then inflicting injuries on them. This pattern and practice has already resulted in several prisoners being beaten so severely that they have died as a result of their injuries.

During the months of March, April and May, agents from the Federal Bureau of Investigation interviewed several prisoners who had recently been brutalized by SOCF prison guards. Your support is needed in demanding that the U.S. Department of (in)Justice indict these guards for violations of federal criminal statutes.

Without the support of society, prisoners will continue to be beaten and/or murdered by myrimdons of the prison regime.

Contact the U.S. Department of (in)Justice at the address below and demand that indictments be handed out to those guards standing accused of brutalizing SOCF prisoners. It is beyond the time when our movement becomes more than a paper organization. The time is now to transform our struggle into a revolutionary movement dedicated to neutralizing the opposition either with an ink pen or with the gun. Our comrades inside do not have the ability to participate in the armed struggle unless you remove the barricades that are holding them back.

United States Department of Justice
c/o Linda Davis
Assistant Chief Criminal Division
Washington, DC 20530

FOURTH WORLD ABC

Fourth World ABC wants to support imprisoned revolutionaries, send books to prisoners, and support psychiatric inmates.

One of us works in a bookstore thus is in a position to get books to you or people you are supporting, if you can send along some dinero with your request. Which should include the address of the prisoner (of course), and when applicable the address of the support group, the title and any other available info about the book, books in print are a cinch (except for the money part) out of print books are a little tougher but not impossible. We are interested in offering solidarity to psychiatric inmates, have very little info about it so if you have some please send it to us, it will be fully utilized.

Please contact us at:
FOURTH WORLD ABC
40 Washington St. C-10
East Orange, NJ 07110

MINNESOTA NICE #1 IN THE NATION

Minnesota leads the U.S. in incarceration of Blacks compared to whites at ratio of 19 to 1. The national average is 8 to 1. Minnesota's general population is 6% minority, 94% white. Minnesota's prison population is 45% ethnic minority, 55% white. Minnesota's control and segregation punishment units are 78.8% ethnic minority (Indian, Latino, Black), and 21.2% white. The full report can be obtained free by writing to Minnesota Supreme Court, Task Force on Racial Bias, Minnesota Judicial Center, Suite 120, 25 Constitution Ave., St. Paul, MN 55155.

FREE SILVIA!

From the Committee to Return Silvia Baraldini To Italy, 294 Atlantic Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11201:

In Washington: Maria Baraldini, Silvia's mother, has an appointment with Assistant Attorney General Jo Ann Harris on August 2, 1994 concerning Italy's third request for Silvia's transfer to Italy. Elizabeth Fink, Silvia's attorney and Boris Biancheri, the Italian ambassador to the U.S. will also participate in the meeting.

In Italy: Thousands of demonstrators formed a human chain around Rome's City Hall dramatizing Italian support for Silvia's repatriation during Bill and Hillary Clinton's recent visit with the Mayor of Rome.

Silvia was sentenced to 43 years for conspiracy and criminal attempt in 1983. She was a target of COINTELPRO, charged with the liberation of Black Panther and Black Liberation Army member Assata Shakur, among other charges. She has spent years organizing against white supremacy and imperialism with New Afrikan and Puerto Rican revolutionaries.

Silvia was issued a deportation order immediately after her conviction, but instead she was placed in a Lexington, Kentucky prison control unit. After a successful lawsuit filed by Susan Rosenberg and her that closed down the unit, Silvia was moved to a maximum security prison for women in Marianna, Florida.

Silvia has been transferred to Danbury Federal Prison. She was transferred from Marianna after years of protesting her designation to that high security unit. With this transfer she will be closer to friends and supporters in the New York City area.

Please show your support for Silvia by calling or faxing Janet Reno and Jo Ann Harris. Every call counts. Janet Reno: 202-514-2000, Jo Ann Harris: 202-514-2601, Fax: 202-514-0468

Her new address is: Silvia Baraldini #05125-054 • Corr. Inst. of Danbury • Pembroke Sta. • Danbury, CT 06811



Control Units

Baraga Max Facility (AMF), Baraga, Michigan

Located in the remote Upper Peninsula of Michigan is the AMF Baraga Maximum Facility. Emmett Jones has been at Baraga for eleven months and by June 1994 he had been let out of his cell less than 30 hours - that's less than 3 hours a month. Prison regulations allow one hour out of cell five days per month, but according to Emmett and others 3 is usually the maximum with guards logging down that the prisoners "refused yard."

All movement at Baraga is controlled. Before exiting the cell the prisoner must back up to the door and be placed in belly chains, hand cuffs, and then be escorted by a dog leash. The yard is made up of twelve wire dog kennels about the same size as the cell. Once in the kennel the prisoner is allowed 45 minutes out of chains to exercise. At no time are two prisoners allowed out at the same time.



The concrete slab beds are affixed with metal rings to bolt and chain down prisoners. There are no bars, the door is steel with a small safety glass window and food slots that unlock from the outside.

There has not been a single Black guard at Baraga since its opening. Its location in the Upper Peninsula keeps this a reality. It is too far away for most prisoners' families or friends ever to visit. No phone calls are allowed and mail is frequently trashed or mysteriously returned to sender.

Guards frequently practice "convict baiting," defined as follows: "Don't feed a convict dinner. When he protests, don your riot gear, shut off his air and water, gas him unconscious, drag him naked by his feet to observation, probe his anus for contraband, chain him to the bed, charge him with a dozen violations. No harm, just good ole boy fun." The warden has bragged that his guards don't have to follow the rules from "down-state."

Inside contacts:
Emmett Lasean Jones #128276 or
Jerome Polk #194781
310 Wadaga Rd.
Baraga, MI 49908

Pelican Bay SHU

A lot of right wing media exposure has been given to Pelican Bay: 60 minutes, NBC now, CNN, etc. Of course, much propaganda was displayed in their reporting and their motives were to sway public opinion in opposition to the prisoner's. We were portrayed as the worst prisoners in the California Dept. of Corrections (CDC) and this lockdown is the so-called reason for our treatment.

The big issue and those affected by it is the prisoners classified as "gang members" or "associates" and given "indeterminate Security Housing Unit (SHU) terms." Once labeled as a gang member, a prisoner is given an indeterminate SHU term, which means he will stay in the oppressive torturous conditions of SHU until he is "paroled from prison, dies or debriefs..." This is the CDC and Pelican Bay policy for prisoners classified as "gang members" or "gang associates." We are the prisoners suffering the cruelest and most discriminatory punishment. First of all, because a lot of those prisoners accused of being gang members are just progressive prisoners who organize and educate other prisoners, they're singled out and labeled, eliminating people the CDC deem a threat. Other prisoners so labeled are jailhouse lawyers, Muslims, and other prisoners that may have a positive impact on the general prison population. It's discriminatory, not because the majority of prisoners doing indeterminate SHU terms are Mexican and African but because the majority of prisoners in California are known to be Crips, Bloods, and Latino street gang members, as well as a large skinhead population among white prisoners. However, these prisoners are allowed to stay in general population, medium and minimum security prisons. I imagine because it's to the benefit of the system to have these young, unconscious, reactionary types in general population.

This CDC, Pelican Bay policy of parole, die or debrief must be addressed and the lawsuit challenging conditions didn't do enough to do this. We on indeterminate terms know our situation won't change with the judge's ruling and we don't have any confidence in this system giving out any justice anyhow. Check out our situation in regards to this parole, die or debrief policy: 1) Parole: If a prisoner is serving life in prison the parole board will not give a parole date while in SHU, and most prisoners are serving long prison sentences, so most prisoners in SHU will seriously deteriorate while waiting for a parole date; 2) Die: Well, that's an arrogant remark by CDC officials, I guess hoping to scare prisoners; 3) Debrief: That's the "become-an-informant" way out. A prisoner meets secretly with so-called prison gang specialists and gives information on other prisoners, gang activity and incriminates himself. Usually a weak prisoner will tell lies to officials to be rewarded with release from SHU. This is the stuff people serving indeterminate SHU terms are up against.

Contacts:

George Mosley C33118 • P.O. Box 7500
C7-121 • Crescent City, CA 95532
Pelican Bay Information Project • 2489
Mission St. #28 • San Francisco, CA 94110

SHAKA SHAKUR DENIED MEDICAL CARE

I have sustained an injury (i think a pinched nerve) and am not gettin any treatment for de pain. i am tryin to have calls or letters sent to de commissioners office protesting de denial of adequate medical treatment. i would appreciate any pressure you can apply from your end. Here is some info you may need.

For a little over a month i have been experiencing varying degrees of pain to my left side in de area of my kidney. De pain later moved and intensified right below my kidney and reaching from their down to my left calf, concentration in de hip. i can feel de muscles pulling whenever i attempt to apply pressure on my left leg, sit down for any length of time and try to stand, etc.

i went to see de so-called doctor on 6/27 and he told me to stop exercising, which was his

examination! He refused to examine me and after i protested he prescribed me some motrin without diagnosis. i went back a week later and de same thing was repeated. i went back on 7/5 and after a confrontation he prescribed me a generic muscle relaxer and still refused to examine me or make a diagnosis...De demands should be that i be given a proper examination at WCC or Memorial Hospital, 2) That i be given some medication for pain and a muscle relaxer and dat a competent doctor take de time to properly diagnose my illness...i've already filed grievances, complaints, etc. They are aware of de problem.

Letters and calls should be sent to: Christian De Bruyn, Commissioner • 302 W. Wash. St. • Indianapolis, IN 46204 • (317) 232-5715



POLITICAL PRISONERS ON NSB AD-SEG

Kalonji Jihad, Naeem Trotter, Kopono Muhammed, Maurice Smith, and Moore-Bey are African political prisoners incarcerated at Indiana State Prison, and isolated on NSB administrative segregation (ad-seg). Prisoncrats have designed NSB ad-seg as a behavior modification kkkontrol unit.

These political prisoners have a history in the Indiana State Prison system as agitators, educators, and organizers. Agitating against de unjust prison conditions of this vicious kkkolonial system. Educating to uplift prisoners consciousness socially, culturally, politically and historically. Organizing against kkkolonialism, enslavement, economic/political domination, genocide, exploitation, and social/cultural oppression.

Prisoncrats are interested in complete kkkontrol of de prison by subjecting political prisoners to low-intensity psychological/biological warfare. Prisoncrats are using NSB ad-seg to wage psychological warfare against political prisoners by trying to destroy their spirits, by denying human rights, by keeping political prisoners kkkonfined in this unit for years, and implementing kkkounterinsurgency against de political prisoners movement. Biological warfare is being administered by deliberately denying real vitamins/minerals/protein in de food, and by subjecting political prisoners to long-

term anxiety, tension, and genocidal units.

NSB ad-seg is used for de sole purpose of isolating political prisoners from population environment, and at de same time to initiate behavior modification techniques to neutralize political awareness among prisoners in population. It is to prevent de coalition of political prisoners from unifying prisoners against kkkolonial judicial/prison injustice.

Prisoncrats specialize in kkkounter-insurgency to enforce kkkolonialism against us as an Oppressed people by torturing, isolating and murdering political prisoners. NSB ad-seg is a tool for kkkounterinsurgency against freedom fighters practicing self-determination for national liberation. It is an international law that "all people have the right to self-determination."

Prisoncrats deny political prisoners on NSB de right to pursue their political status and de right to freely pursue our historical, political, social, cultural, and economical rights as a kkkolonial/oppressed People. This is in violation of de International Covenant On Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. On NSB, political prisoners are fighting for their human rights, and call upon all loving Oppressed People, human rights organizations, and concerned People. We remain political prisoners!

We urge people to write, We need People's support! FFI: Kalonji Jihad #13303 or Kopano Muhammad #25800 • Indiana State Prison (NSB A/S) • P.O.Box 41 • Michigan City, IN 46360

OAK PARK HEIGHTS

April, 1994 — "Now, about this prison: first, everyone's [prisoncrats] either blood brothers, sisters, uncle, etc. If not, they're lovers, landlords or best friends. So you file a lawsuit on Officer Joe, his aunt's the nurse who treated you and her husband is the judge on your case, no lie.

"In the Control Unit, you're less than a convict. Your bread gets dropped on the floor, it's not replaced. They spit on your food; you take it or get a disorderly conduct charge for refusing, which happened to me.

"Sometimes they strap you down on a 'restraining board' after they tear gas and beat you down. Usually nine guards in full

battle fatigues, bulletproof vests and shields for one person being loud inside a basically soundproof cell. Maybe—if you're lucky—the nurse will sedate you, but the guards (some of them) will torture you by slapping your scrotum until you throw up, or one incident where they burned a guy's butt with cigarettes. Believe that!

"You come on a tour of this place and it looks like an industrial cafeteria, but underneath it's pure racial mental control with no chance of 'correction', as they say, with hostility and favoritism in your face daily."

—by an anonymous prisoner
[see related article, page 3]

BOOK BY SHAKA SHAKUR PLANNED FOR RELEASE

Shaka Shakur, Melissa Froiland, North Coast Xpress, Minneapolis ABC and others are in the process of putting together a book of writings by Shaka Shakur. This is to help publicize Shaka's defense campaign as well as get Shaka's insightful writing out to the people - please send donations or offers of help to Melissa at FUSPPP • PO Box 565 • Madison, WI 53701

FATHER PAT MOLONEY

Father Patrick Moloney is an Irish-born Catholic priest who has lived on the Lower East Side of New York for thirty-some odd years. He has a long history of struggle in the Lower East Side, from involvement in the battle to keep Tompkins Square Park open 24 hours to supporting the squatters' struggle (being arrested more than once in demonstrations) to working with the many homeless people in that area.

All of his activities in and around that area have not kept him from doing his part to support the fighting men and women of Ireland's people's army: the Irish Republican Army (IRA). His support comes by way of informing others of the righteous struggle to free all of Ireland and its people from British rule. Father Pat has never hesitated to speak openly and freely on his opinions concerning the paramilitaries of the IRA.

Down thru the years, Father Pat has been accused of being involved with other levels of support and struggle. In 1982, he and his brother were arrested in Ireland, accused of running arms to the urban guerillas of the IRA. Pat was acquitted of all charges; his brother, however, pled guilty and did time at Portlaoise prison near Dublin. It seems the guilty by association curse has followed him here to Amerikkka.

On the 12th of November, 1993, the FBI surrounded the home he shares with many urban youth and elderly. Within minutes, Pat was roughed up and arrested. He was later to discover that it was for an alleged connection between him, a friend Sam Millar (one of a number of former IRA political prisoners known as "The Blanket Men"), and a man he had never met, Thomas O'Connor (who did local Irish Northern Aid work), and the roles they are suspected to have played in a \$7.4 million Brinks robbery. The money is believed (by the U.S.) to have gone to the Irish cause.

The evidence against Father Pat is flimsy. One million dollars was supposedly found in an apartment that Father Pat, and many others, have access to. This apartment, which no one lives in, is used by Pat in his religious and community services. Others use it for any number of different reasons. So not only is there no physical connection between Father Pat and the apartment, OR the money allegedly found in it, but there has also been no connection between the money in the apartment and stolen money!

The FBI is trying desperately to show that

Father Pat was the mastermind and engineer of this meticulous \$7.4 million heist of over two years ago. Preliminary hearing have begun. His attorney, Stanley Cohen, is fighting a legal battle on his behalf.

Expect to hear more on this case. Especially after the victory of the Tuscon 6 acquittal, where after a year and a half of political and personal persecution and billion of dollars spent on the governments behalf, a jury acquitted all six men. Jurors in that case said that the government's witnesses and government agents were of such a low character as to be unbelievable. We think we should also expect the same in Pat and his codefendants' case.

Paterson Anarchist Collective (PAC)/NJ ABC has aligned with a group of people who have formed a community defense team on Pat's behalf. Statements of support have been drafted by PAC/NJ ABC. To get one, contact NJ ABC. Also available is a 12 page interview booklet (\$3.50) with Father Pat that appear in PAC's newspaper *Plain Words*, *Plain Words* newspaper with the 2 pg. spread interview with pictures (\$1), and an audio tape of the interview (\$5). All proceeds go to defending Father Pat. • PAC/NJ ABC • P.O. Box 8532 • Paterson, NJ 07508-8532 • 201-357-0994



WHO'S THE REAL TERRORIST?

The Federal control unit prisons at Marion and Florence: the last stop for human rights. by Tod

In 1963 the infamous federal prison on Alcatraz island was closed down. To replace it as the new end-of-the-line prison, the U.S. Penitentiary at Marion, Illinois (USP Marion) was built. Marion became the only prison in the country to maintain a "level 6" security rating - the highest in the country. Marion has been condemned by such prominent international organizations as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch - these organizations and many others are beginning to find out more about a terrifying trend sweeping the nation's prisons—"marionization" or the opening of control unit prisons everywhere. (According to a recent Human Rights Watch report, 38 states now have control units, isolating over 18,000 people.)

USP Marion became the nation's first control unit prison in October, 1983, when the prison went on a permanent state of lockdown: prisoners kept in their 8' x 10' cells for 23 hours a day and all standard vocational, educational and recreational activities denied. We are approaching the 11th anniversary of the lockdown. These Marion prisoners were the first to experience what is quickly becoming the norm for prisoners who show any form of resistance or political thought.

Originally said to replace Marion, the Bureau of Prisons announced plans to build a new federal maximum security prison in Florence, Colorado in the 1980s. The rural community of Florence held bake sales and sold T-shirts to raise the \$128,000 needed to secure the land for Florence to be built. Residents in the Florence area seem to be overwhelmingly in favor of this new torture chamber. This isn't much of a surprise. Due to increasing economic hardships, many small towns are fighting among themselves over who's going to be the lucky one to end up with a prison in their backyard. The BoP accepted their offer and began construction of the \$200 million compound in early 1990.

It is estimated that the prison will create about 1,000 temporary jobs for the poverty-stricken area and about 750 to 900 permanent jobs. The average pay for most positions ranges from \$14,500 to \$24,700. The local community college is trying to work out a deal where students of customized classes would be guaranteed an interview. Marion political prisoner Ray Levasseur writes, "The contract to build phase one of the prison was awarded to an 'employee-owned' firm. Worker against worker, again. When will we ever learn."

USP Florence is the BoP's brainchild; everything they have learned from their experience with Marion, Westville, Pelican Bay and other control units will be applied to this newest creation. Every inch of space that prisoners were able to breathe before will now be cut off. The control unit at Florence is called the administrative maximum section or ADX. It will imprison 552 men. Expect most of these prisoners to be Black, and expect to see scores of political prisoners and prisoners of war be the first to fill this dungeon.

The prisonrats at Florence have been trying to distance themselves from the Marion image, going so far as to refer to themselves and their establishment with such a ludicrous term as "humane" and using the "worst of the worst" myth to say that only the most predatory prisoners will be sent to the ADX. The truth is that Florence, like Marion, exists to control dissidents. Many are sent to Marion because they have written "too many" lawsuits, participated in work stoppages, or pursued their religious

and political beliefs. Former U.S. Representative Kastenmeier, past head of the congressional committee that oversees prisons, recently acknowledged the existence of political prisoners at Marion, and said "[they] do not need the degree of maximum security, that in my view, they're subjected to."

Despite his statements, the BoP plans to transfer most of the prisoners at Marion to Florence and to increase the "security" conditions there by way of more advanced and high-tech equipment. A Congressional hearing on the lockdown at Marion that took place in 1984 and 85 found that 80 percent of Marion's prisoners did not have the security rating appropriate for them to be incarcerated there. The Committee to End the Marion Lockdown attempted to make contact with every member of that congressional subcommittee through letter campaigns, phone calls and telegrams. Nearly every member of the subcommittee denied even receiving the letters. One subcommittee member, Pat Schroeder, went so far as to deny being on the subcommittee.

The terror that Marion and Florence represent hangs over the entire prison system like a giant club. The threat of being sent to a Marion or a Florence exists for every prisoner in the system.

The Florence ADX penitentiary sits in the southeast corner of the four-prison complex. It is an imposing triangle of x-shaped cell blocks, surrounded by double 20-foot fences interwoven with razor wire. Two perimeter roads, 8,000 watt lights, microwave sensors, and six sniper towers separate the ADX from the other facilities. Prisoners will never reach this dead space as the prison walls themselves serve as the primary perimeter, containing the limited recreation areas and everything else. Guards and visitors will enter the prison through a tunnel.

Inside, guards control every door, light, intercom and system with touch-screen computers and fiber-optic communication lines. Steel doors separate each of the nine blocks from the others, and each triangle side represents a different security level. Four cell-blocks compare somewhat to standard minimum-security prisons and will probably serve as the pre-transfer unit. The B and C units, with room for over 150, are the most extremely isolated, the hole within the hole.

Countering charges of sensory deprivation, BoP officials note that Marion's cells close with open bars, allowing communication and free air flow. However, prisonrats have eliminated even this glimpse of humanity at Florence. Cells in the six isolation units measure less than 16 by 8 feet each, and lock with a solid

steel door. Each cell contains a 3-foot-wide cement bed slab, a concrete stool and desk, a steel sink and toilet, and a 3' by 3' shower stall. A fluorescent light panel glares from the wall, illuminating other amenities like an electric cigarette lighter, an inmate duress switch (since the cells are sound proof), an air grate and, in some cells, a small television. Double doors shrink the cells by another 3 feet, trapping dead space between bars and the outer door. Only two window slits allow external light into the cage, one on the steel door staring into the empty hallway, and another body-length sliver facing an empty courtyard. The shower, along with the food slots in the door and individual phone jacks, allows for total isolation.

When and if prisoners are allowed out of their cell, they will have little to celebrate. Visits in the control blocks will be tightly regimented and only allowed through plexiglas dividers. There will be no joint religious services of any faith, and educational programs will be restricted beyond GED work. In the worst units, inmates will exercise alone in a pod barely twice the size of their cages. Interlocking doors will allow only one prisoner out of his cell at a time. Totally alone, with nothing



but an electronic escort, prisoners will move to the perma-steel mesh covered coop for their one hour each day. It is difficult to imagine how inmates will even receive their promised "one hour" of exercise. In the B unit, for example, there are only 8 exercise pods for 78 cells, requiring that each be filled continuously, 10-hours each day, to meet the quota.

Just five miles from the Florence prison site exists the notorious Cotter Corporation, a uranium milling company owned and run by Commonwealth Edison of Chicago, Illinois. A class action lawsuit has been filed in the U.S. District Court in Denver by over 340 people against Cotter, Santa Fe Railroad and others, claiming diminution of land value due to radioactive contamination. Cotter stored its tailing (the remnants of the milling process) in tailing ponds. Studies of these ponds show that the tailings seeped into the underground water source. The second source of concern is air contamination. Cotter itself estimates that over 19.9 tons of extremely hazardous dust were released annually from the mill. Experts on radiation diseases state that the radioactive

dust is the most threatening and dangerous source of contamination. Due to the water contamination alone, the Lincoln Park area has been on the Environmental Protection Agency's National Priorities list since 1984 and has been designated as a Superfund site for contamination cleanup. Put bluntly, inmates at Florence will be locked down in a toxic dump.

Contrary to all information gathered about Florence Warden Bill Story stated in an April 17, 1994 Denver Post article that the only people who will be kept in isolation 23 hours a day will be the 64 prisoners in the "control unit" and the 72 inmates housed in the "segregation unit" of the Supermax. He also stated that there will be 4 VIP cells for inmates with extraordinary notoriety or international connections. He now states that the other inmates (approximately 316) would have access to group activities and permitted out of their cells anywhere from 3-12 hours a day. Regarding the status of USP Marion, Warden Story indicated that the facility may not be downgraded after Florence opens and that the BoP is "debating the merits of maintaining both prisons."

One could conclude that all the work to end the human rights abuses in control unit prisons is making some changes. However, that might be just a bit naive. The BoP has always had a way around the truth.

Control unit prisons are reproducing rapidly. In addition to the many state prisons, the BoP has examined 60 more sites and plans to draft Environmental Impact Statements (a serious step) for 20 new project sites. A map in the EIS shows that a new facility is currently being developed in Puerto Rico. Newspaper accounts relate that Florence will be the first of seven federal prisons to be built across the U.S. in the next six years.

On the state level, control units such as the Maximum Control Complex at Westville, Indiana (the one Shaka Shakur speaks of in his article this issue) or the Management Control Unit at Trenton State Prison are acting in sync with the atrocities of Marion & Florence at the federal level. (Check out the ABC section of this paper for a look at these and other State prison level control units.) In fact, the main model for Florence comes from the Security Housing Unit (SHU) at the California State Prison Pelican Bay. The Pelican Bay SHU opened in December 1989 to hold 1,056 prisoners in almost complete isolation. The conditions are mostly similar to Marion aside from newer technology allowing guards to open the sliding doors by remote control and the use of loudspeakers to direct prisoners in and out. Control units on the state level continue to sprout up as imprisonment becomes the latest big boom.

Control unit prisons, like all prisons, are not solving any problems—they aren't meant to. That myth needs to be dispelled. In the present day we need to work to shut down the true "worst of the worst"—control unit prisons, not prisoners. From Marion, Florence, Westville, Pelican Bay, Trenton and on the U.S. is torturing people—real live people with real live flesh and blood and brains. They are carrying out a war on political prisoners, prisoners of war and any prisoner daring to resist their system. Any outbreak or even any thought could put you in for a minimum two and a half year tour of duty at Marion or Florence - and that's only if you're lucky. The national monitoring project (covered in another article here) is only a first step in this struggle. Control unit prisons represent a high level terrorist campaign against dissent. What they have shown and what they have done to prisoners makes the words "torture" and "terrorism" far from exaggerations. We must hold the U.S. government accountable for those that have waged war against ours, must one day have war waged against them. Abolish all control unit prisons.

This article was written with the help (in some cases whole paragraphs) from: Colorado Coalition to Abolish Control Unit Torture • The Committee to End the Marion Lockdown • Ray Luc Levasseur • Shaka Shakur • THANKS, TOD

FLESH IS WEAK

The Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture by Walter Williams (Boston: Beacon Press, 1988) is not a new book, but the reason I want to review it for this issue is because of how influential this book has been and how often it is cited by people trying to outline queer identity. The book is a study by a white gay man of "sexual diversity in American Indian culture." The focus is the berdache role, an alternative gender role for males that has had a place in many different Native American cultures. "Berdache" is actually a European word that lumps many different Nations' traditions together, but I'll use it because this is the word Williams uses in his book. It is clear that a major part of Williams's intention in studying the berdache role is to provide a positive queer role model for non-Native gay men to identify with. This needs to be considered in a larger context.

Appropriating Native American cultural traditions has become somewhat of a trend lately, especially among new age spirituality types, as people have been becoming more and more disillusioned with the consumer emptiness of American "culture." Some particularly gross examples are the white people who profit off of Native culture by selling dream catchers and weekend get-away sweat lodge retreats.

These people are just a part of a larger trend of cultural imperialism against Native Americans, basically white people ripping off Native American culture for their own use. This appropriation of Native culture by non-Native people, which uses only certain aspects of the whole culture and takes them out of their original context, destroys their original meaning, and makes them into a commodity for white folks to use and abuse. This kind of appropriation and watering down of culture is a modern-day extension of the U.S. policy of kidnapping Native American kids and re-educating them in government schools. Genocide is not just physical destruction of a people, it is also destruction of their culture. Usually this kind of exploitation is not intentional, but theft is theft.

The Spirit and The Flesh is problematic because Williams fails to be aware of his role as a white historian studying Native culture in order to extract a history for the gay community. In one chapter, in which he discusses the impact of knowledge of the berdache tradition on the gay liberation movement, he consistently chooses quotes which emphasize non-Native queers taking berdachism as part of their history. Williams quotes the introduction of Jonathan Katz's book, *Gay American History*, which characterizes knowledge of the berdache tradition as important for "Les-

bians and Gay men who are today beginning to repossess the national and world history of their people," and Judy Grahn is quoted, writing that when she learned of Native American respect for the berdache, she "understood then that being gay is a universal quality." Williams is uncritical of such attitudes and seems to clearly be placing himself in the tradition of studying the berdache for the purpose of finding a gay history.

According to Williams, berdaches often have roles of cultural and/or religious significance which vary among different Nations. While they are usually expected to have sex with "masculine" men who are not themselves berdaches, they are not singularly defined by their sexual activity. The living berdaches that Williams met were distinguished from Native American gaymen by their cultural role. Even though he presents evidence that a gay and berdache identity are not the same, Williams still seems to work on the assumption that they can be equated throughout the book. This has the effect of erasing vital aspects of the berdache traditions.

After accepting, admittedly or not, berdachism as a gay role, he proceeds to make generalizations about gaymen based on the berdache tradition. Even while professing a reluctance to assign a modern Western counterpart to the berdache, he compares them to drag queens, writing, "the major difference between the berdache and the queen is the religious role of the berdache." Instead of leaving it at that and admitting this one major problem with the comparison, Williams stretches his argument a bit too far with a weak claim that, "even in Western culture, which at least until recently has systematically denied a respected role for androgynous males, many queens often exhibit a sense of mystery and a theatricality that is close to the religious role of sacred people." This statement hints at another tendency of his throughout the book, which is to not only equate berdachism with a gay identity, but to extend that argument into the implication that gay men have an inherent spirituality, that they are a group of people "whose spiritual powers have been wasted" in Western society.

Williams also paints berdache status as an exceptionally positive role, to the point where his claims seem to be too much. Part of the reason for this is, as Williams explains in the introduction, he is only working with cultures that have a institutionalized positive berdache role. In fact, he seems to be taking the best aspects of traditions from each of the nations he studies, adding up to a cumulative picture of the berdache tradition that seems unre-

Gay History or Cultural Imperialism?

alistic. He doesn't seem to do much to dispel the radically different conclusions that other anthropologists have drawn about the status of the berdache in Native American societies. For example, Ramon A. Gutierrez writes in his article, "Must We Deracinate Indians to Find Gay Roots?", that prisoners of war were forced into berdache status as the ultimate humiliation. Looking at much of the same evidence as Williams, he has a totally different idea of the meaning of berdachism. While it's true as Walter Williams says that some anthropologists have a homophobic interest in portraying berdachism as negative and humiliating, this is not the case with all those who have different views of its meaning. Williams also has a clear stake in the social position of the berdache, and he doesn't seem to try hard enough to examine possible contradictions in attitudes.

Another major problem with *The Spirit and the Flesh* is that Williams is uncritical of his role as a white researcher in a community which has been historically oppressed by white academia. He attempts to make the exploitation of Native culture by whites a non-issue by underlining the "similarities" between the plights of Native Americans and queers, thereby downplaying his responsibility as a white researcher. Of the gay liberation movement's use of the berdache tradition, he writes, "With this two-way cultural exchange, the status of gay people and the status of American Indians have some interesting parallels in the United States today," and then continues to discuss the inspiration that non-Native queers have

got from integrating the berdache tradition into gay history. In no place does he explore the possibility that there has not been an equal cultural exchange, but instead one in which gay academics such as himself have contributed to the exploitation of Native Americans. Without any analysis of cultural imperialism or the possibility that he is making a contribution to the theft of Native culture, statements such as this seem to be of questionable integrity.

He also quotes J. Michael Clark, who argues that gay men should drop Christianity and discover "alternative resources for spirituality" such as berdachism, which can remind gays of a "forgotten primordial past and of the demand to fulfill a sacred destiny." This is merely an example of a pattern of white people coopting a potentially assimilable

aspect of Native culture for their own benefit and profit. Considering this recent aspect of cultural destruction, it is no wonder that some traditionalists refused to speak to Williams. He mentions a Cheyenne elder who told him, "I am not much interested in talking about our traditions to non-Cheyenne researchers. We want to keep our history within the Cheyenne people." Instead of addressing his questionable role as a white man looking for a gay history in a community which has suffered tremendously at the hands of academia, Williams characterizes the issue as one of "privacy" and admonishes Native Americans such as this elder at the end of the book's introduction, saying, "Rather than becoming secretive and defensive about their cultural past, Indian people need to consider the anguish that their defensiveness causes for young people who are struggling to understand themselves in a racist and homophobic society."

By failing to address the complex issues of cultural imperialism and exploitation involved in white academia's study of institutions such as the berdache, Walter Williams puts the validity of his research in question. His conclusions about the nature of berdache status and the tradition's implications for both Native Americans and the queer community are not supported by his dishonest tendency to work on the assumption that berdache can be equated with gay, even while presenting evidence that they are not the same thing.

By Erin Immaculate



REVIEWS

Crossroad

Vol. V, No. 2, May 1994

Spear & Shield Publications/ 1340 West Irving Park Road/ Suite 108/ Chicago, IL 60613/ \$10/yr(individual) \$15/yr(institutions) \$25/yr(international)

Crossroad is important reading for all activists who are eager to movement build and strategize. It is especially important for those who are interested in gaining exposure to the politics of the New African People's Organization (NAPO), a group who amongst other things are interested in reparations in the form of an independent New African nation on the North American continent.

Much of the analysis and perspective reflected in *Crossroad* sheds new light on revolutionary theory. You will find fresh words on nationalist struggle, feminism, and "crime" amongst other things in *Crossroad*. This issue of *Crossroad* includes an analysis by Owusu Yaki Yakubu called "Let's 'Gang-Up' On Oppression", about what the Afrikan communities response to gangs should be and about how racism is implicit in anti-gang hysteria. His article displays the kind of thinking that is a threat to the authors of the recent Crime Bill in the U.S. Another article entitled "Revolution Without Women Ain't Happenin'" by Aminata Umoja is a must read particularly for white feminists who think that they define and epitomize women's liberation and for Black men who have marginalized Black women's contri-

butions. In addition, this article gives a brief history of Black women's involvement in the development of National liberation struggles as well as their own liberation struggles.

Also included in this issue is an update on the repression faced by the proprietor of Liberation Radio in Decatur, Illinois, a factual update on the Crime Bill, and information about Westville and Pelican Bay Control Unit prisons. *Crossroad* is a must to be read and discussed by anyone interested in revolutionary New Afrikan politics.

—Justine Abinni

Ulster's White Negroes

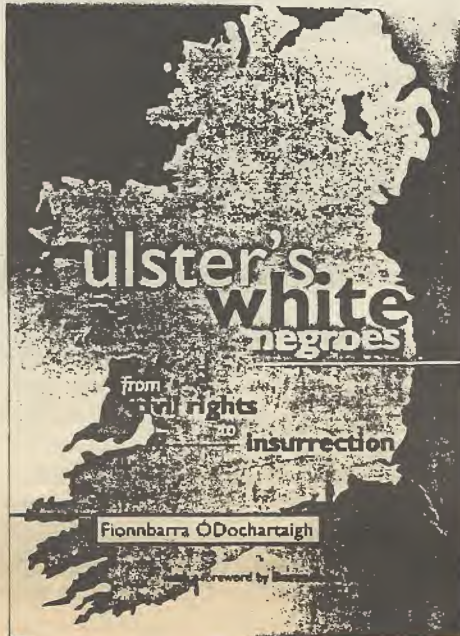
Finnbarr O'Doherty, (133 pages, \$8.95, AK Press)

"We viewed ourselves as Ulster's white Negroes—a repressed and forgotten dispossessed tribe captured within a bigoted, partitionist statelet that no Irish elector had cast a vote to create..."

Ulster's White Negroes is a first hand account of the formation of the civil rights movement in the North of Ireland in the 60's. The title refers to the affinity and respect felt by Irish people in the six counties towards the oppressed peoples of America and South Africa. I have long been skeptical of this claimed affinity (i.e. the Irish as the Blacks of Europe) but the evidence offered herein is of an oppression comparable to the situation in any ghetto

or township.

The book begins by detailing facts about the dismal housing and work conditions (that is homelessness and unemployment) endured by Catholics in the author's hometown of Derry. Although a bit dry, this chapter does give essential background on gerrymandering, selective industry placement and overall discrimination. *Ulster's White Negroes* then goes on to describe how local activists formed action committees to deal with these problems and to challenge the minority controlled government. The situation soon began to come to a head when the committees took to the streets and were met with wicked and



violent retaliation from the only momentarily flabbergasted Brits.

As the incidents unfold, we are shown how what started in Derry soon spread to Belfast, thus creating a powerful grassroots movement in the North, and how the state's response to the demonstrations of this movement led to the resurgence of the I.R.A. The book culminates in the awful 1972 "Bloody Sunday" massacre which

marked an end to the power of peaceful demonstrations and tremendously heightened the military conflict.

It's exciting to read this book and to develop a better understanding of the non-sectarian politics, class struggle, and fight for civil rights for all which created an inspiring social upheaval. The events are described with humor, solemnity, and plain honesty. O'Doherty's style of writing can jumpstart the heart of any burned out activist or politico. Sin é!

—Dang

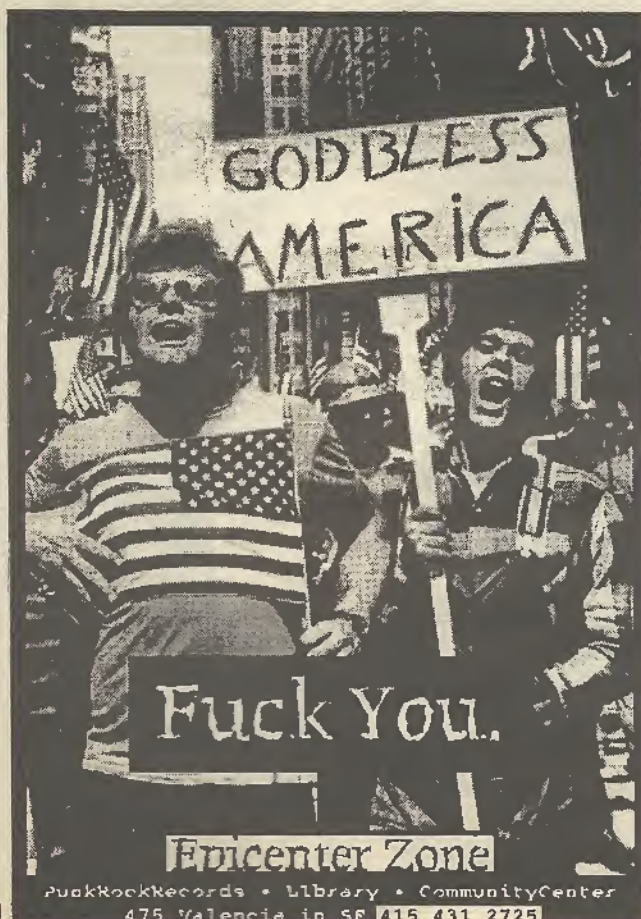
The Crisis of Color and Democracy: Essays on Race, Class and Power

Maning Marable (262 pages, \$15, Common Courage Press)

This is a collection of brief (2-3 page), interesting, easy-to-read essays from one of the U.S.'s foremost African American socialist scholars. These essays put forth Marable's analysis of the social crisis facing Blacks in America today: poverty, declining education, poor health care, social and economic disempowerment, crime, and racism. His solution to these problems is a democratic and socialist one: Blacks need self-determination through democratic, participatory political bodies, and they need a decent and guaranteed standard of living. The way to achieve this is through a grassroots, democratic Black political movement that can both work in coalition with other progressive groups and that can pressure the mainstream Black establishment in a more democratic and socialist direction.

Toward this goal, Marable provides good critiques of Black conservatism, the Democratic Party's attitude toward Blacks, violence within the Black community, Black economic underdevelopment, "reverse racism," the American two-party system (which he calls a one-party system), racism in American politics and business, and much more.

To the radical reader, the biggest criticism of Marable's book is that many of his suggestions seem really liberal, and they are. However, they are distinguished from the standard liberal Democratic Party line in that all of Marable's liberal solutions to the crisis of color and democracy are argued from within a radical, socialist perspective. Marable criticizes the liberal integrationist strategy of civil rights leaders because it incorrectly assumes that American democracy is inherently fair and just needs to be expanded to include Blacks. Marable argues that democracy is only possible when African Americans have roughly equal socioeconomic resources as whites, and so his essays are aimed at encouraging Blacks to struggle for improving their material conditions (housing, health care, education, etc.) by any



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means they can. However, Marable argues such things are best achieved through a grassroots, participatory, socialist political movement, not through electoral politics.

Marable's participatory, democratic, and socialist vision comes through best in his conception of "multicultural democracy." Distinct from integrationism and separatism, Marable's multicultural democracy argues for a politics based on Blacks' need for self-determination (through, for ex-

THE CRISIS OF COLOR AND DEMOCRACY

ESSAYS ON RACE, CLASS AND POWER



MANNING MARABLE

ample, "people power" assemblies) while working in coalition with other progressive groups. Only by recognizing the cultural diversity of the world, and by creating a political movement that gives room for these cultures to flourish and exercise equal power can we hope to build a society free of racism and exploitation. It is in Marable's democratic, socialist vision, *within a context of Black self-determination*, where his work is the strongest, and it is one reason why this book is recommended.

—joel

MOVIE REVIEWS

Go Fish

Directed by Rose Troche, written by Rose Troche and Genevieve Turner.

I went to see *Go Fish* with Erin Immaculate on opening night in Minneapolis. We ran into my friend Angela who, as she bit into her gooey slice of cheese pizza, commented on how exciting it was to see so many nice girls in one place. Then we bumped into the cutest punk rock girl couple ever. Immaculate chatted with them while we waited on the ticket holder's line. Next we sat in front of a really cute girl who we later ran into at a dance club, but that's a longer story. And the movie hadn't even started yet...

This movie is a victory, just to see the lives and adventures of a new generation of dykes on the big screen for all to swoon and gaze at. Troche's movie is about a culture that hardly ever gets positive exposure and on top of that, she intentionally chose to make this a love story, not a coming out story or suicide psycho-drama.

Although the movie is fictional, it often feels like a documentary. The best thing about *Go Fish* is that it seems so real. This could in part be a result of casting many of the roles with women that Rose Troche and Genevieve Turner met and interviewed in Queer clubs and coffee shops. *Go Fish* also contains some real moments of critical commentary; I thought that one of the most interesting scenes in the movie, because it challenges the tendency in sexual identity movements to police sexual behavior, is a lesbians on lesbian interrogation which occurs in the wake of one girl's choice to have sex with a man.

Recently, Rose Troche turned down a Paramount Pictures offer of \$10 million to direct a Brady Bunch movie because she wasn't inspired. Good news for those of us who hope another film comes soon.

—Justine Abinni

True Lies

I'm going to give away the ending, but this is a basically rotten film, and the special effects aren't even that special. More fun by far to send seven bucks to *The Blast*!

At the end of the movie, a couple of Americans save their marriage by killing lots of Arabs. At the end of the movie, the over-muscled big-boy and the chesty woman french-kiss while a nuclear fireball, symbolizing their passion, sinks a whole island in the Florida Keys. But it's a little island, so it doesn't matter.

Arnold's idea of "communicating" with his wife (Jamie Lee Curtis) is to kidnap her and psychologically torture her. His spy-sidekick (Tom Arnold) gives frat-boy advice. Creepy. Very creepy. Then there's the "crazy" Muslims. In real life, Muslims are a majority of the population in 39 countries. They're a pretty diverse bunch. In American media, they're always fanatical bomb-throwers. Also in real life, many of the people depicted as "terrorists" have legitimate gripes.

Then there's the wicked Asian seductress. For some reason, Asian people in American movies always seem to be sneaky and amoral. At the end of the movie, the cunning, sexy Asian girl plunges over the end of a bridge so the American boy and girl can get back to their wholesome marriage (Does this sound at all familiar?).

Finally, there's Arnold himself. He's the one thing in *True Lies* where real life and fantasy aren't so wildly different. In real life, he's a big, macho right-winger, who croaks, "Ah'll be back" for Republican candidates. So no wonder he'd love to make a pricey shoot-em-up full of foreign enemies, big explosions, and woman-hating marital counselling.

True Lies may be the most expensive movie ever made, but that's okay, because America is supposed to be the richest country ever. If you don't feel very rich yourself, maybe it's because rich snots like the folks Arnold campaigns for are hogging all the money. They like it that way, and in order to keep us loyal to them, they pump us full of expensive, entertaining propaganda like *True Lies*. Come to think of it, the movie is aptly named.

—Nikolas Kautz



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Yep, we're broke again. We still have a \$300 debt from the first issue & are \$400 short of printing costs for this one, not to mention postage. Times like these call for more than plasma, so we're finding new & better ways of exploiting our own bodies for profit.

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Already two of our collective members have sacrificed brain cells to an Alzheimer's drug study last month. One of us is looking into selling ova to a local infertility clinic (hey, it's only a small surgery). So please, support your friendly (& free!) neighborhood paper—buy ads or subs or please feel free to just send cash.

Fuck the satisfaction of contributing to medical research.

POLICE BEAT: "Jacked for a Jellyroll"

Normally the Police Beat section is reserved for those few but fabulous moments when the cops get beat down on their beat, but this little gem from the June 30th Minneapolis *Star Tribune* is too "fresh" to not pass along, even though it was the cop who (as usual) did the beating.

Richard Griffin, police chief of Alfred, Maine, recently agreed to pay a \$250 fine and restitution to settle charges that he punched Louis DeAngelis. Now this might seem like pocket change, especially considering a recent decision by a Minneapolis jury to give a man \$750,000 who was beat up by notorious Minneapolis pig Lt. Mike Sauro (see page 4), but Griffin's case is funny not because of what he did (police beat up innocent people every day; it's their job), but where he did it. You see, it seems that Griffin punched DeAngelis over who was next in line at the local doughnut shop! What cops won't do for those little cream-filled long johns...

TAKE THIS BOSS AND SHOOT HIM

More proof that all the corporate propaganda about workers being "loyal" to their company is pure crap:

The July 25 edition of the *New York Times* reports that the number of bosses killed by workers has doubled over the past ten years. Nowadays, three to four bosses a month in the U.S. are killed by a pissed off worker or former worker.

The capitalists love to say "money talks, bullshit walks," but sometimes it's hard to hear money over the sound of a shotgun blast in the boardroom... —joel

Readers: send in your "Police Beat" and "Take This Boss and Shoot Him" stories for the next issue of *The Blast*!

Kontrol continued from page 14

two brand new kkkontrol units - one of which is modeled after Pelican Bay Security Housing Unit (SHU) which opened in January. De enemy has also opened two so called predator units inside two other kamps which are like baby kkkontrol units minus one or two features. All of these units are an attempt to prevent de spread of revolutionary ideals and to prevent any form of organization from developing. We are being sent here for de express purpose of being destroyed psychologically in conjunction with de physical abuse. Recently it was revealed dat Our drinking water is contaminated with lead which we are being forced to drink and shower in.

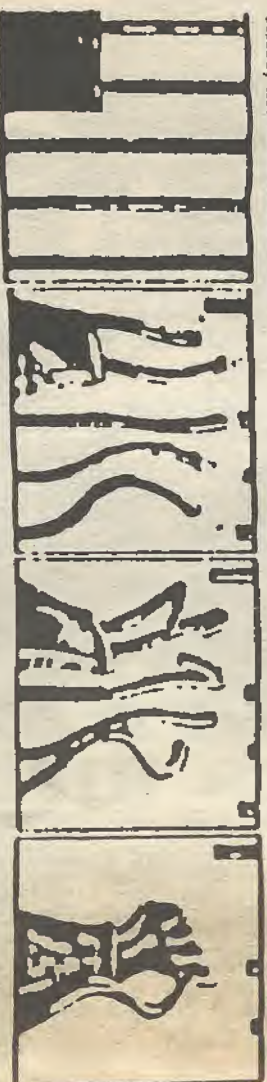
A suggested strategy of counter-attack

Recently there has been several organizations, revolutionaries, long-time activists and progressives discussing and working towards creating a national kkkontrol unit monitoring project (KUMP). KUMP would be a network of various organizations and groupings throughout de empire. KUMP would be responsible for documenting kkkontrol units in each state. Whatever organization dat was plugged into de network who lives in a state with a kkkontrol unit would take de responsibility for compiling information on de unit, such as its structure, capacity, human rights violations, etc. Such info would be sent into a clearing house and a data base formed. Ultimately all dis info would go into published reports and indictments of de u.s. government. Dis info can be shared with organizations such as Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International etc. and used to expose how de u.s. government is in violation of International Law e.g. U.N. Standard Minimum Rules for de Treatment of Prisoners, the International covenant on civil and po-

litical rights etc. Dis will put de u.s. government on de defensive in an attempt to defend its image.

Secondly a campaign should be launched by all anti-klkkontrol unit organizations geared towards raising de awareness of de masses to de existence of kkkontrol units. Each group would maintain its autonomy. De issue of kkkontrol units should become as popular as gay rights or a woman's right to an abortion. Some of these organizations would share de responsibility for carrying out coordinated demos, rallies, seminars/workshops etc. We could strive towards organizing a national event such as a march on D.C. or to de U.N. to help facilitate de creation of a climate of awareness of de existence and role of kkkontrol units. Such a climate would allow other political forces to take de struggle around kkkontrol units to a higher level and deliver decisive and devastating blows against de enemy.

Such a strategy could also maybe help jumpstart de support for political prisoners and prisoners of war, who are mostly in de kkkontrol units. Particular national liberation fronts could build up support for their own captured combatants while supporting and demanding de liberation of all political prisoners and prisoners of war across national lines. De other demand should be to shut down all kontrol units because they violate international laws governing human rights. Of course we know de state ain't gone shut em down but Our objectives should be to set in place a structure dat can be utilized to expose and heighten the contradictions of de imperialist state while simultaneously building and creating a situation for a higher form of revolutionary struggle and resistance. It ain't about reformin de prison system, it's about tearing em down!! Abolish all Prisons! Free all political prisoners and prisoners of war! Shaka Shakur



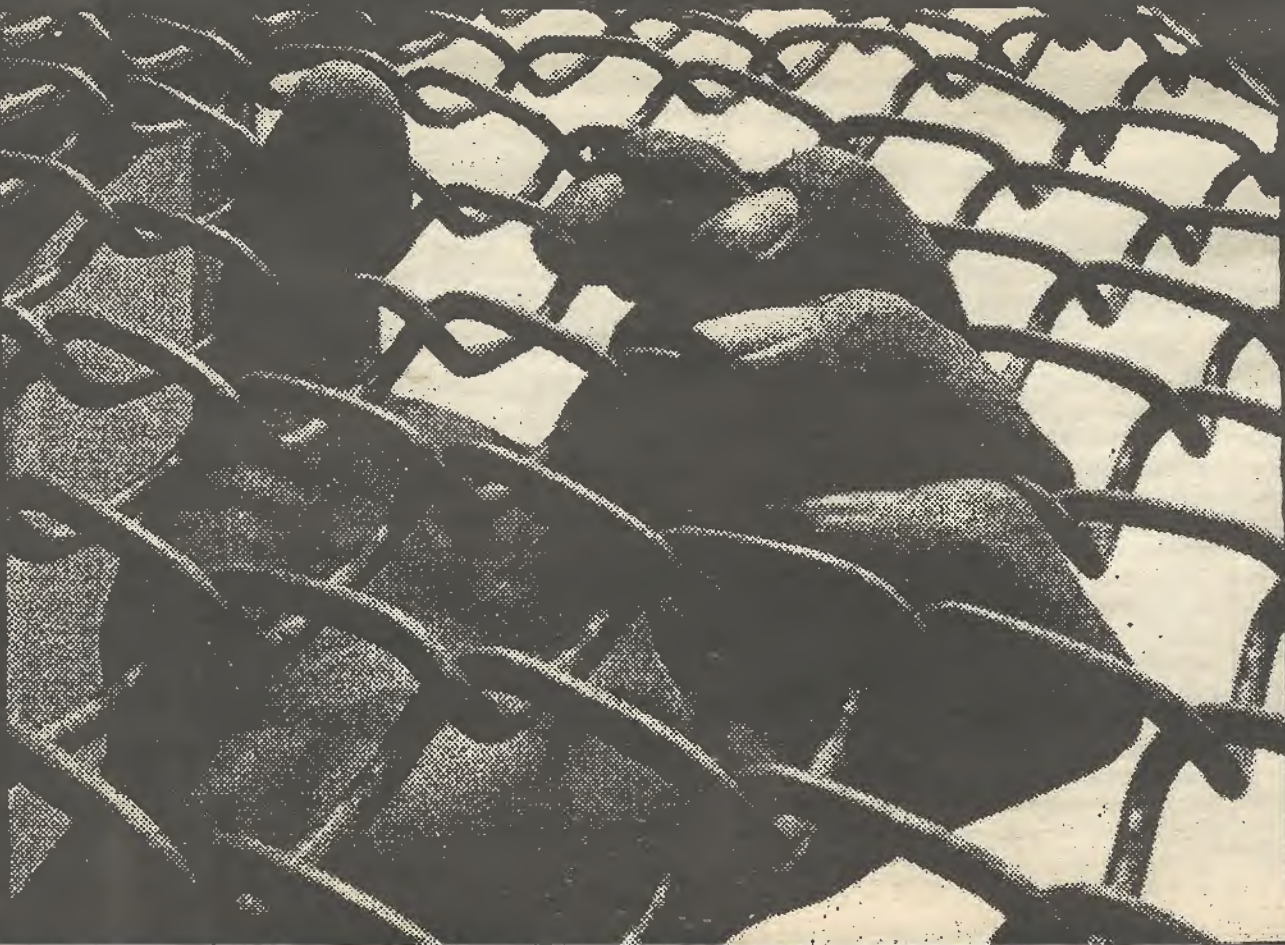
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