

The **BLAST!**

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March/April 1995 • Number 5

*The Masses Are A Loaded Gun: Hip-Hop, Revolution And **The Coup*** p.14

Plus!



*Fighting For Our Lives:
The Struggle For Abortion Rights p.5*

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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 five 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 compulsory heterosexuality), 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 Black people in the U.S.), 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 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!

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



By the way, the above logo is from the original *Blast!* anarchist journal, published by Alexander Berkman in San Francisco from 1916 to 1918. The graphic is by Lydia Gibson.

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**A LITTLE MONEY.
A LOT OF PROPAGANDA.**

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WHERE THE HELL'S MY BLAST!??

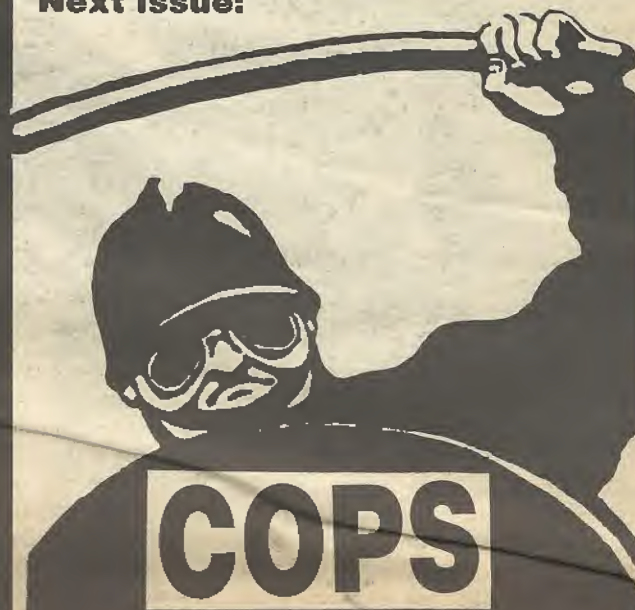
If you're having a hard time finding the *Blast!* on a regular basis, there are three things you can do:

1) If you live in Minnesota, send us a postcard and tell us where we should drop off copies, where we should drop off more copies, or which places we should avoid cos the cops just throw them out anyway.

2) If you live outside of Minnesota (lucky dog), ask for the *Blast!* at your local bookstore. If they don't have it, request that they carry it.

3) If none of the above works, play it safe. Subscribe.

Next issue:



Yes, next issue will be a special issue on those behemoths in blue, those lackeys of the law, those overseers of urbania, the police. We'll have features on the role of police in this society, life without cops, queer cops, why we all hate the cops, tales of police abuse and resistance to it. Send us your favorite stories for this very special issue. But please: spare us the donut jokes. It's not nice to the donuts.

DEADLINE: MAY 10, 1995

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profit project: all money collected goes toward printing and mailing the paper.

If you have any questions please write us c/o Justine. Thanks.

STOP THE LYNCHING



by Burn One

Mumia's death warrant could be signed any day!

Any day, governor Thomas Ridge of Pennsylvania could sign Mumia Abu-Jamal's death warrant. Mumia's pending execution has given rise to worldwide currents of rage. The US government's determination to execute him has come to symbolize racism in America and represent everything that is wrong with the US government.

As a well-respected African-American journalist, Mumia has spent all of his life speaking out against the inherently racist US system and those who enforce it. Mumia has been on death row for 13 years, because the state failed to execute him in the street. Mumia is on death row because he wouldn't just sit down and let the city of Philadelphia terrorize the MOVE organization without offering an alternative to the racially biased media of the ruling class.

In 1985, Mumia already on death row, the world took notice of the city of Philadelphia's bombing of the MOVE house, the subsequent murders of 11 MOVE men, women, and children, the devastation of four city blocks (some 60 homes), and the aftermath of 260 homeless people.

It can be assumed that had Mumia not been on death row he would have continued to report the bombing with the same journalistic integrity that he had reported the 1978 raid on MOVE and the trials of 9 MOVE members that followed. That is exactly what Frank Rizzo, Mayor of Philadelphia, didn't want and exactly why Mumia was targeted for execution. Now, in 1995, he is facing death at the hands of the state of Pennsylvania and the new pro death penalty, fascist, governor Ridge, who is trying to do what his predecessors have planned for years. In fact, by the time this goes to print, it may already be done.

Mumia transferred to Supermax prison in attempts to isolate and desensitize him.

Last month Mumia was transferred to the new Supermax control unit prison, S.C.I.-Greene, in Waynesburg, PA. He is

only allowed out of his cell for one hour, four to five days a week. He is only allowed to use the law library (where he goes to use the typewriters) for only two hours once or twice a week. Mumia's prison fund was closed and even if it was opened he is not allowed to purchase anything at the commissary. Anyone who wants to put money into Mumia's fund

must deliver it to the prison itself.

Mumia is undergoing massive sensory deprivation and is denied all human contact. The state is trying to desensitize him, demoralize him, and isolate him from his family, friends, and other prisoners as they prepare to sign his death warrant. Mumia gets one non-contact visit for 2 hours once a week.

MOVE and Frank Rizzo's racist regime in Philly.

In 1978, the MOVE organization had a house in Powelton Village, Philadelphia. MOVE is based on the writings and teachings of John Africa. The group is naturalist, anti-authoritarian and dedicated to maintaining their true culture within a white supremacist society. 1978 was at a time when Powelton Village was being gentrified by Rizzo, the openly racist mayor. There was rampant racism and police brutality against African-Americans and Puerto-Ricans throughout the city. There was a sentiment against people who chose to maintain their African-American culture, such as wearing dreadlocks.

Then there was MOVE. MOVE posed a threat to the fascist infrastructure of Rizzo's Philadelphia. They had captured the attention of the city and Rizzo decided that they had to be eliminated. The city shut off the water and electricity to the MOVE compound, then lay siege to it, barricading MOVE members inside while a large portion of the Philly police force waited outside with automatic weapons. The police raided the house and afterwards cops brutally beat several MOVE members who had left the house unarmed. Then nine people were prosecuted for the shooting of a cop that occurred as a result of police "friendly fire", convicted in reality for their affiliation with MOVE and sentenced together to a total of 900 years. The Judge stated, "They say they're a family so I tried them as a family."

The attempted street execution of Mumia

On December 9, 1981, Mumia Abu-Jamal was driving his cab in Powelton Village, a job that he had to maintain his autonomy as a journalist. He spotted a cop beating an

African-American man. As he approached, he saw that the man was his brother, William Cook, who had a striking resemblance to Mumia. When Mumia approached to investigate the scene, officer Daniel Faulkner shot him in the chest.

By the time back-up cops arrived on the scene, Faulkner himself had been shot dead. Several witnesses, out of 125 or more on the corner, reported seeing two men fleeing. Cops arriving instantly decided that Mumia had killed Faulkner. They began beating him despite his serious gunshot wound. They bashed his head into a pole and continued to beat him in the emergency waiting room.

ing that Sabo actually grant him the right to representation of his choice, John Africa. He was instead appointed a public defender who was later disbarred for incompetence.

Mumia was denied sufficient funds to obtain physical evidence, adequate time to prepare his defense, and access to witnesses. Although Philadelphia is predominantly Black and Latina, his jury of "peers" was predominantly white and middle-class. No ballistic evidence linked the bullets that killed Faulkner to Mumia's legally registered gun. The prosecutor, Joseph McGill, who was later censured for his manipulation of witnesses, "hand-picked" witnesses that had pending charges and could be ma-

of MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

The "lynching" of Mumia in the courtroom

In court, Mumia sat before Judge Albert Sabo, known for having sent more men to death row than any other judge in the US. Mumia was rushed to trial despite having just been in critical condition. Mumia was banned from the courtroom after request-

nipulated into changing their original statements into testimonies against Mumia.

McGill berated both Mumia and his character witness, Temple University Professor Sonia Sanchez, for their affiliation with the Black Panther Party. He stated that Ms. Sanchez had "rubbed elbows" with "cop

continued on page 22

"A madcap plea for political sanity." Seattle Times

THE TRUE HISTORY OF COCA-COLA IN MEXICO



"Uproariously funny...Go see it no matter what!" Seattle Weekly

Opens March 15

Mixed Blood Theatre 338-6131

They Say Cut Back, We Say **FIGHT BACK!**

On November 26th, a 100-person march onto Gov. Arne Carlson's mansion organized by Up and Out of Poverty and the Welfare Rights Committee marked the beginning of what would become a long struggle against welfare reform. That fight is still being persistently waged and in some ways is boiling to a head.

On March 2, the Minnesota House not only passed repressive welfare reform measures but added two amendments: a 60-day waiting period before receiving benefits if you move from out of state, and a two year time limit on AFDC benefits. These amendments are additions to a bill that ignores the root causes of poverty and punishes people for the failings of government and a class-stratified society. The bill, among other things, makes it harder to get an education in STRIDE, forces parents under 21 to live at home to get AFDC, imposes Workfare on the poor (forcing them to work for free), and gets rid of work readi-

ness programs.

The Welfare Rights Committee and Up and Out of Poverty have succeeded in bringing out large and resistant forces of the people most affected by welfare reform (poor single moms, the homeless, and contingents from the Hmong projects in St. Paul) and their supporters to protest these inhuman reforms.

On February 13, the Welfare Rights Committee submitted their Anti-Poverty Bill to the Minnesota House and Senate. The bill calls for the elimination of poverty via the creation of real jobs, childcare, free education, health care and affordable housing for all. Direct action, which has included blocking legislators from entering committee meetings and disrupting legislative sessions, has resulted in delaying House and Senate procedures, giving people more time to get organized against this anti-poor initiative. There have been eleven actions since the beginning of January.

photo: Justine Abinni



A large number of furious demonstrators marched to Gov. Carlson's mansion on Nov. 26

On February 23, a large presence of 400 prompted state troopers (AKA government security) to try to clamp down on demonstrators. Nine people were arrested and one of the Up and Out of Poverty organizers was tackled to the ground, suffering bruised ribs and a sprained ankle. Three arrestees were kept in jail on \$3,000 bail, which is illegally high. All were arraigned on March 6. The next hearing is scheduled for March 18. On March 19 a jury trial is scheduled in rela-

tion to arrests made at another demo in which members of the Welfare Rights Committee busted up a House hearing committee meeting.

For more info on the activities of the Welfare Rights Committee call 370-0167 or 729-3654. They meet every other Saturday at Sabathani Center, 38th St. and 3rd Ave. Childcare is provided. For rides call the above numbers. —Justine Abinni

100 DAYS of ACTION

On January 4, 1995, as the radical right took over Congress in Washington, D.C., about a hundred angry, determined folk demonstrated in the rotunda of the State Capitol in St. Paul, vowing to mobilize for 100 days of action against Gingrich and his Contract on America. Speakers from Anti-Racist Action, the Hmong community, Up and Out of Poverty, the Mumia Defense Committee, Women Against Military Madness, the Progressive Student Organization, and various other peace and justice groups called for action against the death penalty, construction of jails and orphanages, cutting of welfare and education programs and the militarization of society.

The 100 Days of Action Coalition is meeting every Thursday at 7:00pm at Sabathani Community Center in south Minneapolis. The group has continued its work to fight welfare cuts on the state and federal level by lobbying the state legisla-

ture and by demonstrating at the capitol on Valentine's Day. The group also travelled to Willmar to heckle ultra-right Senator Rod Grams at a forum on agricultural price supports. They plan to confront Grams at his office in March.

Women Against Military Madness, at their annual meeting held at at Sabathani on February 11, made commitment to work hard with the coalition and to raise issues of cutting the military budget and fighting domestic militarization, including the incarceration of people of color, police brutality, and the warehousing of women, children, young men of color, and radicals. One woman who had been arrested at the protest against NSP storage of radioactive waste on Native American lands said, "I was just peacefully protesting and I was arrested. We are close to a police state in this country."

—April Knutson

POLICE STORMTROOP RESIDENCES OF THE POOR

On a chilly evening last December 1, 1994, shot-gun slugs ripped into the front doors of several residents trying to live at the Glendale Rowhouses in southeast Minneapolis, blocks away from the University of Minnesota. The slug rounds were fired from the street (approximately 30 yards from the front doors targeted) by the Minneapolis Police Department. Then the MPD, in conjunction with the Minneapolis Public Housing Authority (MPHA), bumrushed their way into the homes of several families.

Apparently, the days of cops using battering rams to bust in doors are history. Supposedly, the purpose of this intrusive invasion was to bust residents purportedly dealing crack and those alleged to be "gang members" of the Gangster Disciples. This

is what the MPHA and MPD would like to have the community believe, as well as their story that they completed a six-month investigation in this poor hood that uncovers an end result of only a trace amount of crack, a couple of pipes, and not one apprehension of any reputed gang members. Instead, numerous residents sustained injuries as a result of excessive police force, and suffered property damage and/or loss.

With these results, it's no wonder a lawsuit was brought against the city, MPD, and MHA plus miscellaneous agents. According to some attorneys representing these outraged residents, the MPHA has developed their own methods for evicting undesirable tenants, by trumping up fake investigations.

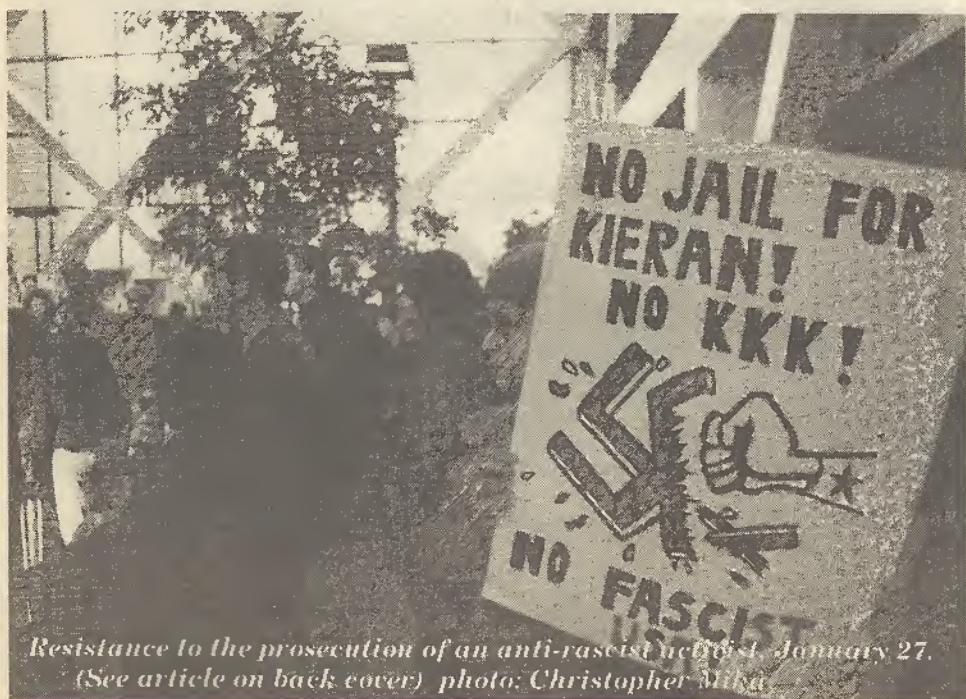
—Dan Van Lanen

NO CONTRACT, NO PEACE!

Seven years is much too long to wait for a union contract. At least that's what the fifty demonstrators who staged a sit-in at the Radisson Plaza Hotel in downtown Minneapolis thought as they chanted "No contract, no peace!" to hotel management and guests. Protesters occupied the hotel lobby on February 20, 1995 to call attention to the illegal activities of the Radisson Plaza, owned by billionaire Curt Carlson. The Hotel has denied workers a union contract since 1988 and is now being tried by the government for contempt of a federal court order to bargain with its employees in good faith.

Thirty-two of the demonstrators were arrested for "trespassing" when they refused to vacate the Radisson lobby. Meanwhile, Curt Carlson has not spent a day in jail, nor paid a cent in fines. That's American justice for you.

—Katie Sapadin, H.E.R.E. Local 17



Resistance to the prosecution of an anti-racist activist, January 27.
(See article on back cover) photo: Christopher Miska

The Casks Are Here But So Is RESISTANCE!

As most Homo Sapiens blithely move through the present ecological catastrophe, activists, agitators and revolutionaries continue to find fertile ground in environmental struggles for important political work. And as the conciliators and reformers of the so-called environmental movement predictably fail, militant direct action becomes the accepted means to stave off the real and present danger of ecological destruction.

Here in Minnesota this struggle of late has focused on the insanity of Northern States Power (NSP) and their plan to store radioactive waste from its highly profitable nuke business on native land and in the Mississippi river flood plain. Raising the stakes in this present and continuing battle is important for two sets of reasons. First, the "nuclear waste issue" represents one of the contradictory crossroads of our presently fucked culture. With its environmental racism, its unabashed corporate capitalist stupidity, and the protecting arrogance of state power, this "issue" links struggles and provides the opportunity for some genuine revolutionary possibilities. Secondly, this has become an international struggle. The state and the corporate utilities are literally running out of room and time to store their shit, and geographically dispersed, militant activism has worked to keep these behemoths in check. Of course, much still needs to be done.

It was in this context that many attended a rally at NSP's downtown Minneapolis headquarters in early December. With earlier tactical planning, as the official rally came to a close, a group of activists moved to occupy and shut down NSP's customer service area. Met with a platoon of Minneapolis cops who blocked the door and kept protesters out with mace and brute force, activists quickly moved to rush and hold open doors to an area adjoining the customer service area. The private security watching these doors were quickly

overwhelmed and over 100 demonstrators filed in and festively liberated the area from NSP. NSP employees sealed themselves behind electronically locked doors, and the cops sheepishly huddled together, not knowing what to do. Twenty-one activists were eventually arrested, and the demonstration outside was not ended until mounted cops arrived to disperse protesters.

Activists continued to make trouble throughout December with a variety of actions, including the disruption of a holiday parade sponsored by NSP.

At the end of January NSP made public that the first cask it plans to use for its above ground waste storage had arrived at its Prairie Island Nuke facility. On a day's notice a demo was called at the downtown headquarters. After a brief rally, 150 protesters took to the streets. The cops swooped in, immediately arresting a few. Marchers left the street and changed directions, moving away from the cops but toward another major thoroughfare. There they took the street again, marching to a bridge that crosses the Mississippi and blocking the rush hour traffic on its northbound span. The dispersed and disorganized cops eventually commandeered a city bus as a make shift paddy wagon, arresting 18 of the bridge liberators.

At present NSP and the state move haltingly forward with this insanity, but activists too are redeploying. In early February the Mescalero Apache in New Mexico rejected what the powers that be thought was a done deal of setting up a waste site for NSP on their reservation. This loud dissent from the colonized, occupied-but-still-fighting Apache nation sends a message not only to racist polluters, but to activists as well. The struggle continues. The utilities and the states will try to go forward, but we will fight back.

—Michael C.

COPS BEWARE! ARA IS WATCHING.



ANTI-RACIST ACTION COP WATCH

News Shorts

STUDENTS WALK OUT OF COMO HIGH: ONE MONTH OF BLACK HISTORY IS NOT ENOUGH!

Seventy-five African-American students on February 25 demanded that Black history had to be given attention more than just 28 days a year. European history is studied all year long, isn't it time to start taking African-American history seriously? The students got media coverage and a meeting with school officials.

MACALESTER STUDENTS ORGANIZE SIT-IN

Students at Macalester College rallied at the student union, then marched to the administration building and held a sit-in to protest the administration's lack of commitment to Black history and current issues in the African-American community.

dead by the British Army on the streets of Derry City on Bloody Sunday. Currently, the FBI National academy in Quantico, Virginia is spending thousands of dollars to train the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), a well-armed, blatantly sectarian police force with a long history of human rights abuses in Northern Ireland. For information about Minnesotans for United Ireland call 645-9506.

DISTRICT 202, A QUEER YOUTH CENTER CELEBRATES THIRD YEAR.

District 202 is a non-profit youth center committed to providing a safe, permanent and accessible space by and for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender youth and friends. It is located at 2524 Nicollet Ave. S., Minneapolis.



Photo: Michael C.

NORTHERN MINNESOTA TEENS FIGHT TO REMOVE "SQUAW" FROM NAMES OF TOWNS AND LAND MARKS.

Angie Losh 17, and Dawn Litzau 18, live in a Native-American community of about 50. Once called Squaw Point (now called Oak Point), they fought to get the change made. Squaw is a French corruption of the Iroquois word for vagina. The town unanimously backed the two women in their proposal to change the offensive name. Losh and Litzau plan to continue fight the use of racist names.

PEOPLE AGAINST ANTI-CHOICE TERRORISM (PAACT)

PAACT held their first demonstration on the anniversary of Roe vs. Wade at the State Capitol. Their group of 50 battled the 3,000 anti-choicers present. At the anti's "prayer vigil" PAACT out-chanted them, and sent them back to the suburbs earlier than they had planned. PAACT meets every other Tuesday at ARISE! bookstore 2441 Lyndale, Mpls. FFI call 649-4579. (See photo above.)

FRENTE DEL NORTE, the Minnesota committee in solidarity with the people of Chiapas, Mexico, supports the ten demands of the EZLN (Zapatista National Liberation Army): work, land, housing, food, health care, independence, freedom, justice, and peace. In a protest organized by the committee on March 24, sixty people demonstrated against the Mexican government's offensive against the Zapatistas and the joint complicity shared by U.S. government and banking forces in trying to manipulate the Mexican state into carrying out the attack. The demonstration marched from Peavy Plaza to the federal building and was heavily patrolled by Minneapolis cops. There were two arrests. Frente del Norte meets at 7 pm on Monday nights at Arise! Bookstore, 2441 Lyndale Ave. in Minneapolis.

ANTI-RACIST ACTION COP WATCH (photo left) meets every other Friday on Hennepin Ave. in downtown Minneapolis to watch for police harassment and abuse. Last copwatch the pigs decided that not only did ARA watching them make them mad, it was against the law too. Two members were issued citations. Anti-Racist Action meets every Wed. at 7pm at Mayday Books, 301 Cedar Ave., Minneapolis.

MINNESOTANS FOR A UNITED IRELAND HOLD A DEMO TO PROTEST TRAINING OF NORTHERN IRELAND'S BRUTAL POLICE FORCE BY THE FBI.

On January 30th fifty pro-IRA demonstrators chanted and held pictures of the fourteen unarmed civilians who were shot

Great New Salinas Diet! Look Pathetic Before the World in Only Days!

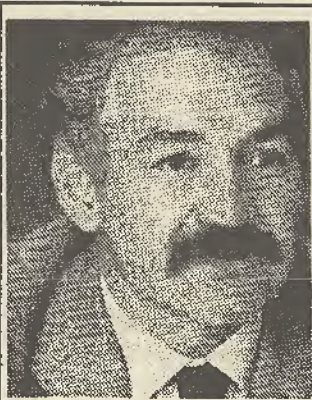
Mexican ex-president Carlos Salinas de Gortari missed lunch one day in a tummy-growlin' fast protesting the indictment of his brother, Raul, for planning the murder of ruling party hack Jose Francisco Ruiz Massieu in September 1994!

The wacky spectacle guaranteed his U.S. patrons would dump him as their choice to head the new World Trade Organization!

His successor, President Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de Leon, is a savvy technocrat whose smooth moves may just be enough to fake out millions of urban and rural rebels and calm Northern Hemisphere investors.

Chase bank sternly warned its junior partners in the Zedillo's class to smash the EZLN quick, regain voter confidence, and get a grip on the careening economy. Zedillo, a brilliant young economist who happily climbed into office over the murdered corpse of his own party's presidential candidate, Luis Donaldo Colosio, didn't need to be told twice.

•He rolled thousands of troops against the clandestine army and huge above-ground movement of indigenous people in the southern state of Chiapas, then claimed to have pulled them back. Without provoking all-out war, his military set to flight entire villages and is poised to strike further. Indigenous casualties are not yet known. At least 3 peasants were killed, and possibly hundreds hurt. •Next he announced a new! improved!



You won't catch us doing prisoner support for this dude.

Ex-President's bro. Jailed.

economic plan while skillfulling making it sound like the previous one, announced in January, flopped because the US didn't poney up the \$40 million it originally offered.

•Finally, he is allowing the conspiracy probe into two political murders to stab deeply into ruling circles.

Will his three-pronged attack keep his doomed class in power a tad longer? Should he sell off the phone company to Northern hemisphere bankers? Would anyone buy it? Can he jail leaders of his own party in order to look squeaky clean? Is anyone buying that? Finally,

does the Contract with America include the Airborne Rangers in Chiapas?

The answers, encouragingly, rest largely in the hands of Mexico's poor and laboring peoples.

Autonomous, grassroots organizing extends far beyond the now world-famous southern states of Chiapas and Tabasco. A spokeswoman for the National Commission for Democracy in Mexico, a US-based solidarity group, told Minnesota activists at an International Women's Day program that at least 16 autonomous zones in the rest of Mexico are in the hands of the people. Travelers entering them pay a toll to the indigenous people, who govern themselves.

Demos of tens of thousands have become routine in sprawling Mexico City, whose 10 million persons include the continent's largest

urban population of Indigenous people. At least one pro-Chiapas march was counted at a quarter of a million.

Over the border in Guatemala, rebels of the URNG movement blew up electrical towers for a popular tourist town. Guatemala's notorious US/Israeli/Argentine-trained special forces are deployed against both URNG & EZLN.

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Neo-colonialism triumphs over fascism as US ruling class strategy (for now) (jargon)

Why do the New York Times and many corporate leaders support Clinton & Co., and oppose Pat Buchanan & Co.? Because they think naked white patriotism is old-fashioned. It isn't going to keep them rich.

Their version of multiculturalism is no less white-supremacist. It just antagonizes people a little less obviously.

Two reasons *open* white supremacy has less appeal to our rulers (for now):

•Pretty quick now, gutting affirmative action and getting slave labor from jobless, locked-up young men of color won't be enough, and our rulers will be squeezing privilege out of whites, too.

•The majority peoples of the planet are less willing to be directly colonized. For the money to keep flowing North, a little more of it has to stay South, with local

ruling classes.

This arrangement is hunky-dorey with most white elites in the US. They can feel all multicultural, and still get their car-phones.

But Pat and many other white folks stubbornly won't see this ruling-class Disneyland, in which once-pure US dollars mingle and swap precious bodily fluids with rubles, pesos, zloty, and yen, and traipse home richer but somehow mongrelized. Fascists are just so *dumb* about macroeconomics. That's why their social betters in the ruling class will give them enough leash to bash our heads but won't let them be elected president (yet).

Turkey's War on the Kurds Gets Nastier in '95

Rich white folks in the US excel at promoting global evil and then seeming to be shocked. They are on record as believing that militant Islam threatens their way of life as much as the USSR ever did. But when a longtime ally moves to crush a people turning increasingly to Islam or to a communist guerrilla movement, the US talks of human rights.

Turkey, a longtime US ally whose ruling and middle classes pride themselves on their secular democracy (ahem), has decided to try to finish off the 10-year-old insurgency of the Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK) with as much bloodshed as it takes. And prime minister Tansu Ciller has raised the alarm about the growth of an Islamic party among displaced, impoverished Kurds.

Economic hardship in the New World Order has given rise fundamentalist Islam among Turkey's urban poor. The Europeans probably won't give Turkey full EC membership.

Ciller, well-liked among Western elites for being Turkey's first woman head of state, has given the military free

rein in the conflicted southeastern region, under martial law since 1987. The area, which comprises 10 provinces, and to which Kurds are indigenous, now sees 5 secret-police murders a day.

The often-copied US "strategic hamlet" strategy from Vietnam is widely used in the war against the PKK. At least 14,000 have died in the 10-year war for independence.

Turkey's arsenal includes US-made Sikorsky Blackhawk Helicopters. Germany, with large Turkish and Kurdish immigrant populations, cooperates with Turkey's security forces.

Legal repression this year has included stripping 8 Kurdish members of parliament of their immunity to prosecution and sentencing them up to 15 years for advancing propaganda efforts. Disappearances in custody are climbing.



Arm the Spirit does excellent work and follows the Kurdish struggle closely. The homeland of this long-divided people will be free and reunited. For more info:

Arm The Spirit
P.O. Box 6326, Stn. A
Toronto, Ontario
M5W 1P7 Canada E-mail: ats@etext.org

Ugly-Ass Snitch Ain't No 'Jewish Militant'
The Nation of Islam's weekly, *Final Call*, claimed in a page-1 headline, "Gov't, Jewish militant linked to plot to kill Farrakhan." Sleazy informer Mike Fitzpatrick is not a "Jewish militant." I'm a Jewish militant. The Nation doesn't say, "Jewish militant Wm. Kunstler defends Qubilah," do they? Is a person's Jewishness only worth noting when they do something bad?

Furious dykes summon plague of bugs on Christian wackos!

San Rafael, CA — Perverted Christian mind-terrorists got a taste of their biblical medicine Feb. 8 when a bevy of Lesbian Avengers stormed the offices of a group that "cures" queers, and released 1,000 crickets, crying, "If anyone deserves a plague of biblical proportions right now, it's the Radical Right!"

The creepy Christian outfit, Exodus Int'l, preys on lesbians, gays, and bisexuals from conservative religious backgrounds, and has driven some to suicide. Its gay male founders have acknowledged they are lovers, denounced the group, and apologized to people whose lives they've ruined.

"There are lesbians here with bugs!" a frantic, Jesus-addled office worker screamed to a disbelieving 911 dispatcher, while the hopping, crawling army spread across the floor, as described, fittingly, in Exodus.

Lesbian Avengers Hotline: 415-267-6195.

Against the lone-wannab with bomb strategy!
Dept. of White Guys Saving the World: Some dolt is blowing up professors, ad execs, & other class enemies thru the mail. Like this is going to bring the system crashing down, fool. Get a damn clue, and quit posing as an anarchist. Thanks.

TOUCHING HAND OF GOD!

One of the Democrats who voted for NY death penalty made contact with the divine. Afterwards he spontaneously combusted.



Attention! Sports Fans!

ATLANTA, 1996 — The Olympics are coming! The city elite went apeshit when they won the highly publicized, international competition of cities. People are already talking about the cleanup the city is doing, including more arrests of homeless people. When the worldwide press corps is coming to town, the authorities try to throw a rug over any possible embarrassment:

- Barcelona 1992: They decimated a bunch of working-class suburbs to build the olympic village.
- The South Korean government used riot cops and preventive detention to try to keep Seole presentable in 1988. Workers' and students' movements anticipated the crackdown and strengthened international solidarity links in advance. So the elite were embarrassed anyway.
- Moscow 1980: Widespread police crackdown. And the hockey sucked.
- Mexico 1968: The PRI government shot up hundreds of students, and the anniversary of the massacre is still noted with riotous demos. Here's hoping the people take the gold in Atlanta in '96.

Cuban drag-queens held at Guantanamo, where GI's like the show!

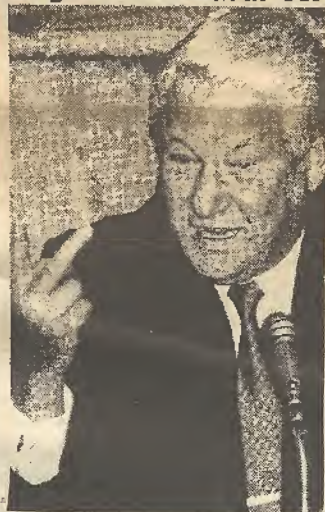
Among the people who tried to flee Cuba last year in homemade boats, were busted by the US, and are still imprisoned at Guantanamo Bay, are 21 gays — housed apart from the other 1,900 inmates "for their own protection."

Just the same, the other prisoners and the "don't-ask-don't-tell" US troops take time out to watch the drag queens.

A US Army captain told the class-enemy press that the drag shows are "good," and claimed the military is trying to get more drag props and supplies for the troupe.

The failure of homophobia to wither away after the Revolution must be because of the US embargo.

info: Xtra, 200-491 Church Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M4Y 2C6



Boris "Have another drink dammit" Yeltsin climbed on a tank during the coup against Gorb. Boris likes tanks. Tanks are his friends. So he bombed Grozny flat because the Chechens hurt some of his tanks.

'France for the French' — Ethnic cleansing & fascism of Le Pen

Racists sometimes have trouble making up their minds. Thirty-odd years ago, Parisian motorists honked their horns to the beat of the slogan "Algerie Francaise" — in agreement with De Gaulle that Algeria was a part of France.

Now, voters may elect long-time fascist hack Jean-Marc Le Pen — on the promise that he'll revive French culture and kick out all the immigrants.

The 66-year-old ex-paratrooper also wants to restore execution by guillotine and pay French het couples over a thousand bucks per kid (to offset rising immigrant birthrates). **Don't**

Even some of the socialists in France are closet nazis!

nazis suck?

Fugees! page 18.

N.Y. passes death penalty & state murders to start in fall

Albany — He promised voters he wouldn't veto a death penalty bill, as Democratic governors had done for 18 years, and on March 7 new GOP Gov. George Pataki kept his word.

With his flair for morbid political theater, Pataki signed the papers with two pens that had belonged to policemen killed on duty, as their widows and mothers looked on.

All assembled acted as though they really believe capital punishment reduces crime — years after the ruling class conclusively proved to itself that the death penalty has no more effect on crime than Saturn's rings have on the bond market.

Carefully crafted to survive constitutional challenge, the law forbids executing pregnant women (their fetuses didn't do the crime, after all), the mentally incompetent, and the mentally retarded.

To make it look free of racial bias, the law allows defense lawyers to question prospective jurors privately, as if racist, "let 'em fry"-type crackers aren't clever enough to hide their views and get on the jury.

The law also sets up a statewide office to train defense lawyers and coordinate representation of indigent defendants.

Civil liberties groups and trial lawyers are vowing to fight the measure. Hi ho. It takes effect in September.

You loot one continent in order to set its people against one another and bring them in chains to another continent you've taken over by force. You build your wealth on others' labor. Your navy commands all the seas, your bombs fall from all the skies, your homes are filled with the riches of all the earth. And you call other people criminals. And when you execute them, you won't call it genocide. Your lying world order is doomed.

Death squads stalk E. Timor

Got out alive: ↓

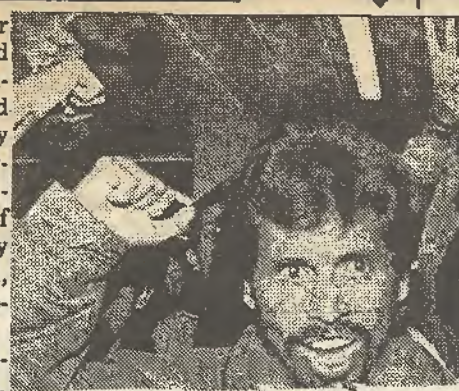
Dili, E. Timor — After three months of sharpened anti-colonial struggle, including rioting at home and occupying the U.S. embassy in the colonizer's capital during a regional economic summit, the 750,000 people of this former Portuguese colony now face black-hooded, knife-wielding gangs of Indonesian soldiers.

The secret units have abducted and beaten dozens.

On Jan. 18, uniformed troops shot & killed 6 residents of a village outside the capital.

Find it!

Some where on these pages is a head-line utterly filled with jargon.



Students who scaled the US embassy wall during Clinton's November visit to Jakarta demanded to fly to Lisbon and are continuing their independence work.

A colonist's murder of an E. Timorese sparked a week-long spell of street fighting in November, and 2 similar crimes on New Year's Eve set off another mini-rebellion. Security forces may still be holding several youth, and the kidnappings and beatings — some of political activists, some seemingly random — have not stopped.

The crackdown is a government pay-back for embarrassment the E. Timor independence movement caused Pres. Suharto of Indonesia in front of international reporters covering the November economic summit (Blast! # 4). APEC, the Asia-Pacific Economic Community, is a NAFTA-like arrangement.

At least this defense campaign worked Nicosia, Cyprus — Aproud father boasted of helping gather 6,500 signatures on a petition to free his son, a 30-year-old doctor, who smashed the windshield of Queen Elizabeth's parked Rolls Royce limo in 1993. Hatred of Britain still runs high 25 years after a bloody anti-colonial war won Cyprus neo-colonial status. The man had threatened to jump out a window to protest the queen's visit and was under arrest. Seeing the limo in a parking garage, he broke free and smashed the windshield with his handcuffs. The president pardoned him.

Hey, if the people elect 'em, we better not shoot 'em

Basque — Basque Homeland and Freedom organization (ETA) in January shot dead a conservative pol, and ETA confounder Julen Madariaga quit the movement's political arm to protest killing officials elected 'by the people.' The party, Herri Batasuna (HB) replied that Madariaga hadn't been active since 1992 and was selling out. 'The people' elected Reagan, too, but that didn't stop folks from cheering when he got shot. Is this where hubcaps come from?

Albania — Chrome miners wildcatted, seized part of the mine, & went on a 5-day hunger strike in late Jan., demanding 10% better wages & the firing of the manager. The union opposed the strike. Chrome miners provide almost all of Albania's hard currency and have been fighting union, management, & government with 5 strikes in 2 years.

Killers wash their hands of victims' savagery

Mogadishu — The return of US marines to Somalia in Feb. wasn't so they could cover the UN retreat, it was so the press would cover the withdrawal the way Clinton wanted. 'The civilized world tried with those barbarians, now to hell with them.' No mention of who ruined the indigenous economy and society in the first place. Also no mention of Western oil interests there now.

Breakthrough in human evolution announced

Washington, DC — Scientists announced to a grateful world that they have positively located the gene that makes people troublesome & rebellious, and they believe it can be blocked with the right drugs. That's not true. Just testin ya.

Head comes out of butt

Toronto — Eliase Hategan, whose face appeared with 7 other fascists on an Anti-Racist Action "Unwanted" poster, came out as a lesbian feminist and called on the cops to bust hate crimes. She testified against her ex-cronies in a hate trial.

Exposing and challenging fascists works! Some of them leave the movement. Better they should be cheesy liberals than nazi organizers.

Justice for Brandon Teena

Omaha, NE — The rapists and murderers of Brandon Teena, a female-to-male transsexual who dated women and "passed" as a young man, [Blast! #2], go to trial in March. Join the demo at the courthouse. e-mail: nrm@world.std.com or: riki@pipeline.com.

Kaboom.

LETTERS

A CALL TO ACTION

Clenched-fist salutes,

Before I begin on this journey I would like to pay tribute to all de Brothas/Sistahs that finds themselves fighting this war against de oppressor and a shout goes out to all de New Afrikans on Indiana State Prison's death row. On December 8, 1994, the agents of kkolonial oppression willingly and intentionally murdered Gregory "Ajamu" Resnover even though it was clearly understood that this man deserved another trial.

We all had a chance to witness for ourselves what lies ahead for us this year. KKKolonial politics and its enforcers are running scared and plan to intensify their repression. As our comrade Mumia Abu Jamal said, we are living in the age of death. We must begin to seize the time and move with destiny at our back. I've also learned that de brotha Tommy Smith (Zyon) is coming close to [his execution] date. If all our revolutionary organizations don't act to save this brotha's life, kkkolonialism and racist politics will gain another foot and remove another link that connects our train to a socialist revolution. Assist Zyon now! [see page 25 for an update on Zyon —ed.]

Conditions at the kkkolonial-controlled concentration kkkamp at Michigan City, Indiana have been real intense. Five days after de execution of Ajamu, one of their neo-colonial fascist agents was put to sleep. This was December 13, 1994. I was placed under investigation and eventually charged for the murder of the pig. De enemy-controlled media has said it was a retaliation for their injustice against our comrade Ajamu's mur-

der. The powers that be plan to make an example out of me and this case. We recognize the fear that is ever-present in the hearts and souls of the kkkolonialists. It's clear: they have waged a plan to speed up de executions of death row prisoners, yet they claim to be in complete control.

Dialectics has taught me that the balance of power can't exist in their hands for long; history ensures us a definite victory. As we know, the fight for justice and equality is not an individual one; it's a collective one. I plan to wage struggle for my life in this murder case against de agent and my only hope for victory is through togetherness, unity, and de people's full support.

It is clear that our enemy has plans to lynch me at the trial, but with the Afrikan Spirits of our ancestors at my back and broad-based support from de people and self-determination, we can win. [Note: prosecutors are promising to seek the death penalty if Khaldun is convicted. —ed.] The forces of oppression are masters of deception, and although they may control all the means of production and distribution, it is all run by fear. This fear led them to kill Ajamu and it will lead them to kill Zyon and Khalfani Khaldun if the people don't stop 'em.

The revolutionary/political prisoners that may read this letter, please, the time is now to connect yourself closely to de people. We are targets for extermination this year, ain't no turning back. De struggle continues and the fire in the belly of de beast is strong as ever. Indiana Dept. of Corrections has recently, through its assigned investigators, begun a COINTEL-PRO network. Their whole plan is to completely disconnect all existing revolutionary groups that have been agitating, educating and organizing. They are focusing primarily on the leadership; this is on the rise. I've bore witness and have been a victim of its plots. However, de beat goes on.

As I write this note from a cell at the Supermax in Westville, the agents of repression are riding down on some young New Afrikan. My isolation leaves me helpless to assist him, yet I will help this brotha and encourage him to remain a man. They want to break de man yet I see the fire of resistance in the young blood. He'll be okay. We will have our day when all de exploited, oppressed nations of de world will crush de enemy into de ground. During chattel slavery times, de European decreed that de Afrikan had no rights he should respect. We can in turn say we respect no "laws" de oppressors pass. People's justice must have its day.

I'm asking for your help and support to fight in the kkkolonial arena that's founded on racist politics/white supremacy. Strength is ours and victory is only certain when guided by de people. My

comradely love goes out to Shaka Shakur for his promise of support.

Destroy the death penalty,
Khalfani X Khaldun (S/N
Leonard McQuay) #874304 / Indiana
Dept. of Corrections / Westville
Correctional Center / PO Box 473
/ Westville, IN 46891

COPS OBSTRUCT REAL JUSTICE

Dear Friends,

The time has come for action. A fellow student, one of my Indigenous Brothers, was severely brutalized a short time ago by officers of the Minneapolis Police Department, Third Precinct. His crime? "Obstruction of Justice"! Admittedly, he was drunk but not in any way belligerent. In fact, just two weeks prior he underwent back surgery, so he was in no shape to put up any resistance.

But he should never have had to resist a thing. He was simply outside of a bar to which the police had been called and for no good reason assumed him to be the reason for the call. Far be it for me to accuse the police of racism. Far be it for anyone to accuse cops of picking their victims by the color of their skin, especially here in Minneapolis, where the police have done so much good for its Native population—like stuffing two Indians in the trunk of a squad car for one hell of a ride to the detox center. But I digress...

In short, I believe that this is a deed that should not be allowed to pass quietly. Historically, we as native people have taken a lot of shit and have done comparatively little in return. I think that this should stop. I think that every brutal action of this nature—hell, even every act of a bureaucratically brutal nature—should be railed against in the strongest way possible. Police brutality will continue unless all of us stand up and shout whenever it occurs because it doesn't just happen in L.A. or Chicago or just the "bad" parts of Minneapolis. This occurred in Dinkytown, a scant block away from a self-professed "liberal" university, right in front of more than a few "PC" types. Anyone say anything? Anyone at all?

Just the law student who was subsequently thrashed and arrested.

I guess I just wanted to tell someone. Feel free to write back with anything you have to offer.

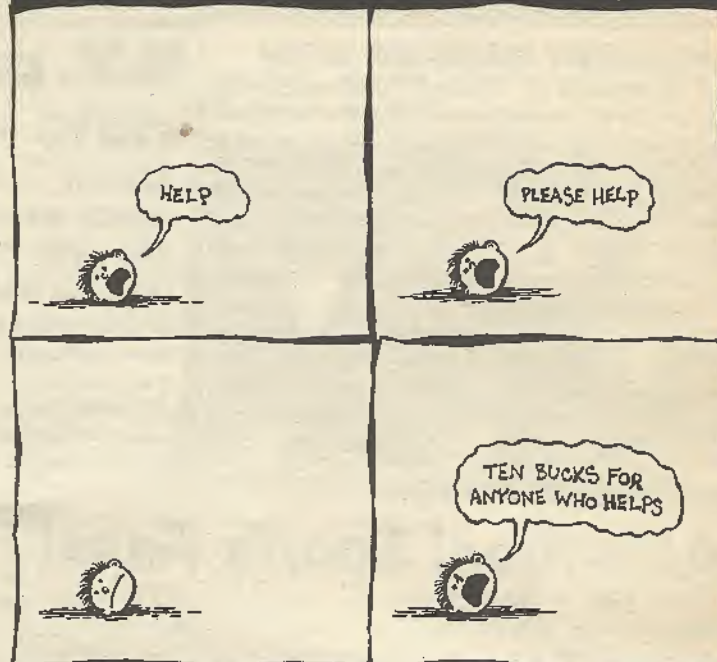
Division by Zero / PO Box
49221 / Blaine, MN 55449.

FROM A CONTROL UNIT SURVIVOR

To whom it may concern,

The issue that talked about control unit prisons in the US [Blast! #3] really hit home. It should be brought to the public's attention that there are a lot of prisoners kept in control units even though their PI scores are not at I5 level to be contained in a control unit. I myself got lucky and did

THE GLORY OF CAPITALISM



Sidewalk Bubblegum ©1993 Clay Butler

only thirteen months in a control unit and those thirteen months were HELL. I thank the Creator that I was very strong in mind, heart, and body to endure those thirteen months and come out of it relatively stable and even stronger to endure the rest of my time in a fucked up system.

Mic King #88601 / Arizona
State Prison-Control Unit / PO
Box 8200 / Florence, AZ 85232

NAZIS GET STOMPED IN OSLO

Dear people of *The Blast!*,

We have had several fascist attacks in the last 4-5 months. In September, forty boneheads from the nazi Radio Nite Rocket made an attempt to attack an antiracist autonomous collective close to the radio station. About one hundred militant antifascists were mobilized in 30-60 minutes and the nazis were chased from the area. Several fascists were beaten as they tried to escape.

In November, a fascist march took place in the town of Hønefoss. About fifty boneheads marched through the town dressed in ski masks and bomber jackets. The march was kept a secret so there was no time to mobilize against it. Two weeks before, there was an antiracist concert in the same town and a car that belonged to a local nazi was smashed. The nazi march was partly an answer to that. It is in fact the first time since World War II that nazis have openly marched in Norway.

In late December, fascists tried to set fire to the collective nearby Radio Nite Rocket. Fifty antifascists were quickly mobilized but the nazis were long gone. In early January a young nazi was beaten up by some militant antifascist. A young antifascist got arrested the night after. He's accused of attacking the nazi and he got five days custody. (He's out now.)

There have also been three small demonstrations against the

invasion of Chechnya.

Anyway, we hope you are okay over there and that everything is going fine with *The Blast!* and the Anti-Fascist Defense Committee. We have a lot of problems with the nazis right now, but we promise that action will be taken against them.

Lots of love and power,
Blitz squat, Anti-Fascist Action,
and Blitz infogroup / Oslo,
Norway

CRIPS ARE ROLLIN' WITH THE STRUGGLE

Dear *Blast!*,

I greet you with true love and respect, on behalf of the Crip Nation, Al-Islam, the Nation of Islam and the many brothers who are for the struggle. As CEO of the C-Nation I would like to thank *Blast!* for what you are doing for those of us who are blind to the tricks, lies and overall plan of destruction set out in our path. What must be done, must be done, therefore we as one want you to know we are behind you all 101 percent.

It is time we redirect our energy to the real enemy and stop killing each other! As an overseer it is my duty to teach my young brothers the truth and to show them who the real gang members are: those who wear a flag of red, white and blue—Bill Clinton, Al Gore, Bob Dole, etc.

My brothers and sisters, we want you to know that we are willing to subject ourselves to death if need be! Our relationship with *Blast!* and the soldier in the stands is reciprocal to the point of clinging heart-for-heart, soul-for-soul, without any kind of loathing toward that which composes the basis of our integrity. It is incomprehensible to think there can be any type of exemplary framework built without first a foundation built on reciprocity.

The fortification of our fundamental principles depends largely on sustaining moral elements,

without which our movement would be reduced to a state of trepidation. The ecstatic tendencies expressed by our young sisters and brothers in all probability will only expose a vulnerability to our enemies at an agonizing cost to our integrity. So we must anticipate the direction in which our enemies may seek to infiltrate our nucleus and respond by assessing the viewpoint to the credibility of the area in question. After we've computed the data of our reflection into a conceivable strategy, then and only then can we truly unite and fight as one!

May the peace of Allah's righteousness continue to be our strength and continue to bless you beautiful sisters and brothers of *Blast!* staff! Katrina, we thank Allah for you coming at a young age to fight along with us. You have the respect of the Crip Nation and the respect of the largest Crip gang in the world, the almighty Rollin' Sixty Crip Gang, the descendants of the Black Panthers. We love you!

Blessings to you, my prayers are forever for the struggle. I leave as I came, in true love and respect.

OG Crip James Wesley Griffin (W.S.R.60.C.G.) / #627487 / 12002 F.M. 350 South/Livingston, TX 77351

FOR REVOLUTION, BUT AGAINST IMAGEMAKERS

Dear *Blast!*,

I wish to add a few words to the discussion going on in your paper over the comments of Ojore Lutalo and others [see *Blast!* #2-4—ed.]. This debate clearly shows the divisions that have existed within anarchism for a long time. To me, it comes down to revolutionary image vs. revolutionary reality. The image of the revolutionary is that of the barricades, of some macho "militant" with a gun or bomb, beating his chest like Tarzan, screaming out radical slogans. Revolutionary reality, on the other hand, is something very different. The anarchist imagemakers will debate which image is the most revolutionary while others are involved in what is truly revolutionary.

Though the debate is not debated in this manner, it all comes down to image vs. substance. Where revolutionary image-making fails is that people don't follow or join in very great numbers [because of] images. Revolution is born within the issues of the oppressed in their communities and workplaces. The imagemakers stand on the outside, calling upon the people to join behind them. The realists go into the communities and workplaces and organize around the day-to-day struggles of the people. They deal with their needs, they build solidarity for the victims, they build a resistance against the oppressors, and in this

process they are building the revolutionary direction.

The anarchist revolution must come from the communities and workplaces, for anarchism cannot come to the people from the outside. It cannot be forced upon the people; it must be organized within them.

Too many modern anarchists seek to bypass the community and workplaces and go directly to what they think the revolution (the image) is: just a war with the state where all we must do is beat the cops and the army in some great battle and then march up the steps of the capitol and declare the death of the state and long live anarchy! Let's say for a moment that such a thing could happen; it would turn out to be nothing more than a coup d'etat, for the true anarchist social revolution takes place in the communities and workplaces, where the people organize their needs outside capitalism and the state.

What makes Kuwasi Balagoon and others like him different from the imagemakers is that they organized within their community and when the oppressors attacked they picked up a gun in defense of the revolution. Many of the statements of truth that these folks are talking about can also be found throughout radical history: the Zapatistas, the CNT-AIT-FAI, the Makhnovists, and the IWW were all based in communities and workplaces. The Panthers did not just pick up a gun and start fighting the cops, they also did work within their community, like the breakfast programs. AIM [American Indian Movement] was not just Wounded Knee, it was also Survival Schools.

What some are calling "community service" is, in reality, part of the revolutionary process. We anarchists are not out to do charity work for the people because our hearts are bleeding. Rather, we are trying to organize the needs of the people into the hands of the people. In other words, we are not out to pass out a few more crumbs from the pie, we are after the whole pie and while we are at it, we will seize the whole damn pie shop!

It is true that revolutionary struggle often leads to what some may view as just "reform." The revolutionary process is, in part, the act of forcing concessions from our enemies. If we anarchists stick with these projects (many anarchists are weak-willed and cannot last very long at anything) to guard them from being corrupted and to use them as a base for community organizing, then they will not be a waste of time.

Like it or not, all true social revolutionaries can also be called reformists. Were we to tell African Americans back in the time of slavery that they must wait until the revolution? Are we to tell Leonard Peltier that he must sit in Leavenworth until we proclaim him free when we have slain the beast? Should we tell Mumia Abu-

Jamal that he must meet the executioner because we are still trying to learn how to build a barricade? Are we to tell the hungry to fast because to feed them before the revolution would be reformist? These things are not reformist, for our enemies cannot concede all the demands of the oppressed without conceding their oppressive social system.

Thus, the revolution takes place in the communities and workplaces, as we organize the needs of the people and make governing by the oppressors impossible. In defense of this revolution we take whatever direct action is necessary. Every act of defiance, every concession gained, every need fulfilled is a revolutionary act.

Unfortunately, most modern anarchists organize nothing. They isolate themselves in little groups and stay within the safety of the "purity" of their dogma, but we live in an impure world of hunger, racism, wage slavery and so on. The hungry need bread now, no pie-in-the-sky in the glorious days that will come. You cannot eat dogma, nor will it stop a policeman's club. Even those anarchists who do see a need in some type of organization still isolate themselves in rigid dogma.

Even Love and Rage, which seems to be one of the few groups trying to organize something anarchist, burdens itself with rigid dogma. Thus it is not able to do the outreach needed to unite revolutionary anarchists. Even though I have been an active revolutionary anarchist longer than some in Love and Rage have been alive, when I tried to join the federation I was rejected for membership.

As for the question, "Are Love and Rage, Workers Solidarity Alliance, and other such groups racist?", the answer is yes and no. They and the anarchist movement do not set out to be racist. Many have tried to work with this issue. A lot of good progress has been made. From that alone, no, they are not racists. But there is much more to overcoming racism than just good intentions. All of today's political ideologies that base their origins in Europe are inherently racist because they are based on European perspectives. That includes Marxists, New Leftists, radical New Agers, Greens, nationalists, and anarchists, too. Anarchism may be able to break from this tradition of racism by opening itself up to the views of non-European people.

My views on the struggle and on anarchism have made me a bit of an outcast within the movement. Thus, I can understand the frustration of people like Ojore Lutalo, Kuwasi Balagoon, and Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin. It is not that these people and others like them are right on every issue; no anarchist is (including myself). The problem is getting the discussion going that will turn revolu-

tionary image into revolutionary substance.

The fact of the matter is that if we are true revolutionaries we must go out and organize. We must build organizations within the communities and workplaces. If we are doing prisoner support work we must organize strong support (this the ABC Network has not even begun to think about). As revolutionary anarchists we must build a federation that can grow and that does not exclude. This Love and Rage has not done.

If we call for workplace organizing then we need to be out there where real workers are and organize them. This the WSA and the modern IWW are not doing. Even the IWW, an organization that should know better, has all but abandoned its revolutionary tactics of industrial organizing and replaced it with the idea of organizing one isolated shop at a time, which accounts for the modern IWW's organizing failures.

We must be willing to do the hard work of revolutionary organizing and get away from "feel good" organizing, isolation and intellectual masturbation. But on the other side of things, who am I to say these things? I am but an outcast, uncool, not with it, and I have bad "karma," thus it is easy to disregard my words.

For the revolution,
Arthur J. Miller, Bayou La Rose / PO Box 5464 / Tacoma, WA 98415

PSYCHOTROPIC DRUGS AND NATIONALISM

Dear *Blast!* editors:

...Well, I am a prisoner of the state of Michigan, although I am not suffering much more than you as I am not in any of the control unit prisons or even a high level.

...I read about the control unit at Baraga [see *Blast!* #3—ed.] and wonder if you were aware of the ones at I-Max and Marquette Facilities? Further, Michigan De-

partment of Corrections (DOC) has many units (Western Wayne and Riverside to name two that I know of) where the inmates are medicated with psychotropic drugs—lithium, thiorazine, klonopin, etc.—into docility. It's pretty disgusting to see people's minds literally dissolving because the DOC doesn't want to deal with them and get them real help. But I guess, after all, it is all about control.

I was wondering if you could explain to me what appears to be your support of African-American nationalism and Irish nationalism, as exemplified in your review section [see *Blast!* #3—ed.]. This is something that seems to pervade the so-called anarchist groups today. Personally, I am against all governments and therefore all nations. The only way I can see supporting these types of struggles is a vague hope that anarchy can get off in the ensuing chaos of many national struggles? Hmm? I guess I could go for the maximum chaos principle but is that where you are going with it? Or is this just typical leftist BS to counter typical rightist BS? Enlighten me, please.

In the struggle,
Rand W. Gould #187131 / Mid-Michigan Temp. Correctional Facility / 8201 N. Croswell Rd. / St. Louis, MI 48880

[Note: For The *Blast!*'s position on nationalism and national liberation struggles, see our political statement, available for \$2 ppd.]

TROUBLE IS A BREWIN' IN MILWAUKEE

The Brew City Anti-authoritarian Collective has had to get a new PO Box due to undelivery of our mail. We're sorry for any problems this may have created for you. Address all future correspondence exactly as follows:
BCAC (Attn. [if any])
PO Box 93312
Milwaukee, WI 53203

**Q: You hate the cops,
but don't know
what to do
about it.
You:**

- aim one of these at a police station.
- find another 100,000 people who agree with you and storm city hall and corporate headquarters.
- subscribe to *The Blast!*
- all of the above.

Answer: d.

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In Defense of Their Family

by Erin Immaculate

There is an increasingly obvious split in the religious right, between reformists, who are still mostly concerned with electoral and legislative action, and militants, who are escalating their tactics, with a special taste for terrorism. This split was aired publicly in the aftermath of the December 30 anti-choice attacks in Brookline, MA. Two abortion clinic receptionists were murdered and five more clinic employees and volunteers were wounded in two shootings by a lone anti-abortion gunman. Thrown into the media spotlight, some religious righters blatantly condoned the attacks while others tried to distance themselves from them by labeling the murderous elements in their own movement as merely "the fringe."

This division does *not* illustrate a split between loving religious people who "just love babies" on the one hand and crazed lunatics on the other. As a whole, the christian right is united by a desire to enforce a set of rigid and oppressive power relations disguised as moral codes. They put the male-led nuclear family at the heart of their dream society and hope to resurrect a nation based on this form of "family values."

The split between those for and against violent action is more accurately characterized as a difference in vision and long-term strategy. The entire religious right craves more power in government and more government influence in everyone's personal lives. They just don't agree on how far to go. Some would settle for more influence in the kind of feigned democracy we have now, while some clearly want some form of christian theocracy or fascism. While the former is achievable through reformist means, the latter obviously requires a more drastic, even revolutionary, strategy.

But why is this split, always present within the right, becoming more obvious now, especially in the anti-choice movement? For years, the religious right has made abortion their primary issue, and they've succeeded in putting up many barriers to any real reproductive freedom. Their chipping away at choice has made it more difficult for women, especially women who are young or poor, to obtain abortions, but the right has been ultimately unable to win on their own terms. Abortion is still legal and available for many women. And, while the right may have new opportunities thanks to the revived reactionary reli-

gious influence in Congress, it doesn't look like the basic right to abortion will be toppled anytime soon.

Frustrated by their failures, religious-righters have taken one of two paths. First, the legal branch of the movement has increasingly thrown its weight behind anti-queer legislation. And second, there has been an increasing defection from the reformist wing of the christian right to a growing militant faction that has a heavy focus on violent and terroristic tactics.

The Het Agenda

While the religious right has always been both anti-choice and anti-queer, and still is, there has been a noticeable shift in where the energy of their reformist wing is going. Legal attacks on abortion-rights have decreased because they haven't been as effective as the anti's would like and because most people have realized that they just



don't want these fuckers in their lives: Even those who aren't so hot on abortion don't want the likes of Operation Rescue and Anti-Choice Action Ministries getting in their faces with fetishized fetus posters.

To effectively attack people with legislation, the religious right needs broad support for their initiatives. This needs to come from outside their ranks—from average voter-types who don't typically think of themselves as members of the christian right. The religious right can't count on this support for their anti-abortion attacks anymore, at least not as much as they can for anti-queer initiatives. Unfortunately, transgender, lesbian, bi, gay, and queer lives are still easy targets.

Middle class suburban voter-types have the choice of abortion, they are used to having that choice, and for the most part they don't want someone else taking it away from them (even if they don't trust their daughters or poor women with it). The vast majority of them also have sheltered straight lives, and they want to keep those too. So while they may look upon anti's as a

little wacked, maybe they aren't so comfortable with queers either—after all, we are a challenge to the omnipresent authority of their straight lifestyle, and they don't want their kids to turn out like us.

Hence the rise of anti-queer ballot initiatives, which have popped up in states all over the country. These initiatives have the power to pass because lots of people, not just the religious right, are afraid that queers are a threat to their straight middle-american lifestyles—which of course, we are.

Arm the "Preborn"

Frustrated by their failure to enforce their anti-choice views legally, some religious righters have defected from the legal wing of their movement to become part of a growing militant wing. The religious right has long relied on tactics of indoctrination, deception, and coercion to enforce their opinions when they've been unable to do it legally. Now more are taking a closer look at the possible uses of violence and terrorism. The intended effect of terrorism is to create large-scale fear through isolated acts of violence, hopefully cowering people into doing what the terrorists want. A terroristic strategy doesn't require persuasiveness to be successful, all it requires is that people fear that they are in danger if they exercise their rights contrary to the wishes of the holy terrorists.

Like the John Salvi loner who was responsible for the Brookline attacks, most of the individuals who carry out acts of violence for the religious right are unstable, easily manipulated characters. But it doesn't really matter whether or not these individual hitmen have any awareness of strategy or direct connection to religious right organizations. Terrorism as a strategy is clearly being exploited by so-called "radical" leaders of the anti-choice movement. These characters lean heavily on the rhetoric of war in their public statements, which are not so much aimed at individual enemies as at the public at large.

For example, Houston anti-choice leader Daniel Ware warned in an appearance on National Public Radio that "blood will run in the streets like nobody has ever seen" if Paul Hill, a convicted murderer of a clinic doctor and his bodyguard in Florida, is executed. The overall effect of creating fear on a large scale is more important to religious right strategy than any direct effects achieved by eliminating individual abortion providers or clinics.

It is these militant religious righters

who have, often to the dismay of their "mainstream" associates, sometimes been known to find common cause with other right wing militant organizations, such as the various survivalist militia groups that have sprung up around property and tax concerns and racist organizations like the Church of the Creator or the Klan. Much of the religious right does not rely on racism as a platform and most seek to distance themselves from explicitly racist groups by adopting a "colorblind" position, but there is still significance in the growing ties between organizations on the religious and racist right, such as Klan and nazi-skin presence at clinic protests and in other right-wing "coalition work."

Of course, the anti-democratic tactics of the religious right speak a great deal about their future vision. Their habit of disguising their political agenda in religious/moral terms and their tactical use of terrorism, fear, and coercion foreshadow the kind of authoritarian and anti-democratic society they are working towards.

The White Underside of Class War

Depressingly enough, the religious right is a growing movement that has proved its ability to recruit, especially among the white working and middle classes.

So what is the appeal of the christian right anyway? It is easy enough to understand the motivations of the almost entirely white, male, middle- to upper-class and (at least purportedly) heterosexual leadership of the religious right—they're just protecting their interests.

But what about the growing numbers of followers who do not fall into the same privileged social and economic classes, such as working-class white folks? No one can deny that the initial anger of these people

is justified. Many people do in fact realize that the government is not working for them, especially as the U.S. becomes increasingly class stratified. These people feel distrustful of government after years of being fed bullshit from the ruling parties. But they are also suspicious and hostile towards members of society whom they see as different from themselves, such as people of color and queers. With the combination of an anti-government perspective and fear and hostility towards marginalized groups, poor whites make easy targets for right-wing recruiters.

Since, for the most part, the religious right does not hold state power, its leaders can strike an anti-establishment, populist pose, even though they themselves are part of an educational and class elite. These leaders play a moderately convincing victim: It is *they*, the god-fearing, hard-working, good people of this country who are being robbed by the liberated women, abortionists, and

queers in high places.

This kind of scapegoating is especially tempting bait for people now, as wealth is becoming increasingly concentrated in the U.S. Currently, everyone is losing economic ground in the U.S., with the notable exception of the rich and near-rich. To a large extent, the membership of the religious right is made up of people who see themselves losing privilege that used to give them a certain amount of economic and social security. By directing people's hostility and fear towards easily targeted and less privileged groups, the right diverts challenge away from the systemic causes of people's miseries, namely capitalism.

Rather than uniting around class interests, members of right wing movements focus on defending white privilege and the patriarchal family. These efforts to re-entrench white male power can be seen as reactions of poor and working-class whites to their increasing economic powerlessness.

There are other aspects of the religious right that people find appealing. In the context of american society, in which "democracy" is basically a meaningless term for the vast majority of people, one such aspect is the chance to participate in a movement.

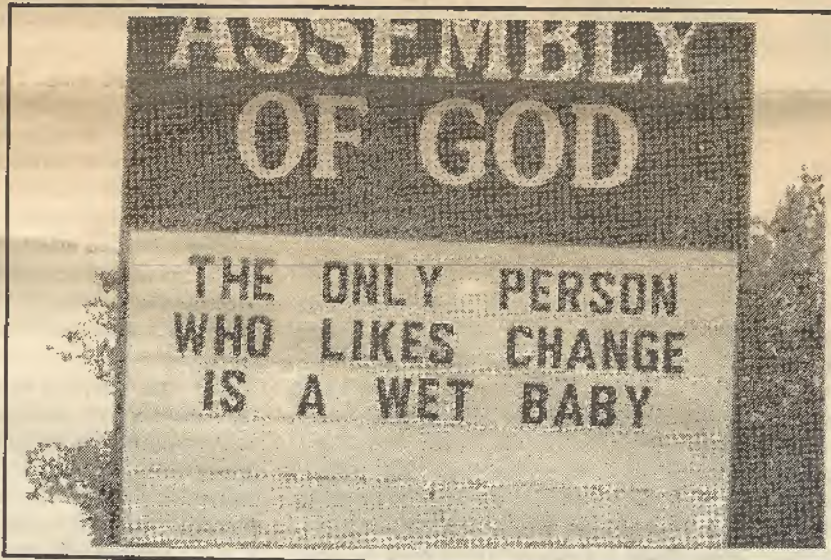


photo: Rachel Sussman

Many people who join the christian right are jumping at the chance to participate in trying to change society. This movement provides an opportunity for people to exercise power where they may none before. This is true even for those who are essentially being "put in their place" by the right.

Women who have found careers in leadership positions of the christian right are prominent examples of this. Ironically, the movement has given articulate and talented women the chance to momentarily escape the narrow roles it prescribes for them. Thus the contradiction illustrated by female leaders, such as Beverly LaHaye of the Heritage Foundation, who attempt to force (white) women such as themselves back to the kitchens and nurseries of the nuclear family home even while enjoying the power that their public careers as lobbyists and organizers for the religious right bring them.

LOVE AND RAGE

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From Reaction to Freedom

So what does all this mean for resistance to reactionary religious movements? First of all, we need to stop thinking of the right as made up of undifferentiated flocks of brainwashed hicks or lone nut-cases. It makes as little sense to write off large numbers of people as hopelessly reactionary as it does to assume that the working-class is inherently revolutionary.

It is not true that people who are marginalized and exploited in this society will necessarily organize along reactionary lines when they do organize themselves. As the rise of the religious right illustrates, it is just as likely that given the ideological manipulation and indoctrination we face in this society, ordinary people will form repressive movements, even if these movements are contradictory to their long-term interests.

At the same time, the rise of the religious right illustrates that people are actively looking for solutions that are not offered by the political establishment of this country. It proves that people are not entirely apathetic—in fact they are angry about the conditions of their lives and are looking for causes and solutions.

Of course, the solutions offered by the right are painfully hollow, as well as reactionary. Ultimately, the society that the religious right is trying to create—some variation of a repressive and orderly "free-market" religious state—would not be in the interests even of most members of that social group whom the religious right offers privilege: white men. The privileges of normative heterosexuality, of power in the patriarchal family, and of whiteness are still lame compensation for accepting one's place in the kind of repressive, rigidly hierarchical, and highly class-stratified society that the religious right offers. That's what any effective movement against the right has to prove to people.

As an anti-democratic movement, the religious right cannot even begin to talk about freedom. However, we

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can. We need to approach the people who are currently vulnerable to recruitment by the religious right and begin by exposing the hollowness of the right's promises. People's interests do not lie in policing the boundaries of identity, whiteness, sexuality, and social institutions such as the family—this strategy only diverts attention from those who actually hold political and economic power in this society. We need to convince folks that their interests lie in organizing, from the ground up, a democratic and anti-capitalist movement that attacks all social inequality.

While the religious right only offers to exchange the present authoritarian society for another one, our vision of the possible is very different. Freedom is to be found in collectively creating a new future society, which can only be accomplished by a movement based on coalition, cooperation, and democracy from the grassroots. Any movement that can pose a challenge to the divisive and authoritarian tactics of the right will be one of collective struggle of diverse organizations and communities towards a common goal of liberation.

Anti-Fascist Defense Committee

See back page (28) for an update on Kieran Frazier Knutson's case.



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FROM PROTEST TO RESISTANCE

Ten Years of Anarchism in Minneapolis

by Kieran Frazier

Minneapolis has a national reputation as a center for radical activity. The relatively large and well-organized anarchist movement here is one reason why. The Twin Cities has been home to several influential collectives, zines and counter-institutions. This two-part series will try to record the history of and draw lessons from these different projects. Although I am attempting to be objective, these articles will of course reflect my own experiences.

Part I: Backroom Anarchist Books & RABL

Backroom Anarchist Books

The current anarchist movement in the Twin Cities can trace its origins to a bookstore project started in 1985 called Backroom Anarchist Books. There had been anarchists active in the anti-war and co-op movements in Minneapolis during the 1960s and 1970s, but the link between them and the new wave of anarchists that came up in the mid-80s through the punk scene was pretty thin. The young people that ran the Backroom were pretty much on their own.

The folks that came together to open the bookstore were young: all were teenagers or in their twenties, with a large number coming from Minneapolis's huge punk scene.

The Punk Scene

It was a rebel scene. Kids sported huge mohawks and spiked up hair, big ass boots, and studded leather jackets emblazoned with band names and political slogans. Many punks attended peace demonstrations, and many more went spray painting, did underage drinking and took illegal drugs.

As you can guess, the Minneapolis Police Department wasn't too fond of punk rockers (and vice versa!). A number of punks discovered the cost of straying too far from whiteville, suffering severe beatings and arrests.

Along with punks, the driving force behind the bookstore was an anarchist-pagan coven calling themselves Arachne's Veil, and former editors of an underground high school newspaper with a libertarian bent called Jailbreak! The Backroom Anarchist Books got its name from its first location, in the back room of Mayday Books, the leftist bookstore then located above Modern Times restaurant on Chicago Avenue in the Powderhorn/Central neighborhood.

In 1986, the bookstore moved to a 27th and Nicollet storefront, expanded its books and magazines, added record and t-shirt sales, and started a small food shelf.

The Backroom became an important center for the Twin Cities' radical and youth scenes. Rent parties and punk gigs would pack 'em in, and Anarchist meetings and forums were held there. The Backroom organized a North American anarchist gathering in 1987.

The police continuously harassed the place, shining their spotlights into meetings and raiding parties.

In the course of running the bookstore, political differences began to surface. Some folks, influenced by *Class War* and other action-oriented papers and groups, wanted to do more direct actions. They saw the need to hook up with others who were dissatisfied with the system and were in some way

fight erupted in the collective and the split became permanent.

The bookstore teetered on for a few more months, but with little unity among the collective and RABL's attention turning to street protests, it couldn't last. None the less, it played a significant part in es-



Backroom Anarchist Books collective meeting.

rebelling. This group of people wanted to see a fighting anarchist movement, and had no ideological problems with violence — "From protest to resistance," as the anarcho-punk band Conflict put it. This group, later to coalesce as the Revolutionary Anarchist Bowling League, took a harder stance against some of the racism, sexism, and homophobia that was present in the looseness of the punk and anarchist scene.

The other main group in the collective saw the RABL members as too leftist, too young, and not thoughtful enough. This other group worried that the militants' actions and rhetoric were bringing down repression the bookstore. Instead of a fighting movement, they sought to build more of an "anarchist community" that they could survive in.

The Baldies

The differences came to a head over anarchist relations with the Baldies, an anti-racist skinhead crew that ran in the margins of the punk scene, but was more multi-racial and working class. RABL saw the Baldies as a very positive development in the youth scene, givin' them respect for their anti-racist stance and their on-going campaign to drive the White Knights, a nazi-skinhead group, out of the scene by any means necessary. In fact, a couple of RABL members were Baldies.

The other faction in the Backroom collective saw the Baldies as young, macho thugs who they couldn't relate to. When this faction undemocratically called a forum at the bookstore to slam the Baldies, a huge

fight erupted in the collective and the split became permanent.

The Revolutionary Anarchist Bowling League

RABL began in 1987 as an ongoing action group. The collective met once a week and participated in demonstrations, went spray-painting, and put out leaflets and a lively newspaper called *RABL Rouser*. RABL had some very well-read and articulate writers, some youth in high school tightly connected to the punk and anti-racist skin scenes, and an incredible artist that gave RABL's propaganda a boldness and beauty that stood out. This combination gave RABL, for a time, the ability to assert radical and militant politics clearly and creatively with a base of support to back them up.

U.S. out of Honduras!

The first action that RABL participated in was a takeover of an abandoned house with a homeless group in December, 1987. But the actions that first put RABL on the front page were the mass protests against President Reagan's sending of U.S. troops to Honduras to back up the anti-Sandinista *contras*, and the threat of a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua in March of 1988.

When news of the troop movements became known, Pledge of Resistance and Women Against Military Madness (two anti-war groups) called for a demonstration in Uptown Minneapolis, an area where punks, skaters, and anti-racist skins (RABL's base) hung out. The demonstration swelled to 500 and quickly took over the

Lake St. and Hennepin Ave. intersection. Groups of youth pulled bus benches and dumpsters into the street for barricades. Spray-painted slogans were everywhere, and rocks and bottles were gathered. The cops were chased off. This was no ordinary demo! After a couple of hours, the police returned in force, with helmets, sticks, dogs, tear gas, and a van.

In response, members of WAMM formed a line between the youthful protestors and the riot police readying for an assault. The cops were stuck and the protestors split, but not before the people in the street called another demo for the next night.

The next night, more than 800 were in the street, and another scenario of graffiti, barricades, and pelting of cops followed. RABL had prepared for this demo, bringing a flyer defending the actions of the previous night, bandanas for folks to cover their faces, and a plan to agitate for attacking a military recruiting station. A couple of hours into the protest, the crowd voted to march 13 blocks to that station,

where dozens of protesters smashed windows with rocks, sticks, bottles, and a bowling ball.

The next day, the media went into full swing, trying to discredit the protesters and play up the division between radicals and more moderate elements in the anti-war movement.

In response, the Coalition to Stop the War was formed, made up of many different organizations, including RABL, who all agreed not to slag each other in the press, and reached points of tactical unity for each demonstration. Several more demos followed in Minneapolis and similar resistance occurred across the country.

Reagan withdrew the troops and the protests dwindled, but a major victory had been won — we had seen the empire blink.

RABL came out of that struggle confident, cocky really. We were proud of the contributions we had made, chief among them opening space for militant action, articulating the demands of a new generation of street-based demonstrators, and connecting the war in Central America with the repressive system here in the U.S. and with the police in particular.

We were able to learn the kind of lessons you can only learn from intense struggle. Tactical ones, like how to build barricades and carry out militant attacks from large crowds without suffering arrests, and more strategic ones like dealing with media lies and functioning within broad coalitions. We had identified our base and were ready to up the struggle.



Hundreds rally in Peavy Plaza against US intervention in Central America, March 1988.

Getting Bashed at Bash the Rich

For our next project, we chose to address the yuppification of Uptown and the increasing police presence there with a "Bash the Rich" rally in early June. There was a growing class-consciousness in the Uptown youth scene in response to the gentrification efforts, punks' interest in Class War (an anarchist group in Britain who pioneered the "Bash the Rich" rallies), and the pro-working-class lyrics of the bands the Baldies listened to. The phenomenon of "bum rushing," basically a run-in-and-out-with-a-bunch-of-people kind of shoplifting, had recently been brought to Minneapolis. RABL was hopeful we could combine all of the elements with the spirit of the March demos that still lingered. RABL had grown some from the Honduras demos and several Baldies and punks worked on building the rally.

We did not try to build any kind of coalition for this action. We were convinced that RABL alone could unite the forces that would be able to militantly attack the yuppie stores and defend themselves from the police. We were wrong. But we did scare the hell out of Uptown developers. Imagining a full-scale riot, they warned the police that this demo could permanently damage Uptown's commercial viability. Notices were sent to all the stores in Calhoun Square warning them that they might have to close on the day of the demo.

Well, over 300 people showed up in Uptown to check out the demo; unfortunately only about 75 were willing to join the march. Several hundred police also showed up — more than willing to get down.

Soon after the first rocks were thrown at a passing Ferrari, the police attacked and the crowd scattered. For a couple hours after the initial skirmish, there was a sort of cat & mouse game played with the cops. Small groups would start yelling and chanting and then fade away when the pigs moved in, this despite the fact that most RABL organizers had been forced to flee the area. Several punks and skins were brutally arrested.

While it was inspiring to see the demo continue without any leaders, none of the major goals of the protest were met, and we took a serious beating at the hands of Minneapolis's finest. Our go-it-alone attitude probably hurt our efforts and we misjudged people's readiness for a showdown with the boys in blue.

We had been humbled, but not demor-

alized. Anarchist action was again the top story in the media, and we were able to accept the lessons, along with the lumps, however painful. RABL printed a criticism in issue number four of *RABL Rouser*.

Confronting White Supremacy

The Revolutionary Anarchist Bowling League was not simply an action group. The collective also engaged in political discussion. These discussions led us to become staunch anti-imperialists, defending oppressed nations' right to self-determination. This position was a minority one in the anarchist movement at the time. The prevailing anarchist position was to denounce all nationalism as reactionary, and then do very little to fight imperialism.

This line of study had, along with our attraction to the militancy of the Black Liberation Movement, led us to examine white supremacy and colonialism within U.S. borders. Coming to the understanding that Black and white folks weren't just gonna unite at the first opportunity to fight the state, and that the white working class often acted in racist ways autonomously from the ruling class, was hard. But we were among the first to wrestle with these issues in the white anarchist movement. Studying these questions along with our own experience with nazi skinheads and police brutality prepared us for the next major struggle RABL participated in.

In January 1989, John Laux was selected as Minneapolis's new police chief. One of the first incidents under his administration was a police raid on a supposed crack house in north Minneapolis in which an elderly Black couple was killed by a "flash-bang" grenade. As police dragged two young African-American men from the front yard, the grenade started a fire in the house. Neighbors warned police that an older couple lived in the back. The police did nothing. The couple, Lloyd Smalley and Lillian Weiss, died in their sleep. No drugs were found in the house or on the two men arrested. Another infamous cop, Mike Sauro, led the raid. Laux backed him up, saying, "In a war, there are casualties."

The Black community raged. If it weren't for the bitter January cold, there probably would've been a riot.

RABL took responsibility for organizing the south side wing of a three-prong march on City Hall. (The other marchers came from the north side and the University area.) Hundreds of people converged

on City Hall in the freezing cold, chanting and singing and toy-toying (a South African resistance dance/march). The city was forced to start a citizens' review panel of the police. The panel is bullshit, but the city's response still showed their need to attempt to placate the Black community.

RABL got a close-up look at the power of the Black community, and formed a working relationship with Black activists that continues to this day. One error was RABL's assumption that these Black activists would not be interested in hearing what we, a white group, had to say on broader political issues. Several of these activists later ended up joining a mostly-white, socialist group.

Fighting Sexism?

Going through these important struggles, as well as participating in the strong El Salvador solidarity movement, did much to strengthen RABL. But we still had one glaring weakness: male domination. A number of talented women were active in RABL throughout its history. But the main political lines and most of the street militancy were directed by men. As the group read and talked more about feminism, the problem became more and more obvious. Instead of diving into the problem head-on by studying more and trying to move into more feminist-oriented mass work that would have brought us closer working relationships with young, working-class women, we looked for a quick fix.

Without any real previous common work together, and with some sharp differences evident, a group of women with

largely cultural-feminist politics was recruited to join RABL. The group was unofficially restructured from an action-oriented collective to a consciousness-raising group modeled on the feminist collectives of the 70s. This process was extremely helpful in examining gender dynamics within the group and understanding how deep male supremacy is soaked into society. However, the way we went about it did not provide strategies for transforming that society. RABL became very internal and therapy-like. When we returned to outside politics, the kind of projects we picked were met with hostility from other radical and queer women.

For example, one of the campaigns we decided on was protesting lesbian S&M in the queer movement, on the basis that S&M was inherently oppressive in its eroticization of domination, and that lesbian S&M was an example of woman-hating and internalized sexism. Now, some of the RABL women who organized the campaign had been in oppressive relationships involving S&M and have every right to be given a hearing.

However, other radical feminists opposed this view as one-dimensional and stifling of sexual freedom. And having a mixed group (women and men, queer and straight) attack a section of the lesbian community was none too popular with many radical women and was rightly regarded as a sexist and homophobic intrusion.

On a strategic level, the anti-S&M campaign was flawed too, since it focused our energies on films, magazines, and queer pride sponsorships, and not on any of the main institutions that hold lesbians and other women down. Neither did the cam-

continued on page 17

UNITED FRONT with FREEDOM ROAD

Much of the North American anarchist movement still takes a narrowly hostile view of working with socialists and communists. Some of this comes from a historical understanding of the counter-revolutionary role played by Marxist-Leninists during mass uprisings (Russia 1917, Spain 1936, France 1968, South Africa 1993...). But another reason, often left unsaid, is our fear of putting out anarchist politics and strategic proposals among communities in struggle.

It's one thing to slag off "commies" as idiots and authoritarian monsters while campin' out at the anarchist clubhouse. It's an entirely different thing to enter into struggle in an alliance with folks who are doing the same work but have very different politics. Having to explain revolutionary anarchist politics in meetings and in the streets, often counterposed to other groups' positions, forces us to be organized, articulate, and constantly analyzing new developments that change the situation and what the appropriate response is.

This is essentially what happened when RABL was part of a bloc with, among others, groups that Freedom Road Socialist Organization worked inside during the U.S. Out of Honduras movement. Freedom Road is a national Marxist-Leninist group whose origins lie mainly in the pro-Maoist tendency of the 1960s-1970s New Left.

Together, we successfully overthrew the middle-class/pacifist mafia that had been running the "peace" movement in the Twin Cities for some time and opened up enormous space for more radical, militant, and especially (through our leaflets, speakers, and RABL Rouser) anarchist politics.

Since then, revolutionary anarchists and FRSO have worked together in some of the Twin Cities' most important struggles, such as the Central America movement, campaigns against police brutality, and battling Operation Rescue's "Summer of Refuge." Recently Freedom Road members have given tremendous support to the mainly-anarchist Anti-Fascist Defense Committee.

This is not any kind of endorsement or apology for the authoritarian and ultimately counter-revolutionary politics of Marxism-Leninism. In fact, having a solid critique of Marxism has helped build a "united front" with Freedom Road because there is an understanding of what unites us and what separates us, where it is possible to work together and where it is not.

There have been sharply divergent approaches to some struggles and sectarian errors made by both sides, but overall a relationship has developed based on respect, solidarity, and understanding of our political differences.

—K-Dog

The Coup is a hip hop band whose cool grooves and revolutionary lyrics emanate from Oakland, California. They have two releases, *Kill My Landlord* and the new *Genocide and Juice*. The Coup were interviewed over the phone in January by Adam, Justine, and Katrina. The Coup is Boots, E-Roc, and Pam. Special thanks to KFAI -FM for the use of their studio and equipment.

Justine: Where are you all originally from and how did you all get together?
E-Roc: Well, the base is Oakland, California. I'm from Oakland, Boots is from Oakland and Pam... Pam, where you from?

Pam: San Mateo.

E-Roc: Me and Boots, we was working at UPS. We was independent.

Boots: We was in the bellies of the [UPS] planes just rappin' and then we just put out something independent, ya know, that came out on this compilation called "Dope, Like a Pound or a Key." Then what happened, E-Roc?

E-Roc: The label hooked up with us, then they signed us. During the transition Pam joined with us and she was doing cuts off the album. We been together like that for four years.

Katrina: What's your basic political ideology?

Boots: Myself, I break down everything into economics, which I think is the basis of oppression and exploitation. You know, you can oppress somebody by keeping them from doing something but what's the reason for the oppression? Are you oppressing them because you're just psycho or are you oppressing them because you're benefiting off of it? That's where economics comes in, breaking down capitalism.

I think capitalism is the root of all oppression and exploitation, so therefore I believe in a communal system—you can call it socialism, you can call it communism—where everybody puts in and everybody gets out. A lot of times these words have been given bad names from institutions such as the Soviet Union or from people who have put out these ideas who have said that they follow them but really didn't follow them completely. A

lot of people have different ideas about what they say socialism is but it's basically the people running things. You know, the actual people who are in it, not a few people deciding they're gonna distribute things, but the people running things. So that's basically my ideas: self-determination, self-government, which is communism, socialism.

Justine: Do Pam and E-Roc wanna answer?

Pam: No, I think Boots said it all.

E-Roc: Yeah, you know.

Pam: I'm the DJ so I'm with what they're saying.

Justine: Some groups put out the idea that the working class is the key to revolution, but can we lump the experiences of the white working class together with

those of the Black working class?

Boots: What I think is like this: Strategically, the working class is, across the line, in the same situation. Tactically, people have different experiences because of the way the system works. I mean, we are separate, you know what I'm saying? We are exploited in different ways.

For instance, when we're rapping we're talking to Black folks because that's who's gonna listen to it. But what we are saying, what we are talking is an analysis that's scientific. We are talking about an international perspective, but we are organizing the Black community for the simple fact that they don't get organized in that way. But to have a revolution that is gonna affect the whole world you're gonna have to have the whole world that is being exploited have a revolution, which means the working class at some point has to be organized on all fronts.

But I think sometimes organizations have a view of multinational unity which isn't practical. For instance, a lot of groups will say that they are for multiracial unity but they say the Black folks are gonna lead things, so what you get is organizations which are comprised predominantly of white activists who organize in the Black community. You don't see them organizing so much in the white working class neighborhoods because it's a whole different dynamic. You have to organize against racism in a whole different way. You have to organize around economic factors in a different way. It's much more romantic for an



activist who becomes politically conscious to go into the Black community and say "Now I'm doing something," and nothing ends up happening. The Black community doesn't want to be involved in a group that's led by mainly white activists and the white community is not gonna organize itself without somebody actually organizing the white community. So you know, practical things have to be done in order to organize the revolution of the working class.

Adam: What kind of work does the Mau Mau Rhythm Collective do and where did you get the name?

Boots: OK, well the Mau Mau was an anti-colonialist group in Kenya and when we started the Mau Mau collective it was basi-

The BLAST!

INTERVIEW

cally a cultural organization—and it still is—which puts revolutionary ideas in different cultural forms. Just like any organization, especially one like the Mau Mau Rhythm Collective, which is comprised mainly of people ages 15-26, you've got a problem with consistency. What we're doing right now is working on the consistency. We did things like hip hop edutainment concerts where we had a lot of local groups perform. The only thing was that whoever you were—you could be Too Short, you could be whoever—whatever song you performed had to be an issue that we was dealing with in the community. In between we would have local film makers and maybe show a short film. Speakers would come in and talk; it would be a free thing. We'd do it like once a month and about a thousand people would come.

And we started having study groups, studying Kwame Nkrumah, Mao Zedong, watching movies and discussing them. What ended up happening, though, when the Coup came out and they did an article in *The Source* about it, it became a club more than an organization. On the one hand, this was good because it was "in" to be in the Mau Mau, but we weren't building an organization. So what we're doing right now is consolidating and regrouping so we can come out and do the same thing but have more people involved in the actual organizing.

Justine: How do you all define hip hop, especially compared to how capitalism defines it? Does capitalism try to buy hip hop off?

E-Roc: Lemme clear my throat. Hip hop is like... What they doing is they dictating what's being heard, you know what I'm saying. They don't wanna hear the Coup so they won't push stuff like that as far as a lot a radio play or, for instance, The Box. They'll push something they wanna dictate for everybody to hear so you know, Luke or something like that.

I define hip hop as a way to express yourself. It's an expression and you know different people got different ways of expressing themselves. We express ourselves by coming real, you know what I'm saying. We don't really consider ourselves political, we just real, ya know. We just talk about real situations and break it down to why it's happening like this. Yeah, that's hip hop.

Adam: One of the best videos I've seen is "Dig It" cos it shows you with everyday people riding the bus in the community. How do you think your videos are different from the average?

E-Roc: Well, the Coup's standpoint is we try to keep everything real, ya know. A lot of videos, especially hip hop videos, you see a lot of people frontin'. They wanna have this Benz and so they put all this in the video cos that's the image they wanna portray to the public, but we just stay real.

Boots: We got a song about that. It's called "Name Game."

E-Roc: We ride the bus so you know, we gonna be on the bus in the video. I think people can relate to that. That's where we coming from, so that's what we doing in our video. All our

videos is like that.

Katrina: What are some other politically conscious groups that you're into?

Boots: From Oakland and the Bay Area?

Katrina: Yeah.

Boots: You got Paris, you got a lot of groups that's conscious that's not on major labels for the simple fact that the labels don't wanna push that type of music.

Pam: You got a group called Black and Conscious Knowledge

Boots: You got a group coming out the Mau Mau called Osagyefo from the Tenth Planet. Then there's Point Blank Range.

E-Roc: They're from the Mau Mau.

Boots: Who else that's conscious? See, this is the thing. A lot of times people will put things in categories like, for instance, you [E-Roc] said a statement which is kinda true. We don't consider ourselves political. I don't think anybody really considers themselves this way or that way. They only are rapping about their analysis, like sometimes they say "another nigga is the problem" or "that bitch is the problem, that's the reason why I'm doing this" and basically we just have a different idea. I think there is a lot of groups that would be called "gangsta rap" but a lot of what they talking about is real problems that's happening and their analysis of it.

If you listen to the way that they're saying it, they actually are rapping what they think are the answers, you know what I'm saying, and that's the reason that they're putting out the songs. The case is, the way they (the capitalist system) got the culture fucked up is that people get crazy ideas, sometimes, of what the answer is. But nevertheless you got a lot of groups out



THE COUP



there that's trying to put out the answer as best they know how because whether they do it or not, they think that's what it takes to survive.

E-Roc: And see, we got our own analysis on what we think the answer is and that's how we put it out, so therefore we're labeled "political."

Boots: I mean, everything is political. So when you come out and ask what are some other conscious groups it's kinda hard 'cuz you gotta go by what is labeled conscious. A lot of times, if you're already labeled as conscious you tend to be a group that the media will put on the outside of things. There's a lot of people that have some intelligent shit to say from the Bay area.

E-Roc: They just have their own way of concluding things.

Boots: And where that will change is when a movement starts affecting people in some sort of material way. We will see more people having different ideas than what's around now.

Adam: Can you talk about the march that led around

700 people to protest against police brutality?

Boots: Yeah, this was right after the Rodney King verdict. What had happened first was we had riots here in Oakland that they didn't publicize 'cuz they wanted to make it seem like it was only in LA and it wasn't all over the place. And we're like eight hours away from LA! There were a lot of people that got arrested during that time, so what we did was we had a rally that demanded amnesty for people that had charges against them. We also had a list of about ten police officers that was known for terrorizing the community and we had a rally in the park which started off as a rally and then we had different shit happening.

It just happened that they was having a city council meeting, right, and we were about six or seven hundred people, and we marched down to the city council meeting with these demands. From there, what happened was there was one police officer that got fired, a few got suspended, and they granted amnesty to those that got arrested during that time period. But the thing is that a lot of people had parole or were on probation. There was one brother that had just got off the bus from San Quentin and with the riots happening and people being arrested he got off the bus, found out what was happening, and got taken right back to prison.

So we had some victory over that, a few cops got suspended, but not much happened with it afterwards. What you have to do is be consistent with things like that. Show people that they can change things but follow it up with the reality of the concessions, for example police officers still being allowed in our neighborhoods. A few cops got suspended so you think nothing like that will happen again.

Katrina: Pam, as a female DJ, do you consider yourself breaking ground on male turf and do you have ideas for doing things differently?

Pam: Yeah, I feel I've already broken ground on the male-dominant scene 'cuz there's not many female DJs out and the one's that are out you don't see them with groups, so I feel that I'm trying to make a path for all the female DJs out there. As far as being different, I'm already different because I'm a female and the second reason is because the things that I do on stage I try to do different than other DJs. All DJs use the basic set of skills but I try to do mine differently by being a female and doing something really crazy.

Justine: Could someone explain why you use women's roles in revolution as a theme in some of your songs.

Pam: I can't really answer why the write songs 'cuz they're the rappers but I know they respect women.

Boots: You see a trend of "revolutionary" organizations downplaying women's roles in society and in revolution. I mean, even though we're being exploited, we live off of women. A lot of times women do most of the

work in raising the kids and in many situations, not necessarily in this country, women not only raise the kids but they'll be out there working in the fields, too, so they are even more exploited than men are. They are a very big backbone of keeping the society going. In different revolutionary situations, in revolutions that's happened all over the place, women have not only been the backbone but actually took things over themselves, so we just have to make sure that's something that is known.

It [downplaying women] is just another way of separating people and not letting them organize. We make sure that women's roles in revolution is something we [The Coup] emphasize so it won't just be women that's singing it and so it ends up being a dialogue from women to men talking about making things better as far as women's living conditions.

Katrina: You're critical of drug dealing and hustling and you encourage people to organize. How do you see people actually getting together for revolution?

E-Roc: We're not really critical of drug dealers 'cuz there's a reason why they doing it. We're not pointing the finger at them because they're not the reason why they're doing it; it goes a step beyond. There's not that many jobs... they're not the ones putting it in the community, anyway. We just take it the step further and point the finger at the ones who're oppressing, the ones with the money that's putting the stuff in the community. We don't point the finger at the drug dealers.

Boots: Basically that's the question of all

Drawings by Katrina



time, that's the main question. How do you get people to see? Basically, people that's hustling, selling dope, whatever, is doing it not because they don't think there could be a revolution but because what's been offered to them is the system's answers. You know, there's no jobs, so we have to show how what we are proposing is an answer. Like the rapping and stuff is cool but all it does is talk about it, theorize it. It's intellectual and it doesn't go further than that. It's not anything concrete. We have to show with certain small reforms that can actually affect people's lives that mass numbers of people can change the way things are.

People are looking for answers, it's just the ones that's being presented most often are the wrong ones. People aren't inherently wanting to do this stuff; they wanna find something else. What we're doing is creating a culture that makes it easier for people to accept these ideas, but what's really gonna

bring it through is some actual actions that change how much people get paid, change the number of jobs that's available, change living conditions as far as housing and things like that, just change some real shit in people's lives. Instead of just talking about this going against the community, we really gotta show people something, or try to, at least.

Adam: On the song "Pimps" on *Genocide and Juice* you rap through the perspective of The Man. How did you come up with this idea?

E-Roc: Well, see, on the album we're not trying to preach to people. A lot of people, they consider themselves pimps, players, hustlers or whatever. We're just breaking it down to [reveal] the people that's really the pimps and hustlers 'cuz they hustling the community. So we just did it like that so people can actually relate to it as far as this is what they [the Trumps and the Rockefellers] think in their heads. This is who the real pimps are, so we just put it in the song like that.

Boots: To me, when I listen to hip hop, the shit that I liked was shit that I wished I was up there rapping. OK, basically shit you can relate to and shit you wish you were saying in the first person, right? So that's why we don't just talk about everything all objectively: "This is what happens, this is what makes that happen." We talk about it from the subjective form: "This is what happened to me and this is what I see." We played on that with "Pimps" by saying, okay, you know, everybody is rapping, wanting to be a pimp,

so if we get them into these lyrics it flips it around, concept-wise, and that's an easier way to get people to see what we're talking about in that song.

Justine: Was it a conscious decision that *Genocide and Juice* is more subjective storytelling than *Kill My Landlord*?

Boots: Yeah, well basically I tried to say the same things as on our last album [*Kill My Landlord*] but without using any of the slogans

that's easy to use.

E-Roc: It's a strategic thing, as far as getting listeners. A lot of people shy off the word revolutionary so we just say words around it from which people on the street can actually relate to in reality. That's what we talking about, it's just not point blank. Even in political organizations people say a slogan and really don't have a concept of what it means 'cuz it's something that you use over and over again and it's easy when you're making an argument with somebody and you say "whuppy whump" every time.

Boots: Yeah, if you want to relate to someone, you've got to break it down in their terms.

Justine: You all should come over for dinner when you're in town, we'll cook you a big feast, we can talk politics.

Boots: yeah

Pam: All right

E-Roc: FO SURE!

BOGUS DEMONS & FALSE COMMUNITY

Rape, Racism, and Whiteness on Trial

by **Erin Immaculate**
& **Nikolas Kautz**

We are using the case of Timothy Baugh, the recently convicted and sentenced "serial rapist," to discuss the complex interactions of racial and gender oppression. This case is not representative of the reality of rape for most women. Far from it — as a case of serial, interracial stranger-rapes, the Baugh case represents the rarest form of rape.

We're examining this case because, as a sensational case in which a young Black man apparently attacked about a dozen young white women over the course of 18 months, it exposes the myths and divisive anxieties of our white-supremacist society, as well as the uses to which these racist phobias are put.

If you think he's guilty of what he got convicted of, why write about it?

If he wasn't framed, who cares?

Because this story is less about a specific perpetrator and specific survivors than it is about one certain way that race and gender collide. Here's what happened:

Beginning in May 1991, stories began appearing in the local press about a serial rapist stalking south Minneapolis. The case made sensational headlines then, just as it did again this winter when the trial broke records with an 81-count conviction and a 139-year sentence.

From the start, advocates for sexual assault survivors warned against focusing on this case and forgetting about all the other rapes going on. If you solve this crime, you haven't stopped rape.

They said it over and over. They said it during the manhunt, while one suspect after another was held and released. They said it as reports of break-ins and stranger-rapes in south Minneapolis kept rolling in, as fear mounted, and as police-sketch posters of a Black male suspect went up on every pole and in every business window. They said it when Baugh was charged, they said it during his trial, and they said it again when all was done.

There's no reason to suppose much of white Minnesota got the message.

On whiteness and "just-happen-to-be's"

There. Why sneak that word white in there? A rapist, who just happened to be Black, stalked and attacked more than a dozen women, who just happened to be white, for eighteen months.

But what happened and what the community made of it are two different things.

From the start, let us be clear: We're not saying the fourteen rape survivors who identified Timothy Baugh as their assailant are fourteen racists. They, themselves, are this and only this: Individual survivors of violent sexual assault.

But why are those "just-happen-to-be's" so heavy? Asking that makes you also ask, Why do so many white people insist so strongly that those facts are "just-happen-to-be's"? Why do so many African-American people see "victims" and "suspect's" colors as so hugely important?

Because, monstrous — and systematic — as rape is, it is not the only organized

form of terrorism in this society.

Make no mistake. Rape is systematic in this society. It is a weapon of white supremacist patriarchy, and its role as an institution throughout the history of this society has been to uphold the power of white men. Rape is very rarely an interracial crime, mostly because it typically occurs within the most intimate of relationships. All in the family, you know?

In fact, the historical reality of interracial rape is white male terror against Black women, combined with the categorical demonization of Black men. Rape is an exercise of power — by those who have it against those who don't. White supremacy inverts the reality of who victimizes whom

in society. By turning reality on its head and portraying Black men as rapists, white patriarchy is reinscribed and further justified.

Decolonizing Our Minds

Author bell hooks has explored the notion of whiteness as terror for people of color, African-Americans in particular. She writes: "One fantasy of whiteness is that the threatening Other is always a terrorist. This projection enables many white people to imagine there is no representation of whiteness as terror, as terrorizing." The racialized myth of rape is used as a weapon of whiteness against oppressed communities. The categorical labeling of Black men as rapists has been a much-used tactic in the genocide of African peoples in North America.

Considering this, neither the experiences of men who are demonized / terrorized by the racialized image of the rapist nor the reality that as many as half of women in this society face sexual violence or abuse at some point in their life can be discounted. Rape must be explored as a tool of social control against not just women but also against, in particular, Black men.

Rape is an institution just as whiteness is. We can talk about abolishing both. But in the meantime, face it: They're going to intersect. When they do, you have to talk about it.

So the rare, rare instance of a Black man stranger-raping a white woman has double significance: If you disbelieve any survivor, you're letting this form of terror go on against all women; but when you first hear a news report of the above, you better do a double-take, and give some careful thought to the subtexts of history and white ideology that lurk behind the details.

The institutional history of rape is so painful for many people that it almost seems untouchable, but the silence only makes this weapon all the more effective. Only by confronting the ideology can we begin to, as bell hooks says, decolonize our minds.

Dysfunctional families, false communities

Government statistics show at least 700 women a year report being raped in Minneapolis, far higher than the US average. The first Minneapolis rape that authorities linked to a possible serial rapist was in May 1991. A year and a half later, when the Minneapolis police and the Minnesota Bureau of Criminal Apprehension finally expanded their serial rape task force to 13 officers, they were looking into 14 Black-on-white stranger-rapes.

WANTED



Suspect #1 described as:

- White male
- All ages
- All heights
- All weights



Suspect #2 described as:

- White male with hat
- All ages
- All heights
- All weights

The men above are responsible for the majority of sexual assaults against women in the United States. They are much more of a threat than the demonized "Black rapist."

Armed with positions of power and rights of access, the terror that these men inflict is pervasive and tremendously destructive. Educate yourself about the realities of sexual violence.

CAUTION: The odds are extremely high that these men will never be brought to "justice" through the U.S. legal system. They define what is just and what is unjust. Women must empower themselves against this systematic violence through self-education and self-defense.

The search for the serial rapist didn't happen in a vacuum. The most intense phase of the investigation, which saw "wanted" posters across town, coincided with:

- The police campaign first to manipulate and finally to smash an emerging gang-truce movement — demons (Black men) were threatening the "community" (white folks);

- The still-unsolved murders of several prostitutes, the precise number of which may never be known, whose cases got buried in the avalanche of serial rape and gangster publicity. Again, it's the "other" versus the "community" — prostitutes are outside the pale and violence against them poses no danger to civilization.

The way the Baugh case was handled fits nicely into this context. By focusing on an alien male attacking the community, whites could avoid the reality that rape is usually a "family issue." Date rape, domestic assault, and incest — within the "community" — could be ignored.

Several times, a suspect was held and released when DNA evidence contradicted survivors' identifications of the suspects. Each time the police altered their composite sketch and issued a new one. Each new poster made suspects out of every short-haired African-American man under six feet, over five feet, under three hundred pounds, over one-fifty, under 50 and over 15. Whatever the worded description of the suspect, the picture became, in the minds of white people, any Black male.

The truth bears repeating: The racism that swirled around the hunt for the serial rapist cannot indict the rape survivors as racists nor can it discount their testimony. Just the same, accusations of rape and images of the Black rapist are used to terrorize whole communities.

Ultimately, the poster did not aid in Timothy Baugh's capture at all, nor did it figure in the prosecution's case.

AWOL, a now-defunct local anarchist collective, issued a wanted poster of their own, showing a generic, bland white guy as the suspect, making the point that the demonized Black Everyman in the official sketch was standing in for all the other male crimes against women being committed everywhere, always, but especially in Minneapolis right then (see graphic).

Another group issued an "alternative" flyer of its own. A Nazi leaflet warned against animalistic Black males lusting after pure white women. The one thing that can be said for this flyer is that it correctly identified the ominous racist sub-consciousness of rape in the white "Minnesota nice" imagination.

Opportunistic white guys to the rescue!

Remember the infamous rape and beating of the Central Park jogger? Valerie Smith, a Black feminist literary critic, argues that white-supremacist ideology takes on a life of its own in cases of interracial rape, and the particularities of the situation are shoved aside. In the Central Park rape case, white male "New York personalities and politicians issued threats against black men while the rape victim lay silent, comatose, and unnamed, in her hospital bed." Did the experience of this survivor matter to the powerful white men such as Donald Trump and the Republican candidate for mayor, who ran ads urging the

rapists' execution? Her pain was irrelevant. They made her an object, a pawn of the patriarchal white-power structure.

The same goes for the survivors of the 1992 Minneapolis serial rape case. While they were not comatose like the Central Park jogger, and were able to testify in court, their very real pain really had nothing to do with the ideological uses to which their experiences were put. We do not need to question the reality of their experiences as they told them, or even the guilt of Timothy Baugh, in order to criticize the ways in which the circumstances of the attacks became an oppressive weapon of social control — by the media, the criminal (in)justice system, etc. — in the service of white supremacy.

Justice The Surrender

Timothy Baugh became the primary suspect when his girlfriend tried to withdraw cash from an automatic teller machine with a cash card that had been stolen 90 minutes before from a rape survivor. The ATM machine's camera caught her image, and, in January 1993, detectives tracked her down.

When they heard the cops were looking for a member of their family, Baugh's relatives went to United for Peace. The historical specter of white terror in the form of racist vigilante actions against Black men accused of rape loomed large. For three days, negotiations went on between the authorities and community activists Spike Moss and Sharif Willis (recently railroaded; see page 21). An agreement was reached: Friday afternoon, City Hall. Accompanied by Moss, Willis, another UFP member, and radio commentator Ron Edwards — but no lawyer — Baugh turned himself in to the deputy mayor, the deputy police chief, the president of the city council, the local head of the Urban League, and an army of reporters.

The police chief, John Laux, railed against the circus, the second such public surrender in two weeks. Earlier, he hit the ceiling when a local TV station brought back Minnesota 8 defendant Pepi McKenzie from Chicago.

McKenzie (see page 24) doubted he would live through an arrest. Baugh's girlfriend, who would testify against him at trial, said Baugh believed the police would kill him. His family said they'd heard cops say they'd do just that.

The angry top cop claimed that his officers had never even messed up the hair of any prisoner "of visibility," which, of course, was the point. Visibility equals safety. That's also why you talk about rape and racism. In silence and invisibility, the war on women and the Black community goes on.

The trial

Baugh waited 90 days to hear the charges against him. For part of the time, he waited in the same county jail cell as A.C. Ford (now Adl el-Shabazz, see page 24), a Minnesota 8 defendant. He was handed the biggest multiple-count indictment in state history: 81 counts of rape, burglary, and assault against 14 women.

Official outrage at the "media circus" of Baugh's City Hall surrender did not extend to condemnation of a bizarre TV news stunt during jury selection. The only African American juror to be seated was as sur-

prised as anyone to see his mug shot on the ten o'clock news: He had twice been arrested, but never charged. Judge Robert Lynn scuttled the entire jury and started over.

The jury that heard the case comprised two Black women, seven white women, one Black man, and two white men.

The government's case had two major elements: DNA evidence and the sheer volume of charges. Robert Miller, Baugh's attorney, closed his argument by warning the jury not to think that because Baugh faced so many charges, he had to be guilty of something. The government case took three weeks; the defense took three days. The government called the fourteen survivors and some 83 cops, emergency-room nurses and doctors, lab technicians, and other expert witnesses; the defense called an alibi-providing friend of Baugh, a fingerprint expert to counter government evidence, and Baugh's dentist, who described the gold tooth he fitted for Baugh, which no survivor remembered seeing.

The sentence

Little suspense attended the jurors' deliberations. Judge Lynn's 139-year sentence, however, made Minnesota history.

Any future system of justice we come up with will doubtless still be dealing with rapists and survivors. Abolishing rape will not happen in a generation. A community-based justice process will have to give a survivor the chance to confront her perpetrator, and maybe that's what Judge Lynn thought he was doing when he had survivors and their families address Baugh directly.

Instead: "It was a scary feeling. I can't describe it. Like a public lynching," said a regular court watcher, an African-American woman, who also followed the Minnesota 8 cases. "The people were all on edge. Just like waiting to see someone thrown to the lions. All in a celebrating mood. It was 100 people in one of the biggest courtrooms in the place. It should have been more relief than celebration."

The end

Opposing the way the accusation of rape and the image of the Black rapist terrorizes the African-American community goes hand-in-hand with a commitment to believing individual survivors of rape. Individual women's experiences with rape cannot be delegitimized. Neither can it be denied that the threat of rape is a powerful psychological weapon against all women.

At the same time it is important to contextualize the ideological uses of rape in white supremacist and capitalist society. The personal trauma of rape does not occur in a vacuum. Our job is to critique the political meaning and uses of rape in a racist society while at the same time remembering that survivors' experiences are real and not to be disregarded.

FROM PROTEST TO RESISTANCE

Continued from page 15

paign bring us into contact with working-class women and girls and the struggles that they were involved in.

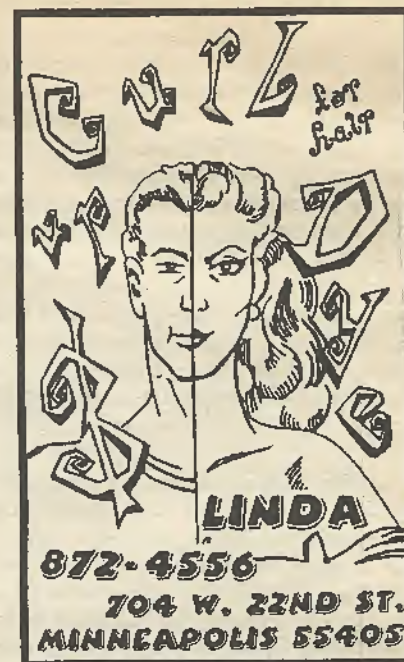
The campaign and the reactions to it were very demoralizing and confusing for us, since we had tied the campaign to RABL's overcoming of sexism.

RABL's Demise

RABL was in a very weak position (depressed, out of touch with a base of support, and out of practice of doing mass work) when Bush sent troops to Saudi Arabia in August of 1990. RABL threw itself into anti-war organizing and added a strong militancy to the demos, but we were unable to have anywhere near the effect we had during the Honduras struggle. Instead of growing out of the large anti-war movement, RABL disintegrated.

RABL was an extremely important and influential collective in both the Minneapolis and U.S. anarchist movement. RABL was involved in some important struggles and helped orient anarchists toward the mass movements. Its accomplishments outweighed its failures, but after four years its internal weaknesses, including sexism and a lack of structure and political unity, brought it to an end.

Fortunately new anarchist forces were emerging on the scene that would continue to shake things up in the Twin Cities. Part 2 will focus on some of these new forces including Profane Existence, AWOL, Anti-Racist Action, Twin Cities Anarchist Federation, and the Emma Center.



A BROTHER'S TOUCH



Mon-Tue: 11 AM-7 PM • Wed-Fri: 11 AM-9 PM
Sat: 11 AM-6 PM • Sun: Noon-5 PM
2327 Hennepin, Uptown Minneapolis, 612-377-6279
"The Queerest Merchandise in Town" 612-377-MARY



When it's time to be blunt, we be blunt.

Fugees (Lauryn, Wyclef, Prakazral) are a hip hop band from New Jersey. Justine and Adam interviewed them for The Blast! on December 17. Thanks to the Fugees for letting us interview them (with hardly any warning) thirty minutes before their show in Minneapolis. Check out Blunted on Reality, their latest release.

Adam: How did you all hook up?
Lauryn: Well, me and Praz [Prakazral] hooked up in high school. Praz is the other kid who's not here. I was a freshman, he was rappin', he was a senior, he asked me to sing on some tracks, we started a little group. Wyclef here was Prakaz's cousin. Man, he saw what we were doin', saw how to make us better cuz we were really bad, and you know, jumped on board. That's how we became. But I mean that was six years ago...!

Wyclef: I really dug what they was doin', ya know? It was pretty elementary but they were really young, she was only like 15, 14, but the shit they were saying though, was somethin' like, Praz had some old hooks like "The Informer..." or like, "I shot, I shot Jesse James," you know, and I really dug it.

Justine: You're from Haiti. How'd you end up coming over here?

Wyclef: My parents sent for me. I was telling you about that whole immigration rap thing. You know what I'm sayin', it's like people hear refugees and I want people to know it's not a gimmick. My mother was really pregnant and immigration was knocking on her door, and they broke the door open. The baby that was in her stomach was my brother. And it's like, like you know my mom? She'd be like "Leave me outta your stories, boy." Ya know, cuz she's like a christian and like my dad's a preacher. So what I'm doin', they're really not into it, you know what I'm sayin', but I had to say that. It's really real, in the sense of refugees.

Justine: Was it American immigration (INS) trying to find out if they were legal or not?

Wyclef: Well, they wasn't legal, you know what I'm sayin'. Yeah, it was immigration tryin' to deport them back. Man, my father had to run from immigration. There was a time in New York where it was a chase, man, it was—what is it called, mouse and cat?

Lauryn: Cat and mouse.

Wyclef: Cat and mouse chase. Straight up. For Cubans, for a lot of people.

Adam: Is it right to say that one of the goals of your music is to combine hardcore New York hip hop with conscious lyrics?

Wyclef: Well, it's not something

that we just get up and say...

Lauryn: It's not just like today's day fifteen of combining conscious lyrics. It's just some shit that we do because that's who we are. We rap, we MC. That's one thing, but then at the same time we realize that we're accountable for everything that we do or say, so we're not going to bullshit and just talk about sneakers or that nigger who got shot the other day, because I don't shoot brothers, I don't shoot sisters, I don't shoot anybody. You understand what I'm sayin'.

Wyclef: Yeah, that's right, it's like I was tellin' you, man, it's all a game, gangstas pullin' out guns. Let me tell you a riddle. If they really shot as many people as they claim they shot, how many rappers would be in the record industry? None of 'em!

Lauryn: Yeah, they advertise all the murders that they...

Wyclef: Come on, man, that's not murder, it's all hype.

Lauryn: But at the same time you've got to realize that it's all storytelling. There's more than one way to tell a story. We have different authors. We tell the same stories that a "gangsta rapper" would say, we just tell it in a different form.

Wyclef: I'm gonna tell you straight up, man. To me personally, no rapper that's rappin' is a gangsta in hip hop. The gangstas are the ones behind the scenes, pushin' them rappers to do what the hell they doin'. Go to reggae music, you get some real gangstas. Ghetto

youth runners, ain't nobody gonna pull my leg. You're in the same music form as I'm in, you know what I'm sayin'? Just cuz you're rollin' with 300, 400 guys per venue who've got your back, all of a sudden you're a gangsta? Let me tell you somethin', man, the real gangsta is real smart. He don't go around publicizing that he's a gangsta.

Justine: We were talking outside about the way hip hop has in some ways become commercialized. How do you define hip hop and what does it mean for you versus what it's become in the mainstream?

Lauryn: It really doesn't matter to me what it's become because I know what it'll always be: little knucklehead kids who rhyme in the corners of parties and form circles. I mean, hip hop is like a folk expression, believe it or not. It's all about for the people, by the people, and to basically stay with the people. Now the man, the system, gets his hands on everything, you know what I'm sayin', and anything he sees he can make a little money off of, of course he's gonna take and exploit it.

But that's ok because every time he thinks he gets his hands on it, it changes to something else because hip hop is an ever-changing form of music. It moves so quickly that the system can't really get its hands on it. You know, we speak in code. I mean, I could have a conversation and somebody in corporate America wouldn't

know what the hell I was talking about. So whatever, you know, make your little money, but for those people who know what it really is...

And at the same time, it's ok for things to grow. Not everything is supposed to stay at one place, at one level. It's ok that suburban kids and white kids and kids from Denmark are experiencing hip hop right now. As far as I'm concerned there are B-boys on the moon. I'm sure there are.

Justine: I want to ask you a specific question about the song "Vocab." In that song you're talking about reclaiming language and the way I interpret it is that you're talking about not mimicking the language of the oppressor, but doing your own thing and fighting the colonialists and stuff and it's your vocabulary. I wonder if you could elaborate.

Wyclef: Let me tell you something. When I went to school I never really learned anything, you know what I'm sayin'? All I used to do was go to school and write rap. You know how I learned? Like my brother. He's in law school right now, gettin' ready to graduate. He's a wizard, right? Not that I couldn't do what he did; he saw that I was into what I was doin' and he always gave me the knowledge. He always taught me, and when I hooked up with the Fugees she [Lauryn] taught me, Praz taught me. That's how I got my education.

So to me the whole system, from the police to the government, is a set up. I was talking to somebody the other day, and just the way there's a lot of things that we don't know, like the kinds of drugs they're puttin' into meat or like the way in the ghetto everything is set up, like a liquor store, you know what I'm sayin'. You find a Malt 40, you find a Colt 45 that you ain't gonna find nowhere else but in the ghetto. Why? Why you wanna kill? So I'm tryin' to put my brothers in the frame of mind: yo this shit is a set up—don't let this happen to us.

Lauryn: Even more so, it's all about understanding, being aware of everything that's around you. As a people, for such a long time we didn't have anything, so once we got a little bit of somethin' we got a little comfortable, real complacent, and we were like, "Oh shit, buy a TV, I can afford a hundred dollar pair of sneakers, so I can chill." But that's not necessarily the case because everything is new world order.

It's all systematically set up, not to destroy, but to carry out whatever that man's plan is. You've gotta understand, this whole thing is not even between Black and white, it's between the haves and the have-nots, the rich and the poor. We're trying to keep people aware, and it's not a contrived thing that we're doing. We don't wake

And when it's time to be poetic, we be poetic.

up every morning and figure out what the message is that we have for today, it's the shit that's real to us.

Justine: So obviously you have feelings about the US invasion of Haiti.

Lauryn: What's gonna balance out this mission, what's gonna be the balance? What is Haiti gonna have to lose because America rushed in and did this, because you know that there's a lot of bullshit behind what the US did. We all have to understand, the whole world works on [the basis of] I give you something, I get something in return. It's a system of checks and balances. So it's gonna be interesting to see how much Haiti has to pay; you know, what's the cost for buying the US's services.

Justine: You think Aristide has had to make sacrifices?

Wyclef: I know for a fact.

Justine: Do you think that he could end up being a puppet for the US?

Lauryn: Well, let's see if he gets re-elected. That's the bullshit right there, look at how long it took him to [come back to Haiti]. They waited so long that now elections are up. What can a man do with a year left of power, if not less than that? Now they're gonna have those elections again. Best believe that the two percent, the rich class in Haiti, let's see if they're gonna let Aristide get re-elected, let's see how that happens.

Wyclef: This is how it works, right? Me speaking as a Haitian, and observing the whole thing. When Aristide came to this country, ok, when he was doing his little campaign thing before the [military] coup, he was speaking over eight different languages. When he spoke in Creole, which is my language, he was like "Who brings AIDS? The United States brings AIDS." That's what he said in my language. "Us Haitians don't have AIDS." I was like this, "Yeah, Aristide," you know what I'm sayin', mad power, mad power for you.

All of a sudden, he goes back to Haiti, the coup breaks out, and when the coup break out, Aristide flees. Now him and whoever is chillin', sittin' back, drinking champagne, laughing, like "Ah, you know I messed up, I shouldn't have said a few words." Money's like, "Yo I'm gonna help you out, but in me helpin' you out you know you gotta look out for me." They probably got a chip in Aristide's neck!

Lauryn: Aristide was for the poor people. Aristide was for the majority, for the lower class of people, ok? Whenever you speak about people sharin' the wealth—taking money from the rich class and spreadin' it among the commoners—you're fuckin' with communism, and whenever you're fuckin' with communism, people are gonna take you out. So everybody was looking at Aristide, he's a troublemaker. But then after that coup happened and all these

Black people started coming to the US ports, like "Can we get in, can we get in?" white America was like, "Oh, shit, we can't let these niggers in, we have to restore their original leader." I mean, everything, everything is contrived, man.

Adam: I read elsewhere that your [Wyclef's] father was against you being involved in hip hop.

Wyclef: Yeah, definitely, my pops didn't... he didn't and he don't approve of me doin' hip hop. He feels that with my talent I should be singing in the church. He feels that it's a god-given talent and I shouldn't be singing to the world, I should be singing in the church. But my whole thing is, who am I gonna talk to in the church, huh? Everybody I'm talking to is already singing, what am I gonna talk to them for? I gotta go out there, you know what I'm sayin'? The dealers, the rappers, the muggers, the murderers, that's who I gotta put myself around. Cuz even in they own book, Jesus Christ was among them, the Pharisees. Yo, they used to sit back, just to converse. Jesus Christ would lay back, yo, and the hooker would put perfume all over his feet, he'd be lampin', only to tell her you shouldn't really be hookin'... So that's my philosophy.

Justine: What is the main thing you wanna teach, in a couple sentences?

Wyclef: My whole thing is proverbs. The album, a lot of it you probably couldn't understand because it was a lot of yelling and a lot of anger. I was really mad. I was mad at a lot of things, I was mad at the world and I was frustrated and that's how I chose to express myself. But if we slowed everything down it would be proverbs, in the sense of I'm not gonna tell you something [directly]... I'm not blunt, I speak like parables.

Lauryn: We can be blunt, when the time is, you know...

Wyclef: When it's time to be blunt, I be blunt.

Lauryn: And when it's time to be poetic, we be poetic...

Wyclef: Take, for example, Z right there. You all know Z, he's from the Outsiders. He's getting ready to come out right? Now remember the thing I was telling you about gangstas? Now if you listen to this kid's lyrics, like when I be listenin' to his lyrics, it's like, he come up with realness of the street, he come like with the realness of the street from being from the street, you know

what I'm saying? Gangs, the whole nine yards, knowin' the real real flavor.

When I sit back and look at him, the way he's lampin', you wouldn't think that this kid would slit somebody's throat, but he would cut your throat if he had to. That's what I'm talkin' about. The real gangstas are always laid back, silence of the lamb. So all of that yappity-yap talkin', you know what I'm sayin'—right now we're going to L.A. to battle the Death Row joke. [laughter]

Justine: So back to "Vocab" again, there's a verse that you [Lauryn] sing and you're talking about "What's the matter with the Black man" and in it you're talking about racism and sexism... although it seems like you have a different understanding of sexism as a Black woman.

Lauryn: It was more for me like being a woman in rap, and all the shit that comes with it. But it's not just rap

in the Sun—"become realistic / bombastic / he's missed it / you don't believe me? / check the psychic / emancipate your mind / set the limit / reach the summit / free your spirit / because you're blunted / from these lyrics aren't you stunted." It's just a message to the brothers, my boyfriends, my friends, all those that I see goin' by the wayside.

Justine: The reason I ask that is because there's this kind of feminism that comes out of the white community that often doesn't have a deep analysis of race and class. A lot of Black women have redefined what feminism is, like bell hooks for example, by criticizing white feminists for not incorporating an analysis of class and race into their feminism, which means feminism ends up being something that just relates to white women, and that white women don't understand what a different experience sexism is for African American women in this country.

Lauryn: It's very different. I don't consider myself a feminist. I think I can sound feminist because everything overlaps, you know what I'm sayin'? All beliefs and cultures and customs overlap in some way, so I may sound feminist at times, but I'm an individualist. I'm all about doin' for self and doin' for others at the same time, whatever your sex or race may be. I just happen to be Black and female, so I'm lookin' out for Black females and Black men, but that's not where it all ends, you know what I'm sayin'?

Justine: It seems like there are some hip hop bands that are coming up now that are really political.

Wyclef: I know, but let me tell you something about Fugees. We don't try to be political. We not tryin' to be politicians, you know what I'm sayin'? We stay away from politics, we don't have nothing to do with politics, but at the same time civil rights, rights of the people. If there's somethin' to be said I'm goin' to say it.

It's like, if the cop is sayin', "You sell drugs, I'm gonna arrest you," and then he comes to the spot and in the case of arrestin' you he takes your money and keeps it, and when he brings you down to the precinct he says, "This is all I found, I didn't find no money." So what I'm gonna do, as a civil citizen, is say, "Yes, your honor, I was sellin' drugs, your honor, but the cop robbed me. He took the money that I was making." And you might take this politically, but it's not something we do intentionally.

Justine: What do you think about revolution? Is it something that's gonna happen in this country?

Lauryn:... The reality is, lose your creature comforts, and then let's talk about revolution. Take off your Tommy Hilfiger, take off your Polo, take off your Timberlands and let's, you know...

Wyclef: And I'm witcha....



Fugees at First Avenue. From left: Lauryn, Wyclef, Pras.

music, it's part of a certain level of society, and it's not all bad, ok. A lot of what it is is that it's just accepted, something that's been there for so long that it's just become accepted. It's not all bad though. You have certain derogatory labels that make some people go, "Oh, that's terrible!" but there's no offense meant when those labels or words are used.

So when I was sayin' "What's the matter with the Black?" that was really written to Black men, because I was tired of seein' brothers, boyfriends, and friends gettin' lost, physically and mentally. "Now a statistic / so dreams deferred,"—that's a poem from Rains

YOU CAN'T CONTROL KIDS.

by Katrina

HIGH SCHOOL = SOCIAL CONTROL

High school is made for social control. It is a place to condition the future workers and bosses. It has a higher level of social control than society because authorities assume these will be your most rebellious years and it will take more work to break your spirit.

Although it gives that illusion, school is no democracy because the principals are dictators. They act as law makers, interpreters, and enforcers. Hall monitors are schools' "cops"; they have less power or prestige than most adults in the building but they get to feed their egos by pulling power trips on kids whenever they feel like it. As schools and society become more afraid of teenagers, off duty-cops are being hired to help keep the students in check. Teachers are the bosses, and students are the workers, although we don't get paid for the work we do and we are required by law to be there.

The way these roles and rules are enforced depends mainly on how afraid the people who run the school and the local government are of you and your potential for rebellion. For example, schools that have open campuses and no cops or metal detectors probably have a more conditioned student body or they are made up of a less "scary" type of teenager (white, middle class A-students). In bigger cities metal detectors and mandatory IDs are common. In California, there is a high school with ten foot fences they lock with chains and padlocks from the time school starts until it ends. If the jeans you are wearing are too baggy, you are taken to the office, searched for weapons and forced to change pants.

High school's purpose is not to teach, enlighten, or open our minds to new ideas. It's to train kids to follow pointless rules and to take directions from authority without question. We become accustomed to asking for permission to go to the bathroom or get a drink of water. We must carry a piece of paper allowing us to walk wherever we need to go. We get used to removing our hats or jackets on demand.

Clampdowns are another way to control students. They may decide to take away one of the five minutes we have to walk between classes and at the same time mandate stricter punishments for being late to class. This conditioning on a daily basis gets us used to rules that make no sense and if they succeed, it ingrains a blind respect for authority.

HIS-STORY OF THEIR CONTROL

As they try to train students to be obedient puppets they also try to keep us from learning how truly fucked up the US is. They ignore or belittle the oppressive conditions and the repeated attempts of genocide in the last five hundred years by the government, and the continuous resistance to oppression. They attempt to do this with social studies, one of the two subjects you are required to take throughout high school.

All these classes are taught from a pro-government, male Euro-centric point of view. At South, Minneapolis's supposedly

"most liberal" high school conservative white male teachers are the only option for all required social studies. Courses labeled as taught from African-American or Native-American perspectives are made electives and therefore marginalized.

Even at schools where these classes are taught there is usually no women's, Latino, or Asian-American perspectives offered. These classes are important. They are a place for more truthful discussion. It is a positive step that the system is now admitting that US history is taught from a racist interpretation of the past. Multi-cultural education also gives those who are fed up with white male dominated classes an alternative. These classes tend to have more open discussions and are less controlled.

High school should be a place students can discuss their opinions and learn from each other. Too bad it's not. Last year two women —African-American and Latina—got kicked out of a US history class in a Minneapolis school for expressing their opinions. They asked the teacher to talk about women and people of color in the course. He stated that they were in a Euro-American perspective class and if they didn't like it they should take African-American or Native-American classes.

What's interesting is that the head of that school's history department insists on blocking students who take those classes from getting required credits. He even fights against having those classes offered, by saying that his and the other social studies classes (all taught by white males) have plenty of multi-racial perspectives.

There have been other cases of students getting kicked out of classes for arguing the "wrong" way in discussions. Teachers are given the right to force kids out of their classes if they happen to feel insulted or their authority is questioned. Any adult in the school can request suspension of students for insubordination, which could be defined as arguing your point or complying with an inane instruction like leaving the building without going to your locker for your jacket. Even asking why you were instructed to do something can



Photo by K-DOG April 94

High school students in Toronto to protest racist actions by a teacher. get you suspended.

CLASS WARS

In grade school, standardized tests rate the level of your intelligence. This determines which classes you will take and whether you are eligible for "advanced" classes. Basically, the difference lies not as much in the difficulty of the curriculum as it does in the amount of encouragement you receive and how interesting your homework is. Kids in elite classes are told over and over that they are "the smart ones," that they will grow up to be corporation managers, politicians, or any "prestigious" career they aspire to. (A sure-fire way to piss off a teacher when you're in these classes is to announce that you *really* do want to be a bus driver or construction worker—a less valued occupation in their eyes.)

The kids in elite classes are overwhelmingly white and middle or upper class. Their privileged backgrounds assure them a spot in the most respected classes. When you are in elite classes you start believing you do have superior intelligence. The school tries to keep you in classes with the same fifty kids and train you to look down on other kids. You then do have a better chance of "succeeding" in life.

Remedial or regular classes are primarily full of working class kids and people of color. They usually don't get to take field trips or have interesting speakers. Their

required work is even more tedious and pointless than the elite classes', and they are seldom praised. They become targets for harassment and receive harsher punishments for breaking school rules.

TARGETS OF REPRESSION

School, like society, is a racist system where people of color are subjected to discrimination in the classrooms and hallways. People of color are not represented in the curriculum and teaching staff, and the hall monitors and cops target them to harass. Like traffic stops in the streets, African-Americans are stopped and harassed in school hallways. They are asked for passes a lot more often than white students. They are given the harshest punishments.

Women endure a different element of conditioning and repression. School gets them ready to accept sexual harassment and discrimination. We are taught to accept male teachers putting their arms around us or patting our butts. We are called "feminazis" if we don't like hearing our history, science, and math teachers make sexist jokes or comments. Women in all levels of classes aren't as encouraged as men. It gets us used to being pushed around and degraded. Even when a program comes along to fight sexual harassment in the schools, it is aimed at encouraging women to report on male students, thus ignoring the teachers', hall monitors', and administrators' roles in creating the sexist environment.

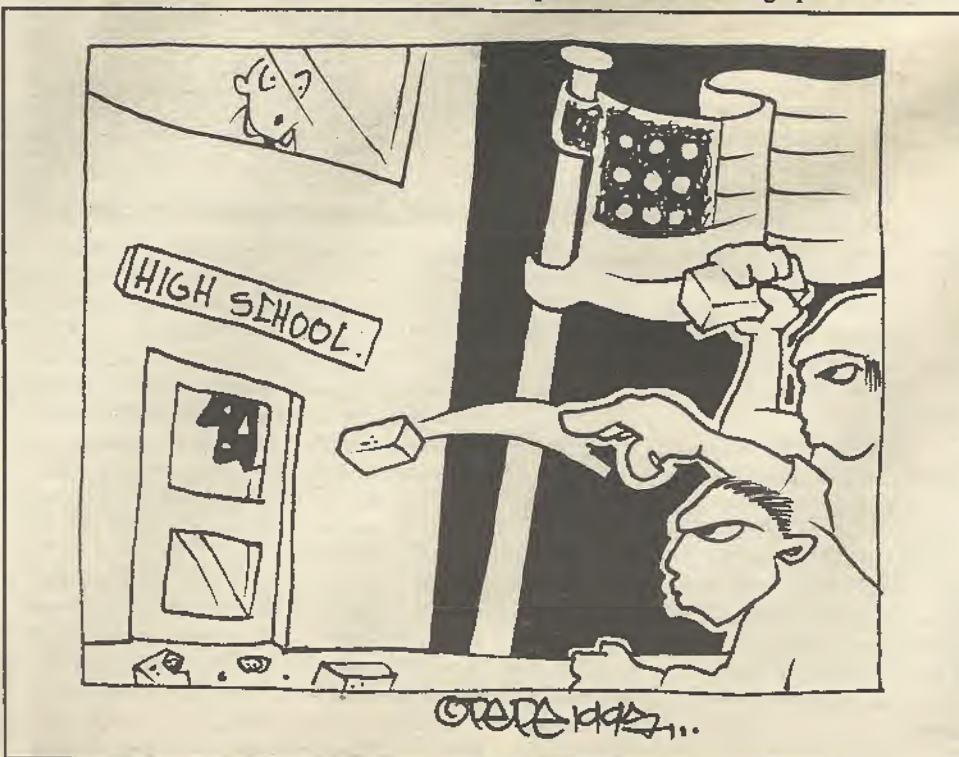
School administrators like to play FBI agents when it comes to political organizations, and in schools it's easy because you have no free speech rights. Putting up posters and passing out fliers that haven't been or wouldn't be approved by school officials is against the "law."

Last year at South, two radical groups emerged. "Children of the Leaves" put up anti-school, sometimes-political, sometimes-wacky posters all over school. The other group organized an anti-school spirit week and a "Fuck School" walk out. Kids who were seen making posters or seen hanging out with the kids making the posters were immediate targets for administrations repression. They were almost suspended for playing cards in a "study" area and for being in the hall while waiting to go on a Women's Resource Center field trip.

RESISTANCE / FIGHTING BACK!

Students have always resisted social control in high schools from skipping class

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DAMN THE TAPES, DAMN THE SNITCHES

Racist frames dressed up with "evidence"

by **Nikolas Kautz**

The single undeniable comment that has been made about the statement Qubilah Shabazz gave to the justice department, which was released February 27, is that informer Michael Fitzpatrick was "posing as a hit man."

He sure was.

At the pretrial hearing March 8, most observers focused on how much Ms. Shabazz really wanted Minister Louis Farrakhan dead. Her detractors, most white Minnesota TV-watchers, heard her voice on the government tape recordings and were convinced of her guilt. Her supporters, most everyone else in this state, pointed out that Fitzpatrick's voice dominates the tapes, and called the government's case entrapment.

The same thing will happen at her trial on May 1.

But in a political defense of Ms. Shabazz, in the court of public opinion, the tapes will be beside the point. What if the government rolls into court one morning, pushes PLAY and you hear her cry, "Yes Michael! You are my hero! Kill him on my orders, and here's a million bucks!" [background sound of crisp greenbacks?]

What the damn tapes sound like is immaterial compared with the historical context of the case.

Plot or no plot, this case shows a white man preying on an African-American woman, exploiting the emotion-laden memory of an African-American male role-model (Malcolm X), doing it for the white man's own ends, doing it with the eager help of the government, and then turning the African-American woman over to a hos-

tile institution.

And then white America presumes to pass judgment on the Black woman.

Defending Ms. Shabazz in the community in which she is to be tried should begin by pointing out how the bare bones of this case correspond to this historic dynamic.

The word genocide is too large and abstract to convey the daily life that goes on during a genocide. But think for a moment of the millions of moments in the past when this same dynamic has played out. Exploitation, manipulating the image of the Black male, and being backed up by the law: this is the historic relationship of the European man to the African woman in North America. When you tell people about what you saw, sitting in on Ms. Shabazz's trial this morning, tell them, "Here we go again."

Then, if you still have to, you can debunk the government's case.

Assassinations of Black male images in Minnesota were not confined to Ms. Shabazz's case in the last three months. The conviction in federal court, on charges almost too weird to recount, of a high-ranking Vice Lord named Shariff Willis marked the government's latest victory in the depressing campaign against Black folks that has included the Minnesota 8 case.

Observers in the Committee Seeking Equal Justice for the Minnesota 8 concluded some time ago that the railroadings of eight reputed Vice Lords for the shooting of a police officer were only part of a broader government offensive. In the media orgy of grief following the policeman's death, authorities scuttled their semi-official approval of the local gang truce move-



Members of the Committee Seeking Equal Justice for the Minnesota 8 chilling outside Qubilah Shabazz's arraignment. Write the Committee (POB 40355, St. Paul, MN 55104) for info on attending her trial.

ment. Willis was never indicted, but the government's case claimed the killing had been planned in his house.

Even so, Willis, other Vice Lords, members of other gangs, and a variety of clergy and community leaders organized a national gang summit here in the summer of 1993, as the Minnesota 8 trials were underway. During that time, Willis was arrested for supposedly violating his parole by snorting cocaine. Authorities admitted they tampered with a drug test, and charges were dropped. Many people snorted at the accusation: "Shariff is too smart for that."

A similar "Oh, come on!" reaction greeted his arrest last fall for—as police would have it—holding up a bunch of people at gunpoint in a garage because his fancy new wheelcovers weren't done yet. Police arrived and supposedly saw Willis with a

gun, but astonishingly didn't shoot him on sight. ("What do you think Minneapolis cops do when they see a Black guy with a gun?" asked one Committee member rhetorically.) Then police blinked and didn't see Willis hand the gun to the man whose head he had just been pointing it at, who hid it under a coffee can at Willis's request. He will be sentenced in early April. He's looking at 20 years.

Farley Cotton, the last Vice Lord of any rank not in prison well into the next century, is in awaiting trial for allegedly shooting a pistol in the air on New Year's eve and having a bunch more guns inside his house. A convicted felon, Cotton is barred from owning guns.

It is yet to be investigated, but invites speculation: Nationally, the justice department has been working with local police agencies to prosecute the hell out of this or that faction involved in the gang truce movement. Don't you think?

But, as in Ms. Shabazz's case, whether or not a conspiracy exists is irrelevant to the historical pattern. Check this: Of all the suburban white dudes playing with bigger-caliber fireworks last New Year's, how many would be convicted felons — insider traders, toxic dumpers, rapists several times over — if privilege didn't protect them from the law?

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Voice of the Oppressed By Lorenzo L. Stone-Bey



Voice of the Oppressed is a political pamphlet written by political prisoner Lorenzo L. Stone-Bey. Lorenzo documents his political history and the climate that has kept him in prison for the last 18 years. He also writes about the hidden history of the struggle of Moors in prison with special focus on Indiana. The pamphlet is being sold to raise money for the Lorenzo L. Stone-Bey Freedom Committee. The pamphlet was written by Lorenzo and was produced by the Brew City Anti-Authoritarian Collective. Send \$3.00 for one copy (leave payable line blank) to: **BCAC • P.O. Box 93312 • Milwaukee, WI 53203**

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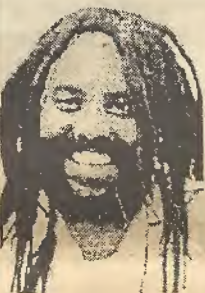
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killers." Judge Sabo wouldn't allow testimony from several witnesses, claiming that it would delay the trial and disturb the jurors' fourth of July weekend. On July 3, 1982, the jury sentenced Mumia to death after a mere six week-long trial.

Mumia has the support of the people because he is innocent and was framed by the state.

Since his trial and throughout his imprisonment on death row, worldwide support for Mumia has grown enormously. Demos in Europe in support of Mumia have been in the thousands (where media censorship is not totally focused on US internal political repression.) More recently, other political prisoners joined together in support of Mumia and compiled a showing of art and writings against the death penalty

that will travel the world to obtain funds for the Black United Fund, which carries on Mumia's costly defense. Internationally, people understand the racism that is inherent in the US (in)justice system, and in many cases there is a higher consciousness outside US borders.



Organized KKKrime By Shaka Shakur

Organized KKKrime is a collection of some of the political essays of New Afrikan prisoner Shaka Shakur. Shaka has been in prison since he was 16 with a 30 year sentence. He has served time at Indiana's infamous Maximum Control Complex in Westville - and he has fought the whole way through. He writes about the situation of New Afrikan people inside the walls and outside. This collection is an attempt not only to get Shaka's writings out further, but to also raise money to free an important part of the struggle. The pamphlet is \$2.00 from: M. Froiland • P.O. Box 565 • Madison, WI 53701



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The Fraternal Order of Police intensifies its campaign to kill Mumia.

During the summer of 1994, National Public Radio had arranged to air commentary by Mumia from death row. The fascist Fraternal Order of Police pressured NPR not to air the commentaries, despite listener dissatisfaction with this decision. This was part of a campaign by the FOP to put more pressure on the state to expedite Mumia's execution. Earlier that year, the FOP had arrived at a demo in support of Mumia and taunted his supporters with chants of "Kill Mumia! Kill Mumia!"

Fight the motherfuckin' pigs! Fight the motherfuckin' state! Free Mumia Right Now or ELSE!

MUMIA ABU-JAMAL NEEDS HELP URGENTLY. Already a lot of people are doing what they can to ensure that Mumia is not executed by the state. January 17 was an international day of action in support of Mumia. In cities all over the world, people coordinated actions to coincide with the inauguration of Governor Ridge.

It's actually pretty fun and empowering to call Ridge up and tell him what you think of him signing an innocent and well-respected African-American journalist's death warrant. While you're at it, it's sorta fun to just up and let him know what you think of the racist death penalty and the type of racist murderers who enforce it. If you're paranoid about your phone, you could write

Ridge a little note. Ya know, speak your mind. Be creative.

It is also crucial that Mumia receive lots of mail right now, especially since the state is subjecting him to massive sensory deprivation. Concerned Friends and Family of Mumia Abu-Jamal, those people closest to him and most involved in his defense, are requesting that people everywhere write to him on brightly colored paper and send pictures. It's also a pretty cool idea to find out if a group/committee/coalition in support of Mumia has come together in your area. Groups like these have been organizing benefits to raise funds for Mumia's defense, organizing demos, and most importantly organizing to make connections that might lead to further action in support of Mumia and against the death penalty. If his death warrant is signed it might be time to fuck shit up—that is, RIOT—and it's more fun to do that with big group of people.

Mumia Abu-Jamal #AM-8335 / SCI Greene / 1040 East Furman Highway / Waynesburg, PA 15370

Concerned Friends and Family of Mumia Abu-Jamal / P.O. Box 19709 / Philadelphia, PA 19143 / Hotline: (215) 476-8812

Governor Thomas Ridge: (717) 787-2500 / FAX (717) 772-3355

Twin Cities Coalition to Defend Mumia Abu-Jamal 649-43579

YOU CAN'T CONTROL KIDS

continued from page 20

and pissing off staff to forming groups and organizing walkouts. Students have expressed their refusal to be controlled.

In the four years that I've been forced to attend South High, we have walked out five times. The last one united us against the cops. It ended with a large, diverse group of students surrounding the principal and demanding the removal of two cops who had choked and handcuffed a woman student who challenged their racist actions towards another student.

During the gulf war, all Minneapolis high schools had walkouts to protest the US invasion of Iraq. Many schools across the country had walkouts after the Rodney King verdict. The student walkouts in California in opposition to the racist proposition 187 were an incredible display of student strength and unity.

At South there is an African-American student organization, and Asian Student Organization, a Hispanic Student Organization, a Gay/Lesbian and Bi support group, and a Woman's Resource Center. Teachers can be allies: they help start, run, and organize these groups. These groups have fought for multi-cultural education and back up students who are being harassed or discriminated against. They provide support and encouragement for us in this racist, sexist, homophobic environment.

Even though these groups are pretty liberal and almost always work within the school's guidelines, many still see them as a threat. Some teachers resist letting kids go to meetings and one teacher tried to start a men's resource center to counter the Women's organization!

One of the most effective methods of rebellion is masses of people refusing to comply with rules that are stupid. This is another instance where teachers can become allies. Recently at South, a new policy

went into effect that required teachers to assign detention to anyone who was late to class. Many kids refused to go to detention or wrote fake names on detention sign-up sheets. Some teachers decided not to enforce the policy, and it eventually stopped being enforced altogether.

Vandalism has always been a way for kids to release their frustrations. This includes everything from graffiti in hallways and on the walls to breaking in and smashing shit. In Burnsville, an ex-student burned his high school to the ground. These actions show the intensity of hatred kids have for school. It proves that school is not healthy.

Kids walkout of school everyday, but when you do it with just your friends it's called skipping class. This is a way to piss off teachers, administrators, and hall monitors. It actually makes your school lose money. They are paid a certain amount for every kid who attends school on any given day. You deserve to take a break whenever you feel like it. Hey, they aren't even paying you!

This is an analysis on why high school is fucked-up and a few examples of resistance to it, which should all be fully supported and encouraged.

Five reasons to read THE BLAST!

- 1) Free in the Twin Cities
- 2) At least as objective as the *Star Tribune* or *Pioneer Press*
- 3) Cops hate it.
- 4) Politicians hate it.
- 5) "Good and decent" citizens hate it.

The Blast! When you just can't take capitalist propaganda no more.

BEFORE CHIAPAS

Anarchism and the Mexican Labor Movement

by Tricia Meleiko

Mexico City correspondent

First of (at least) two parts

This article will look at the origins of the Mexican labor movement. In the next article, I'll follow this up with a look at the present-day situation and the possibilities of where we can go from here, as workers in the US and in Mexico.

I find the history of Mexico, specifically the history of the Mexican labor movement, incredible. My interest stems from the fact that I and most of my male family members are or have been union members. Plus, I still have hopes that the state of the working class is not "on the decline."

Not that I can speak for Mexicans, but things are really rough in Mexico right now. I wouldn't doubt if there was going to be a revolution. People have got shit and now even that is dwindling. People are discouraged and don't believe in anything.

But this also gives me hope. Maybe we haven't won yet, but this brief history of the Mexican labor movement can give us something to work from.

A Long History of Revolt

The Mexican working class has a long and defiant history. Protests and rebellions by the working class and campesinos predate the Industrial Revolution and the introduction of European ideologies such as anarchism and communism. In the sixteenth century, uprisings known as "peasant wars" were abundant. The *indigenas* (indigenous peoples) took up arms against the Aztec and Spanish empires to fight against political interference and economic exploitation by the oppressor. Also strong was the tradition of "social banditry," which consisted of taking wealth from the rich and giving it back to the community.

Peasant wars and social banditry were the precursor to the Mexican agrarian revolution. Anarchism was consistent with campesino values and helped build campesino resistance into militant Mexican agrarianism.

New forms of exploitation: Liberals

During Mexico's colonial period a conservative elite made up of the Catholic church, the military, large landowners, merchants, and the Spanish government controlled Mexico. This led many campesinos in the countryside and the working people in the cities to join Miguel Hidalgo in the fight for independence from Spain in 1810. The war achieved independence but it did not overthrow the conservative elite of colonial Mexico. The rich continued to get richer and the poor continued to live in misery.

With the development of the factory system after independence, antagonism between workers and the bosses escalated.

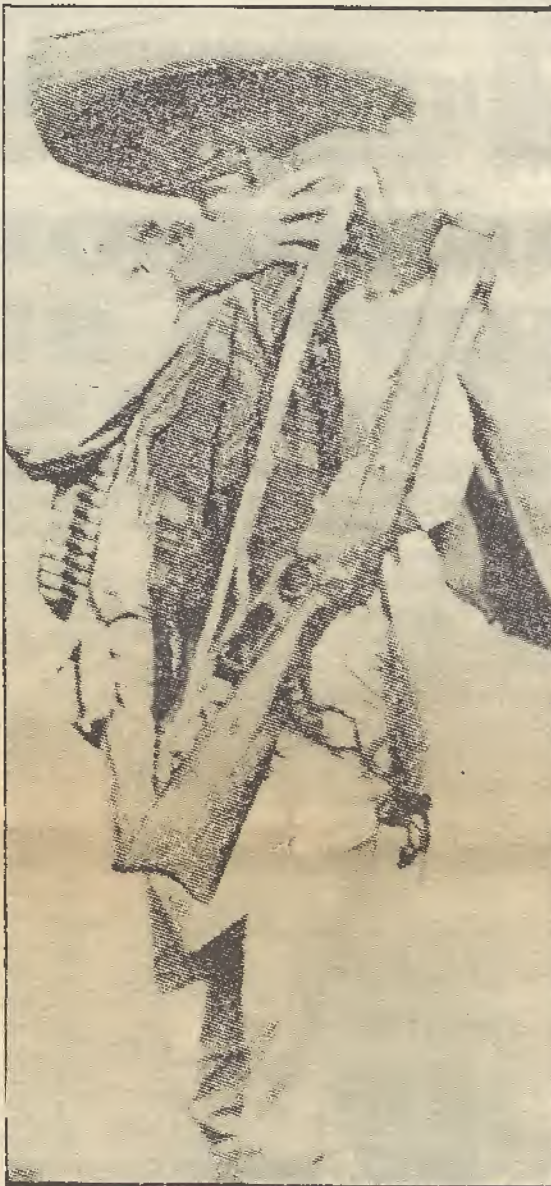
In 1854, "Liberals" took over the government by force, inaugurating a reform program called *La Reforma* that attacked traditional privileges held by the Church and the military. The *Ley Juarez* (Juarez Law), of November 1855 ordered the Church and all other corporate bodies to divest their land holdings. However, under the law's definition, traditional rural village governments also had to divide up their communal land holdings. As a result, the rich bought up the public land. The new reform government encouraged private enterprise, thus communal land holdings that survived the Aztec empire, Spanish conquest, and Spanish colonialism were sacrificed to liberal economics. The initial targets of the reforms—the military and the large landowners—survived, of course.

During the reign of the dictator Porfirio Diaz (1876-1910), political dissidents were suppressed and rural lands continued to be seized, giving rise to more intense agrarian uprisings that continued until the death of Emiliano Zapata in 1919 (and now continue with the EZLN in Chiapas). Also during this period, anarchist theory reached the countryside by way of libertarian socialist organizers from Mexico City.

New forms of resistance: Anarchists

Forty-five years before the Mexican Revolution, anarchists were the first urban agraristas. They helped form the agrarian movement, which helped articulate individual uprisings into a movement. Anarchist agraristas demanded local autonomy from centralized government, seizure and redistribution of land, and an end to political corruption. These demands were consistent with traditional campesino and indigenous values such as egalitarianism and distrust of landowners, labor recruiters, tax collectors, military conscriptors, government officials and an all-around distrust of politics in general. These indigenous values, mixed with oppression and a lack of basic necessities, provided a receptive atmosphere for anarchist organizing. The long history of campesino insurrection, combined with anarchist and other radical ideologies, incited the Mexican Revolution.

As the agrarian movement was becoming more organized and militant during the 1860s through 1917, so was the Mexican urban labor movement. Anarchists facilitated this labor organizing. With the rise of the bourgeoisie and the factory system, the number of urban workers grew in the second half of the nineteenth century. This new proletariat consisted of former farm workers kicked off their land who migrated



Zapatista fighter during the Mexican Revolution

to the city to find work and a better life. Regardless of their efforts, they found nothing except oppressive living conditions: slums with a lack of adequate streets, lights, water, transportation, sanitation, and health care. Such miserable conditions encouraged the spread of revolutionary ideas and organizing in the city.

For those that could find work, children, women and men worked 12-18 hour days. One protest letter, written by participants in Mexico's first large urban strike, wrote: "There are workers who receive a weekly salary of sixteen cents, and this can not be denied. The work day extends from 5:15 am to 6:45 pm... The foreman only concedes five minutes daily to the workers in order for them to eat. The conditions within the factories in Puebla are not much better. Working men receive a salary of 2.5 to 3.5 *reales* daily, while working women receive from 0.5 to 1.5 *reales*. The work day spans 18 hours with two 15 minute lunch breaks."

The factories, fifty years before the revolution, were becoming fertile lands for the seeds of revolutionary ideas put forth

by organizers broadcasting the ideas of Fourier, Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin and, to a lesser degree, Marx. In Mexico and Latin America, anarchism was far more popular than Marxism until the "success" of the Russian Revolution. First was the Proudhonist-Bakuninist version of anarchism, brought over by Spanish immigrants between 1887 and 1900. At that time Spain had the largest anarchist movement in the world. Mexico became a place of exile for many Barcelona anarchists. In the early twentieth century the communist anarchism of Kropotkin was adopted, which led to anarcho-sindicalism.

The organizers of the nineteenth and twentieth century Mexican labor movement were made up of some students, common laborers, and intellectuals, but it mostly consisted of artisans. The artisan class had prospered before the factory system, but factories started doing their jobs, such as making shoes, clothes, etc. Not being able to survive, many became factory workers.

The artisan-led Mexican working class movement organized according to anarcho-sindicalist (anarchist trade union) ideas. The first powerful anarchist organization was "led" by the Flores Magón brothers and the Partido Liberal Mexicano (PLM) between 1900 to 1910. The PLM was the most serious threat to the Diaz dictatorship because PLM unions and strikes were serious threats to the government. The PLM called several general strikes; at one point 80,000 struck simultaneously across the country. The PLM also made the labor movement a major participant in the Mexican Revolution.

When the revolution broke out in 1910, its leaders needed the support of the working class and the unions because they were so powerful. Between 1910 and 1920, Casa del Obrero Mundial [House of the World Worker], another anarchist organization, was the center of the labor movement. Because of their threat to capital, Venustiano Carranza, leader of the Constitutionalist (liberal) forces, agreed in 1914 to recognize some of the rights demanded by the workers and make the Casa the official labor organization of the working class. Carranza knew he had to control the workers if he wanted to win the revolution.

The agreement meant that in exchange for the Constitutionalist's promise to pass labor laws the Casa would form Red workers' battalions to fight for the Constitutionalist in the Revolution. Many anarchists, angry because the Casa sold out and got involved with the state, left the Casa and joined the Zapatistas.

Because of this unfortunate pact between the new government (later to be called the Partido Revolucionario Institucional—the PRI), the historic antagonism between the working class and the Mexican state began.

To be continued.

ANARCHIST



**BLACK
CROSS**

**Abolish crime.
Abolish prison.**

It's official! Daniel Simmer is a Nazi!

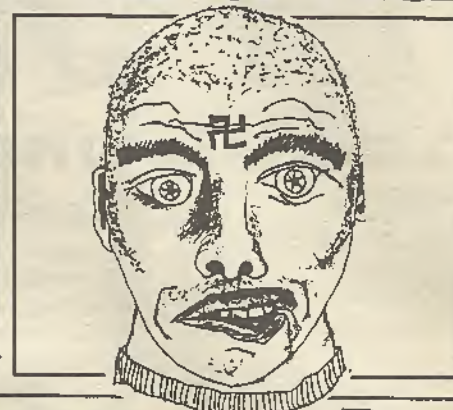
But if you don't believe it by now, lamebrain, don't wait for the trial. It certainly doesn't take a court of law to tell the truth. We've been right about this siege-heel throwing little prick all along. So sue us.

**FIGHTING RACISM
IS NOT A CRIME.**

The Exclusive *Blast!* Coverage, p. 28

**And It'll
be
Proved —
In Court!**

Kavity Kleep ➡



Official Hennepin County Court-Room Sketch of Daniel Simmer reveals him to be a rabid racist goon. You must see it to believe it!

SHOTS:

DC womyn prisoners win class-action suit.

DC womyn prisoners, who filed a class action suit on behalf of all womyn prisoners in the District of Columbia and against several DC facilities, won the case. A Senior District Court judge ruled in favor of the suit that stated that "the institutionalized patriarchy within the prison system made for an atmosphere of harassment, abuse, rape and degradation." The judge gave the DOC six months to develop policies that offer womyn at least the opportunities and services, especially health care, that are offered to men. This is a victory in that a few womyn's lives could be saved by adequate health care. **Shut 'em down!**

Anti-choicers are shooting at people. Now they're making people shoot themselves.

St. Petersburg, FL — Kawana Ashley, 19, is a single mom facing 3d-degree murder charges for shooting herself in the abdomen, aborting her fetus. Pregnant for the 2d time & unable to afford \$1,300 to \$1,800 for a 1st-trimester abortion, Kawana was desperate. Let's charge the state of FL for not providing safe, affordable abortion on demand. **Drop the charges against Kawana Ashley!** info: Counter Attack, Newsletter of Refuse and Resist! POB 15003 Atlanta, GA 30333

Little Rock Reed: "I've never seen a judge do that."

Taos, NM — Little Rock Reed, a Lakota Sioux prisoner-support activist, won't be extradited to Ohio. A district court judge found he fled the OH parole board in "reasonable fear for his life."

OH authorities wanted to silence Little Rock for his political work as a jailhouse lawyer during his sentence at Lucasville max-security (he especially battled repression of Native religion). He kept struggling after his May '92 parole, even when his officer ordered him to stop speaking publicly. He fled to NM where, last autumn, authorities grabbed for at the request of the OH governor. Little Rock is free! info: Prison News Service, Jan-Feb., POB 5052, Stn. A, Toronto, Ont, Canada, M52 1W4.

continued col. 5, next page

'GENOCIDE' AIN'T JUST A SLOGAN

Real. Getting Worse. Stoppable.

The prospects are grim. Our species is capable of greatness in every regard, including great self-delusion. You can have the most obvious evidence of genocide, and people will still deny it: Aging survivors with numbers tattooed on their arms and scores of dead relatives, photographs and motion pictures made by the perpetrators, showing them in the act, minutes of the meeting where the genocide was planned. The liars who claim it just didn't happen find an audience just the same.

How much harder is our work when the genocide has no single, documented planning conference, when the crime is carried out over centuries, not a decade, when the genocided people often live among their oppressors and are not all confined in camps, when mass murder is disguised as "legitimate" law enforcement, when destroying the fabric of the people's society is integrated into the education, health, employment, and housing policies of the oppressor nation.

When crack stands in for Zyklon-B.

We have to believe it can be fought.

We will fight some of the genocide's most obvious tactics: Capital punishment and control

units. We will build a movement of prisoners, their families, their outside supporters. *Build it: Make it grow.*

Along the way, we will confront not merely tactics, but whole institutions: Imprisonment, the cops.

New Afrikan Political Prisoner, Shaka Shakur, has put out a call for an Anti-Genocide Campaign

both inside and outside of this government's prison/death camps. This call is urgent: The state is murdering our people faster than this paper can be printed.

Indiana's execution of New Afrikan Political Prisoner A j a m u Nassor in December 1994 at Michigan City prison

provoked a pay-back killing of a guard, for which prisoner Chalafni Khaldun may be railroaded.

Ajamu's comrade and co-defendant, Ziyon Yisrayah, also faces execution. The two men were attacked in a pre-dawn raid in 1980, and railroaded for the death of cop who was shot from behind by another cop. Write:

**Gov. Evan Bayh
State House
Indianapolis, IN 46204**

Also cc or send legal-fund donations to:

Human Rights Coalition of Indiana / 508 E. Corby Blvd. / S. Bend, IN 46617. (Checks to V. Burns.)

Build it! Shaka's Anti-Genocide Campaign proposal in *The Blast!* #6, out June 1 — but the proposal is already available from:

•Shaka Shakur #28443 / Indiana State Prison / POB 41 / Michigan City, IN 46361-0041

Committee to End the Marion Lockdown / POB 57812 / Chicago, IL 60657-8172

•Prison News Service / PSC Publishers / Bulldozer / POB 5052, Stn. A / Toronto, ONT M5W 1W4

•Control Unit Monitoring Project / Campaign to Stop Control Unit Prisons / Bonnie Kerness / AFSC-New Jersey / 972 Broad St, 6th Floor / Newark, NJ 07102

•North American ABC Emergency Response Network c/o / Nightcrawlers ABC / POB 1034 / Bronx, NY 10454

•Prison Working Group of the Love & Rage Federation / c/o / Claustrophobia-ABC / POB 77432 / Washington, DC 20013

•Patterson Anarchist Collective / POB 8532 / Patterson, NJ 07508-8532

•Coalition for Prisoners' Rights / POB 1911 / Santa Fe, NM 87504-1911

•League for Lesbian and Gay Prisoners / 1202 E Pike St. #1044 / Seattle, WA 1994

•Brew City Anti-Authoritarian Collective, address mail to:

BCAC / POB 93312 / Milwaukee, WI 53203 — BCAC regrets any returned mail. Please note new address.

If you believe this is where you should be doing your political work, these are only a few of the groups to be in touch with. If you're committed to other work, keep it up!

**Build the
Anti-Genocide
Campaign!**

Demand Parole for Lorenzo L. Stone-Bey

Lorenzo is a comrade.

He's been in prison since age 17. He's achieved his GED and paralegal diploma. He earned an autobody certificate, a humanitarian award, and a business degree.

Paralegals in prison are invaluable. Lorenzo has assisted countless other prisoners. He has been a strong and positive voice against youth violence and human rights violations.

Paralegals outside prison are also pretty useful. Lorenzo needs your statements and letters of recommendation to be sent to the powers that be:

Indiana Parole Board
E 321

Indiana Government Center S.
302 W. Washington
Indianapolis, IN 46204

Please also cc:

Lorenzo L. Stone-Bey
#10006

ISP

POB 41

Michigan City, IN 46361-0041

**please see blatant
sales pitch**

"The Imprisonment of America — A Human Catastrophe"

A conference organized by the Committee for Prisoner Support in Birmingham & Mafundi's Defense Committee

April 8, 1995

POB 12152 / Birmingham, AL 35202-2152 / Phone: 205-322-0219 (Makeda) • 205-925-9927 (Weyni)

"Primary goal: forge a broad-based coalition of groups & individuals concerned with the devastating impact of the nation's rapidly growing incarceration rate." Richard Mafundi Lake is a community activist wrongly doing life-no-parole.

There's just bad news everywhere, isn't there?

'Torture Central' Opens In Florence, CO. & Political Prisoners from Marion Transferred In

The new Control Unit Prison in Florence, Colorado has been nicknamed "the Alcatraz of the Rockies", but this is the nineties, and over the years, the government, the Federal DOC, and the Bureau of Prisons (BoP) have become far more sophisticated in their methods of what they term "behavior modification" or what could be more aptly termed "cruel and inhumane punishment."

The fact is that this prison is a high-tech torture chamber designed to administer the very most in sensory deprivation and dehumanization of inmates. It was designed to replace Marion Control Unit prison in Illinois and it was modeled after the Special Housing Unit (SHU) in Pelican Bay prison in California. This is the one and the same Pelican Bay that just lost a suit in court in which prison officials and guards were found guilty of "brutality" and that is a quote from the judge!

Florence was designed because the BoP decided that the minimal human contact that inmates had at Marion was too much. Florence is designed to have no human contact for and between inmates (not even eye contact) and more extensive security than both Marion and Pelican Bay. So what we have with Florence is the "toughest of the toughest," actually specifically designed with Political Prisoners in mind. Political Prisoners such as Ray Luc Levasseur and Mutulu Shakur, who have not had every last iota of



Florence denies prisoners any routine physical contact: Remote-controlled doors, meals served through door slots — even eye contact between prisoners is impossible. It's designed to drive people crazy.

human spirit and dignity sapped out of them by the tortures of repression heaped upon them in the control unit at Marion. Many of these Political Prisoners "were transferred to Marion for 'writing too many law suits', or 'for protesting brutality in the prison system.'" For the brave and unrelenting way that these freedom fighters

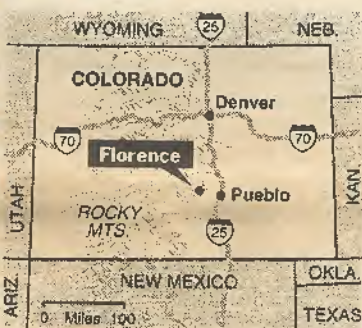
monly known fact that lack of human contact drives people insane and makes them more apt to act out with violence and rage. Florence, and other control unit prisons, are the type of

have spoken out in righteousness they will be locked in their cells at Florence for 23 hours a day, taken out for exercise 60 minutes a day, if that. When they are taken out it will be in handcuffs and leg shackles and accompanied by two or three guards, all extremely well armed.

The other 23 hours they will spend in their 80 cells looking at the bed, desk, stool and bookcase made of reinforced concrete anchored in place. A shower, toilet, toothbrush, and cigarette lighter will be there to look at as well. They will be subjected to the extra sensory deprivation and an entire lack of human contact. It is very com-

— by Burn One

Rural towns across the country like Florence & Canon City, CO buy the myth that prisons boost their economy. Canon City has 8 state prisons & Florence 5. The townspeople bought the land for the supermax. Prison economy is, in reality a drain on rural economy in the long run and only serves corporate interests.



Blatant Sales Pitch: Prisoner Support is Strategic

What will opposing this or that specific act of villainy against this or that righteous prisoner actually do? Many revolutionaries on the outside ask this question — and not because they're armchair doo-wahs.

Some put it bluntly: "I know what you're saying is true. It's totally fucked up what they're doing to Prisoner Z. But I'm already fighting this other struggle. I'm not going to quit doing that to do prisoner-support work instead."

It's a fair point. You can't choose your political work by rating what the enemy does on an Evil-O-Meter, because it's all evil. Mumia may well be dead by the time you read this. The day we go to press, the day we take the bundles to the post office, the day you open your mail, and every other day of the year, between 5 and 11 women will be murdered by male intimate partners. The war against us is pressing on all fronts. We're surrounded. The ground on which you fight back may not even be of your choice — it may be your life. Or your kids' lives.

No movements for freedom will be able to grow in the U.S. from now on if they have no prisoners, ex-prisoners, or family and friends of prisoners. That's because there's not going to be anybody who isn't one of those. The imprisonment rate is climbing, so the numbers of prisoners in the movements will climb as well. It's just math.

It's already to the point that, in some circles of friends, everybody knows personally of at least one person in prison right now. Watching it grow is like sitting on your roof in the rain, watching the tide inexorably rise. It's not much consolation that the houses higher than you on the hill are going to stay dry a little longer.

Right now, the white suburbs and collar counties are the best organized political force in the U.S. The fastest-growing grassroots movements address the obsessions of relatively better-off people: Too-high taxes,



too many slackers on welfare, too many immigrants from South-o-the "border," too many women acting like they (not Jesus) control their uterus, too many queers expecting equal treatment with hets. These movements don't need prisoners, obviously. They want to imprison more people. One way or another.

Check yourself, Suburbia: If statements like "This is a crackdown," or "It's getting noticeably worse these days," strike you as lefty panick-mongering, then you have that crazy form of blindness that comes from privilege. It's not getting worse for you yet, so you think people are paranoid, or just complaining too much. That's okay. Wait. It'll catch up with you, and then you'll act all surprised and outraged. Some of us will already be drowned by then. The rest will just laugh bitterly at you.

Doing some small piece of support work for a prisoner (writing one of the enemies listed here, and c.c.'ing the support group listed) puts revolutionaries in touch with likeminded souls who weren't at their last meeting. Try it. An exchange of greetings might bring you a fresh perspective on your activity. Someone already up to their knees, or their nostrils, in the water may have some choice thoughts on stopping the flood.

So here's our blatant sales pitch: Pick one thing from these pages to do something about. If you write to Gov. Bayh about Ziyon, also send a note to the Human Rights Coalition of Indiana to let them know. Tell them briefly who you are, what you do, and what you think. Writing Warden Hoochah is not "reformist" — No one has any illusion about lobbying. And corresponding with Prisoner Z and the Prisoner Z Support Committee is not "charity." It is a political dialogue with people who will be in the thick of the coming rebellions.

JAIL BREAKS — AN OKAY START, BUT NO SUBSTITUTE FOR A PRISON ABOLITION MOVEMENT

ALBANIA — If the class-enemy press can be trusted, most of the 18 prisoners who busted out of a jail in Tirana, the capital, on Jan. 16 were serving sentences for murder and rape. We don't pretend for a minute that everyone behind bars is righteous. (In Chiapas, the Zapatistas say they'll free all prisoners except convicted murderers and rapists.)

COLOMBIA — Marxist guerillas freed 100 comrades & other prisoners Jan. 8 by dressing as government troops on a surprise inspection. They overpowered guards without a shot.

VENEZUELA — More than 100 prisoners crawled out of Tucuyito prison through sewage tunnels Nov. 30 during a power failure. Some shot it out with guards & most got away.

JUAREZ, MX — Seventeen prisoners on Dec. 13 left the max-security CeReSo prison here through 80-meter

tunnel with lighting and ventilation.

Cops said digging the tunnel must have taken prisoners 3 months to a year.

ALGERIA — 1,000 Islamic militants escaped the infamous Tazult-Labese prison a year ago with the collaboration of guards.

More **SHOTS:**

Brits out!

Four IRA prisoners serving combined prison sentences of 98 years for offences including an alleged plot to kill Prime Minister John Major, sued the British government for "harsh" treatment in Full Sutton prison in northern England where they are confined to their cells indefinitely.

Pelican Bay GUILTY in civil rights suit.

After a year of thinking about it, a federal judge in California decided not to close Pelican Bay state prison even though he agrees it's guilty of a "pattern of needless and officially sanctioned brutality." He gave authorities 120 days to come back with a plan to fix the violations. Words on paper, Judge Thelton Henderson said, could not describe the "senseless suffering and wretched misery" of prisoners at the hands of guards. Even so, Thelton doesn't mention in his 344-pp. decision that California prison guards have shot and killed 27 prisoners in the last 5 years, 400% more than the other 49 states put together. *Decision: Madrid v. Gomez. Info: Prison News Service, Jan-Feb. Shut 'em down! (Say it again.)*

"Bloody Ann," TX governor, speeds up her genocidal murders

Texas has executed more people this year (four to count) than any other state. Since re-starting the death penalty in 1976, TX has led the US in state murder. One of the men executed so far this year was mentally retarded, and after the execution of another man, his sister was quoted as saying that he was executed for a crime he did not commit and the state was committing cold-blooded murder. She said, "They are mass murdering people here..." (Say it again.)

Sundiata Acoli, New Afrikan POW — Has written a concise & excellent history of the Black Panther Party, available from his support committee:

Romona Africa,
Minister of Communication,
MOVE Organization,
in Minneapolis!
Friday 24 March 7 pm
Sabathani Community
Center — 310 E. 38th St.

Sundiata Acoli Freedom Campaign
5122 South Ada Chicago, IL 60609
Phone/FAX: 312-737-8679

E-mail: crsn@aol.com or safc@aol.com

Write Sundiata at:
Sundiata Acoli #39794-066 USP
Allenwood P.O. Box 3000 - Unit 3
White Deer, PA 17887

info: Crossroad Support Network
Double jeopardy — Pepi McKenzie, one of the Minnesota 8, faces disciplinarys for some bullshit, but the bosses at St. Cloud decided to have him charged with multiple felonies in district court as well. We've never heard of this tactic. If you have, write *The Blast*!

REVIEWS

Bomb the Suburbs by William Upski Wimsatt

(112 pages, \$7, The Subway and Elevated Press Co., 1994)

Ever wonder what's up with all the hooded, baggy-saggy, slang talkin' white boys and their counterparts, the plastered and piled hair, jeweled nail, Polo wearin' white girls? Well, Upski wonders a whole lot and then some. So if your skin is a wee bit darker than snow but lighter than sand and you think you're "down," you know, above the posturing and posing, well—think again. And again.

Opening with an explanation of "Why you should read this long-ass shit," *Bomb the Suburbs* rolls on in a wickedly honest and open manner. The subject at large is hip-hop culture and how it relates to itself and to the white-dominated culture/society it seems to counter and yet work within. All aspects of hip-hop (breakin', MC-ing, and graffiti writing) are poked and prodded, defended, and cut down with the hope of adding clarity to a cloudy scene. Everything from "our most abused phrases" to the rise of rapping versus the obscurity of breakin' and graffiti are challenged. He questions the interest and involvement of political activists in hip-hop (C'mon, you really expect us to listen to redundant garbage like Green Day or Ministry?!), alongside the validity of graffiti artists bombing their own neighborhoods.

Thus the title: *Bomb the Suburbs*. While most of us snicker and drool at the vivid imagery the title implies, Upski is speaking more towards preserving the best aspects of urban life and culture by confronting suburban paranoia and escapism. Check this out:

"For all the pain they've caused us, the suburbs deserve to be bombed literally. We're not going to do that. We just want you fuckers out there to understand a few things." For example: "You may be able to avoid us temporarily, but you will not be able to avoid the thought of us. The price of ignoring us is the fullness of your humanity. And we'll still haunt you with our music, our graffiti, and anything else we throw at you when backed into a corner. Your children will cuss you out in language they learn from us."

Yes indeed! Some folks may know of Upski from the infamous *Source* article, "We Use Words like 'Mackadocious'." In it

he talks with many white fans of rap who are as consumed by fear, paranoia, and racism as any Grand Dragon of the KKK. It reminds me of my old man who would watch Dr. J. or listen to Booker T. with hallowed reverence but then refer to them in words Archie Bunker couldn't even cough up. Upski goes on to reveal his own upbringing, his inherent privilege as Mr. White Man, and how he viewed himself (as many of us have) as a "special" white boy—as well as what is so messed up with such smug back-patting.

But he also defends certain aspects of being a wigger. Recognizing that "the white liberal is a worthless frustration to black efforts; he has never put any skin on the line and never will," Upski maintains that a wigger "knows blacks first as real people, not issues," and that forming relationships with folks from the black community requires more effort than most white folks are willing to put forth. This the difference between the white rap fan and the wigger.

In *Bomb the Suburbs*, the politics of hip-hop come out not only in the constant mentioning of visionaries like KRS-ONE and P.E., but also in regards to graffiti writing, D.I.Y. values and community involvement and upliftment. There's a piece on the all-city hip-hop meetings held in Chicago which reveals both hopes and frustrations. For example, one goal for some at these meetings was to develop a better strategy for graffiti writers to be more effective (less arrested), visible, and together when doing pieces—to maximize their abilities by working together. Hip-hoppers from New York wanted to maintain their individuality and couldn't understand these writers from Chitown who were collectively attempting to take their shit to another level. Another rapper, Aaron Brown from the Chicago group Ten Tray, talks at length about collective struggle and the responsibility he has to his community.

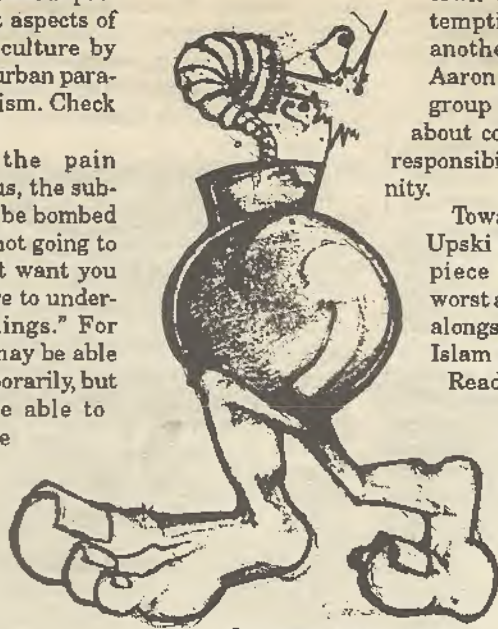
Towards the end of the book, Upski drops a slightly bizarre piece detailing the best and worst aspects of the Beastie Boys alongside those of the Nation of Islam leader, Louis Farrakhan.

Read:

"Suppose we could weave together the personal freedom of the Beastie Boys with the personal discipline of the Nation of Islam. The creativity and fun of the Beastie Boys with the character and commitment of the Na-

tion of Islam... I think there are a lot of people who would be down for a movement based around the meeting of those extremes."

Really? Anyways, *Bomb the Suburbs* bounces, rants, snips and snaps at hip-hop, urban life, and just plain-old life. Straight up from the get go Upski lets fly



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with thoughts from the heart, interviews with the wise and experienced, critiques of white folks (including himself) and hopes for the betterment of us all. Peace.

—Dang

Upski and his friends put this out themselves, so their distribution needs help. Order one copy for \$7 or ten for \$44 in the U.S. (\$50 for ten elsewhere) from: The Subway and Elevated Press Co., P.O. Box 377653, Chicago, IL 60637.

Toward the Abolition of Whiteness by David Roediger

(201 pages, \$18, Verso Books, 1994)

Roediger is a labor historian, but he studies race as much as he does class. Instead of seeing race and the experiences of Black workers as secondary to the "main story" of (mostly white) unions in U.S. labor history, he puts them at the center.

Race, as he points out, is not a biological reality, it's a political concept. There is nothing in DNA codes, melanin count, or other physical characteristics that make "race." However, race is constructed out of very real institutions and patterns of social life. Oddly enough, "Race is both unreal and a seeming reality."

But Roediger's book doesn't focus on race so much as it does on *whiteness*. The reason why there is no strong Left (or anarchist/autonomous movement) in the U.S. is, in large part, because of white privilege and white terrorism. Instead of pretending to do away with "race," then, we need to do away with the *white* race.

Whiteness is *not* the same as blackness. They play two totally different roles in capitalist society. Therefore, racist code words such as "reverse racism" don't even make sense. Roediger embraces the struggle for Black liberation as the struggle for human liberation: "It would be a wonderful irony if white notions concerning blackness— notions developed to rationalize both slavery and repression of white desires—gave way, even partially, to a sense among young workers that to be Black is to be more human and more able to resist the alienating aspects of late capitalist life."

The implication of all this is that labor struggles (and, by extension, other social struggles) should focus on fighting racism as much as they should on fighting capitalists. Specifically, such movements should focus on *white* racism as the linchpin of social control in capitalist society. To work toward a classless society, he argues, we need to abolish whiteness.

Toward the Abolition of Whiteness is a collection of essays about race, class, and gender in working class struggles and in labor history. Roediger lays out his basic argument in the first essay, then fills it in with review-essays of other books on race

and class, arguments for directing labor studies toward a perspective that makes race central and not secondary, and articles that look at how popular racial terms like "gook" or "redneck" originated. Besides the first article, the best essays are mini-histories of various labor struggles that look at how race was ignored or suppressed in them (for the benefit of whites and ultimately the capitalists), such as the history of Black-white unity among the Louisiana IWW lumber workers in 1913-14.

In the article on the Louisiana Wobblies, Roediger also shows how gender fits in to race and class in labor history. Black-white unity in the Wobblies, he argues, was created through "manliness" as much as through class solidarity: "Be a MAN: join the union," "Real MEN aren't racist," etc. This study reveals the off-and-on antiracism of the Wobblies' attempts to create cross-racial unity and the gendered nature of that unity when it existed. This is radical history at its best. "Ultimately there was no class consciousness, here [Louisiana] or elsewhere in the industrializing US," he argues, "which was not also race and gender consciousness as well."

The biggest problem with the book is that while it advocates abolishing whiteness, it provides no plan for doing so. At times Roediger implies that white youth adopting the cultural forms of Black urban youth (especially hip hop) is a sign of a "popular giving up on whiteness," but given the history of white folks ripping off black culture, I am extremely skeptical of his hope. For how to abolish whiteness, maybe we need to look at journals like *Race Traitor* and organizations like the Panthers, Love and Rage, or the various Anti-Racist Actions across the continent.

A minor problem with this book is that, like all scholarly work, it's sometimes hard to follow. Still, I think most people could pick up this book, read it with little trouble (it's very well written), and put it down knowing a helluva lot more about race, whiteness and labor history than they did before.

—joel

Rebellion from the Roots: Indian Uprising in Chiapas by John Ross

(424 pages, \$15, Common Courage Press, 1995)

If you've never read Marx's *Civil War in France*, you should. It's short, easy to read, and it's one of the best works on the Paris Commune of 1871. What's so wonderful about the *Civil War* is that it not only provides a history of the first time the working class ever held power, it is also a brilliant analysis of the importance of the Commune for future struggles. Marx sees in the Commune not an isolated event but an example of how a radically democratic society could be organized.

The reason I bring this up is to point out that the key to a good radical history of



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an important political struggle is to explain its importance for future struggles. The Zapatista rebellion in Chiapas seems to me to be just waiting for its own *Civil War* book.

John Ross's *Rebellion from the Roots* is not that book. It is an interesting, well-written, sympathetic account of the EZLN's struggle, but it is not a book that analyzes the political importance of the EZLN's struggle, demands, or forms of political organization.

If you want to learn more about the Zapatistas, though, this is an excellent place to start. Ross begins with a wonderful description of the January 1, 1994 EZLN takeover of four towns in Chiapas, written from both the rebels' and the ruling class's perspectives. From there he goes into a detailed and eloquent account of the Zapatistas' struggle for dignity, justice, and self-determination. Ross also provides lots of juicy behind-the-scenes details on events the newspaper reports only skimmed.

As fascinating as this book is (and I do recommend it), the information I want on the Zapatistas just isn't here. For example, one exciting feature of the Zapatistas is their apparent commitment to direct democracy within EZLN-held territory. Ross mentions the importance of the "total immersion of the communities in the decision-making process" of the Zapatistas, but he never explains what this process is or how it works.

Many questions emerge about the Zapatistas' political organization: How democratic are these assemblies? How much participation and debate is there? Do women play an equal role? Where does the military command fit in?

Ross is equally vague when discussing the EZLN's economic platform. Admittedly, the Zapatistas are pretty vague about it themselves, but there is little explanation of their ambiguities in this book. He argues that the EZLN are not socialist but still anti-capitalist. Sounds good, but in what way are they "anti-capitalist"? Could their platform bring about the downfall of capitalism or merely reform of some of its more bitter aspects?

A smaller criticism of the book is that Ross never interviews any Zapatistas except Marcos and a couple other higher-ups, and even these interviews don't play a big role in his story.

Rebellion from the Roots does provide some analysis. For example, the chapter on the February 1994 negotiations is especially good because it reveals the tensions in the Zapatistas' anarchistic approach: On the one hand, they don't want to seize state power for themselves because that would be anti-democratic and their main demand is for democracy in Mexico. On the other hand, by not demanding state power and by not putting their national demands on the negotiating table (Salinas' resignation, new elections immediately, re-institution of Article 27 of the Mex. Constitution), all they

could ask for were reformist and minor redistributive demands from the government: agrarian reforms, criminal justice system reforms, fair elections, electrification, etc. Anyway, it doesn't seem like the "ordinary" Zapatista folks are interested in reforms: the proposal crafted at the negotiations was overwhelmingly rejected by the EZLN indigenous communities.

Ross also does a good job at showing the EZLN's contradictory relationship to the PRD. On the one hand they cry that all

the parties in Mexico are anti-democratic, including the PRD (which is true, as Ross shows), but they also swear to abide by the elections as long as they are "fair" (which means as long as the PRD wins). Where the EZLN ambiguity with the PRD and elections in general leads is another worthy subject of further analysis.

Ross's purpose is to provide an understandable and interesting history of indigenous struggles in Chiapas, and this he does well. He also manages to get the

point across that the Zapatistas are not the vanguard of the next Mexican revolution. The Zapatistas cannot succeed unless their armed struggle is joined by a mass struggle in the streets. Thankfully, the Zapatistas know this. They also know, Ross hints, that there is something unique, crucial, and bigger than even Mexico in this struggle, and for that I am also thankful.

—joel

Outlaw Culture: Resisting Representations by bell hooks

(260 pages, Routledge, 1994)

The inclusion of pop culture in *The Blast!* is always a subject for argument within the collective. Usually I take the middle ground in the debate, but admittedly not much pop culture makes it here onto the review pages, my own little editorial fiefdom.

bell hooks makes me think again about the value of writing about popular culture. She is excellent at expressing her politics through cultural critique, and the result is that her books make much more lively and relevant reading than one might expect from any other academic author.

In her latest, *Outlaw Culture*, hooks takes on personalities like Madonna, Spike Lee, and Camille Paglia and films such as *The Crying Game*, *The Bodyguard*, and *The Piano*, along with other essays and interviews, including a discussion with Ice Cube.

hooks sees the study of popular culture as an important potential tool for decolonizing our minds and imaginations. Cultural critique is also a strategy of hers for reaching out to wider audiences than the typical consumers of academic literature. Not coincidentally, many of the essays in *Outlaw Culture* first appeared in

magazines or elsewhere.

The subtitle of the book, *Resisting Representations*, expresses one of the major themes of this collection of short essays and interviews. But her essays are not just about resisting the representations of ourselves and our lives that the white supremacist capitalist patriarchy (her preferred wording) tries to foist off on us, it is also about taking control of those representations and creating oppositional culture as a part of political struggle.

She devotes several essays to representations of feminism in the popular culture and the mass media. In "Talking Sex" she argues that the voices of revolutionary pro-sex feminists have been silenced. The media have given much more play to individuals (i.e. Catherine MacKinnon) whose "one-dimensional and often ruthlessly dogmatic" sexually repressive views are portrayed as representative of feminist thinking in general. Such feminist views are favored by the media because they are relatively easy "to belittle, make fun of, and finally dismiss." This has set the stage, she argues, for the hyping of a breed of media-proclaimed "new feminists," a group of privileged liberal women who claim to be pro-sex and pro-male, but not in any revolutionary way. These feminists have found popularity in the mainstream by not challenging the white supremacist capitalist patriarchy in any meaningful way.

In the next three essays hooks turns a critical eye to three such "new feminists": Camille Paglia, Naomi Wolf, and Katie Roiphe. She argues that, despite their differences, they are generally loyal to the status quo, distanced from and unconcerned with other feminist thought and political struggle, and ultimately collaborative with anti-feminist forces of backlash. She writes, "[A]s more and more books by individual thinkers (mostly white, young, materially privileged) are marketed to a mass public and become the 'texts' that teach these audiences what feminism is or not, there is a danger that any critical interrogation of the universal category 'woman' will be erased. We may end up right back where contemporary feminist movement began: with the false assumption that feminism is primarily for and about materially privileged white women."

hooks argues that radical and revolutionary feminists must engage with popular culture and attempt to be visible in the media, so that narrow and reformist views are not depicted as representative of feminism.

In another essay, "Gangsta Culture—Sexism, Misogyny: Who Will Take the Rap?" hooks again addresses the media's oppor-

Temp Slave! has a new address.

We reviewed *TS!* in *Blast!* #4, and now it's moved already. The new address is: *TS!* c/o Keffo, P.O. Box 8284, Madison, WI, 53708

tunistic portrayals of feminists and Black women and men. She writes that whites would like to see Black males as existing in a "self created cultural vacuum," precisely because it makes it easier to demonize them as pathological and predatory.

When the white media approached her on her view, as a Black feminist, of the controversy over gangsta rap, most lost interest when she insisted that "The sexist, misogynist, patriarchal ways of thinking that are glorified in gangsta rap are a reflection of... values created and sustained by white supremacist capitalist patriarchy." Not what the white media wanted to hear!

Despite my overall enthusiasm for *Outlaw Culture*, I feel I'd better throw in at least one criticism: While her critique of current culture and politics is right-on, her vision of the future and of how we can get there still seems unclear. In particular, I was confused with regards to her position on capitalism. While she denounces the "equation of black capitalism with black self-determination," she nonetheless remarks, in her discussion with Ice Cube, that this "doesn't mean we don't need black capitalism." Considering her undeniably critical stance towards capitalism, I wonder how she sees it as necessary for Black struggle—or is it just necessary for Black survival in the present context?

In her essay, "Spending Culture," in which she writes about the ethic of materialism and the "commodification of blackness," she does refer to "visions of communalism or of participatory economics that would redistribute this society's resources in more just and democratic ways," but doesn't elaborate much on these visions.

In the beginning of one essay, bell hooks jokes about the dilemma of often-bought but rarely-read books. I doubt hers are in this category—one appreciable aspect of *Outlaw Culture*, more so than some of her previous work, is its reader-friendliness. Even if you don't have much time for books, many of the valuable essays in this collection are short and accessible—readable over lunch-break. This book should be important and relevant reading for anyone.

—Erin Immaculate



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ENOUGH IS ENOUGH!

Anti-Fascist Defense Committee Update

Power to the people! The Hennepin County Prosecutors Office think they can drink us around in the hope that we will become weaker, frustrated, apathetic and give in. What they don't understand is that we're only more furious and more willing to build a strong anti-racist movement in Minneapolis.

The prosecution of Kieran Frazier Knutson is an attack on the entire anti-racist/activist community. Kieran is charged with two counts of felony assault and faces up to ten years and \$20,000 in fines for defending himself against a nazi skinhead's assault (the nazi is not being prosecuted).

We will not be silent. We were not silent on February 27, when we held a demonstration at the Government Center—one of our largest to date—and marched up to Mike "County Attorney" Freeman's office. Although we don't believe an elected official has any interest in helping people struggle for the abolition of whiteness, we demanded a meeting with him to state our demands. After occupying his office for over an hour, he reluctantly granted us a meeting. We took this as a small victory, but we were not surprised that our demands were not met. On Kieran's last court date, January 30, we learned what happens when you ask an elected official to acknowledge a miniscule dot of accountability.

DROP THE CHARGES AGAINST KIERAN FRAZIER KNUTSON!

ability to the public. Govt. Center security retaliated for our demo by setting up a metal detector outside the courtroom and by searching everyone's belongings (including a three year-old s!). This is not normal procedure for Hennepin County Courts; it's usually done to create media hype and to bias juries. You can continue to show your support for Kieran by calling or writing Mike Freeman, C2000 Hennepin County Government Center, 300 S. 6th St., Mpls, MN 55415. Or call him at (612) 348-5550. The demands are 1) drop the charges against Kieran Frazier Knutson, 2) stop harassing anti-racist activists, 3) stop forcing the press to collect evidence for state prosecutors, and 4) stop harassing Kieran and his supporters with metal detectors.

As *The Blast!* goes to press, Kieran's next court date (his 7th!) is scheduled for March 9. We anticipate it will get delayed yet again because of unresolved evidentiary hearings. For detailed info on Kieran's case, write to the Anti-Fascist Defense Committee (POB 7075, Mpls, MN 55407).

P.S. Our resources are running dry after a year of leaflet printing and postage for mailings. Please send contributions if you can and thanks to all those who have contributed in the past.

—Justine Abinai



Supporters of Kieran Frazier Knutson demonstrate on January 27. Photo: Christopher Mika

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