The BLAST!

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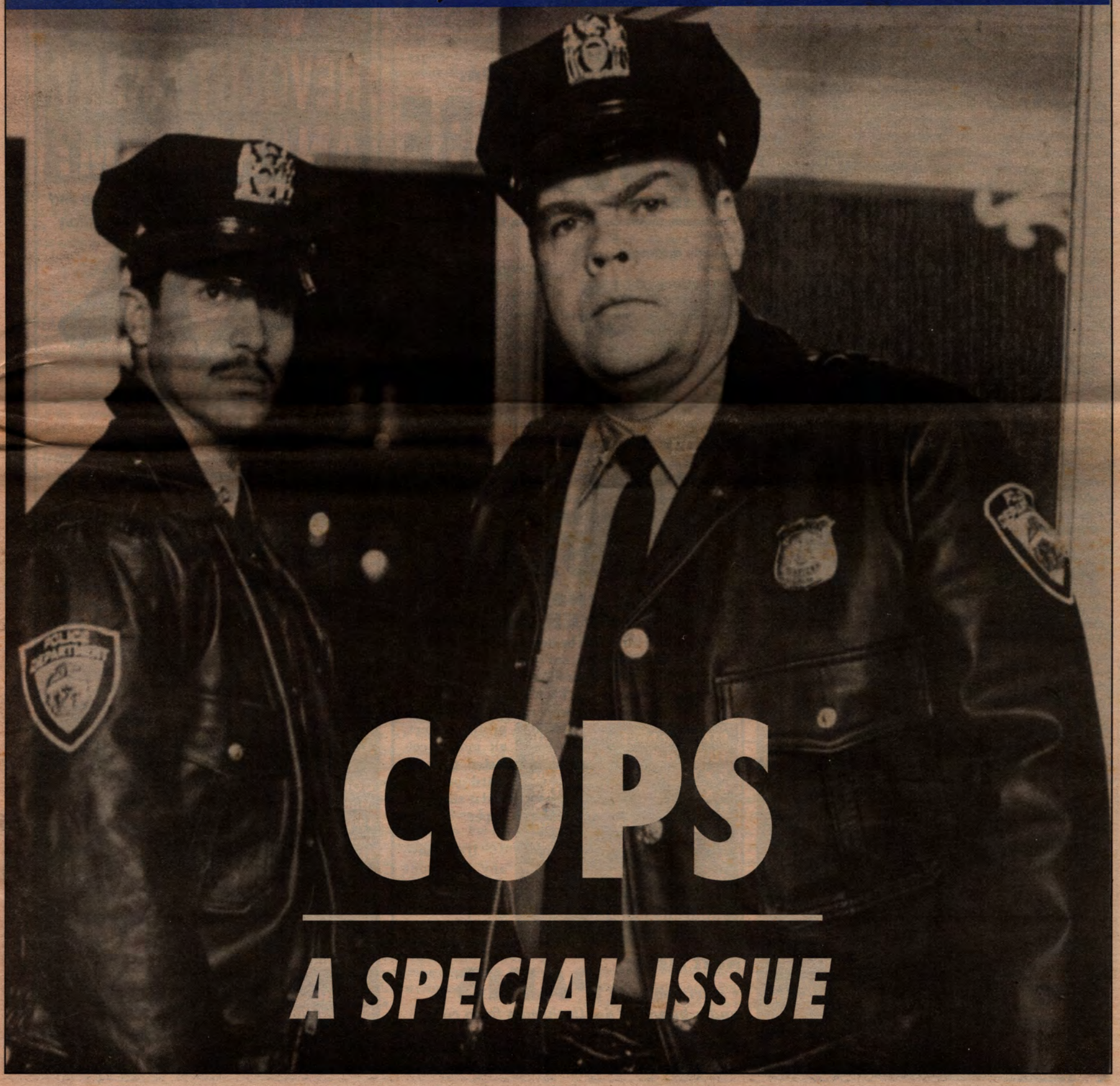

COPS

A SPECIAL ISSUE

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.

DEFINITION: A PIG

A pig is an ill-natured beast who has no respect for law and order, a foul traducer who's usually found masquerading as a victim of an unprovoked attack.
—from *The Black Panther* newspaper, May 1967

A LITTLE MONEY.
A LOT OF PROPAGANDA.

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Get your ad in for the next issue of *The Blast!* Our rates are cheap and our international circulation is 8,000 copies (a minimum of 5,000 copies are distributed free in the Twin Cities and Minnesota). Plus, you'll be supporting a totally non-profit project: all money collected goes toward printing and mailing the paper.

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

Next Issue:

***• Interview with* PARIS**
and a bunch of death threats from cops

PUBLIC FORUM

WHAT IS REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHISM?

A presentation sponsored by the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation

Speakers include members of Love and Rage and *The Blast!* newspaper. A discussion will follow.

Thursday, July 27, 8:00 PM

Arise! Books • 2441 Lyndale Ave. S. • Mpls • 871-7110

Free and open to the public
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WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE POLICE?

Interviews with people on the West Bank, University of Minnesota campus, and the Mall of Amerikkka.

"Cops suck! They're pigs! I've only met one nice cop in my life, and that's probably because he lived in a small city and didn't have a lot of shit to deal with. They're racist. They're shit. They're the bulldogs of this society." *—Lauren, age 20, West Bank*

"I don't like them. They beat me up once, and another time they stole pot from me. That was bad. I gotten beat up when I was sixteen cos they were beating up a friend of mine and I didn't really know much about cops then, so I called them assholes. They arrested me and took me to a parking lot and beat me up. So ever since then I've been scared of them. One time they stopped me for jaywalking at 4:00 AM and they searched me and I had fifty bucks worth of pot on me. They just took it and threatened to beat me up. It's extortion." *—Nicholas, age 20, West Bank*

"To me the cops have become the highest criminals... my direct experience has been the most money that's been robbed from me, the most injustice that's been done to me, the most injustice that I've seen done to others, has been done by the police categorically and with no question about it." *—George, age 42, West Bank*

"Police are part of Babylon and anything that's part of Babylon, Rasta don't partake in, you know? So cops suck. So does the system. I've been harassed since I was about eight years old, just for who I am. It's a concrete jungle, you know." *—Adonijah, age 29, West Bank*

"I don't like them because they are racist. We got into a fight one time, and we were all Black people and one of my friends was hit. We called a cop and these cops came and saw us, and my friend was bleeding and it wasn't us who started the fight and we explained this all to the cops. The cops didn't care. They said, 'Why don't you guys fight it out and whoever wins, go home happy?" I'm not from here and I don't expect to be treated like someone from here, but that was cheap. These guys are supposed to help. I'm not saying all of them are bad, but they judge people without knowing who they are and that's not fair. I know they don't treat people here [at Hardtimes Cafe] the same way they do people in Edina." *—Mike, age31, West Bank*

"I don't like cops, man, I don't. I never have. They've done nothing but make me and my friends' lives harder. The only time they do their job, it's too late to do anything. They just come by and scrape people off the sidewalk, and anyone can do that. They jack too many people for the wrong reason." *—Buffalo, age 18, West Bank*

"One of my stepbrothers got into a fight with a Minneapolis policeman up at White Castle. The cop said meet me at Lake Calhoun. My stepbrother said, 'I'm not gonna fight you, you're just gonna arrest me.' The cop took off his belt and said, 'I'm off duty, let's go for it.' My brother's a Golden Glove, and he tore the cop's face up. Months later, the cops' buddies found my brother—they had tape over their badges—and put fuckin' eight cigarettes across his chest and let them burn slowly. Then they kicked him out of the car at the [Mississippi] River. The cops do what they wanna do." *—Scuz, age 19, West Bank*

"I'm 44 years old and I've never done no crime or anything, and every time the police stop me I get beat up. Why? Because I'm Black, maybe, or maybe because I'm homeless. Or maybe because I'm panhandling. The police beat you for nothing, man. I got arrested the other day, and I had a hundred policemen grabbing me, almost breaking my arm. And I didn't do nothing! And guess what I got charged with? Disorderly conduct. For doing nothing. I think that when people do you wrong you should do the same back to them. That's how I feel about the police.
—Thomas Wilson, age 44, West Bank

"They're doing their job, and I think they should keep on doing their job. I feel more secure and safe when the police are around. Whoever the criminal is deserves to be treated like a criminal." *—T-bone, age 20, West Bank*

"In terms of skateboarding, in certain places downtown the police won't bother you, so that's cool. The police around here are pretty chill."*—Count Zero, age 20, U of M*

"I think cops is all pigs, to me. They pick on Black folks for nothing, but that's just my opinion." *—Nike, age 15*

"I don't like the po-pitters cuz they think all Black people who have fresh cars be selling drugs, but some of us work for a living." *— Polo 818, age 15*

"Police always be picking on us, beating up on little kids and stuff. Just cuz we teenagers they think they can hassle us. Just cuz we young and Black." *—Fila, age 17, Mall of Amerikkka*

"I'm not from here, I'm from Ethiopia, but I know that racism does exist, and we all know it. I'm not saying this because I'm Black, I'm saying this because I'm seeing it and I experience it at work, at school. As for the police, more than half of them are racist. If you're not white you get treated differently in the white suburbs than you do in the cities."*—Selam, age 25, West Bank*

"We went to this one store on the north side of Minneapolis and there was a cop standing in front of it. My baby sister went up to him and said, 'Cop, did you shoot anyone today?' and he said, 'No, not today'. I really don't like cops that much because they always make false accusations ."*—Mellisa, age 13,downtown Minneapolis*

"COPS SUCK! They have a power trip. I live right by Edina in a nice neighborhood and I pulled up to come home one night at one or two in the morning, and the cops stopped me and asked for my license to see if I really lived there. I'm pretty sure the reason they did that was racial. I did not like it. Death to all cops." *—Eric, age 18, Mall of Amerikkka*

"I have no problem with the police, if they do a good job."*—Mike, age 28*

"Yeah, on the whole I agree. There's some bad cops, obviously, but I think the majority of them wo rk hard and do their job. *[Do you have any stories to tell?]* No, we're too law-abiding to have any run-ins with cops, I guess [laughs]. *— Charlie, age 44, Mall of Amerikkka*

"I haven't had any problems with the police, so... The police are fine; they're doing their job to protect us, I guess."*—Jackie, age 39*

"Well, I'm from Plymouth and I'm in the Neighborhood Watch program and we work with the police there and they've been very supportive. They came to our house, they talked to the neighbors, they brought their police car over when we had the block party to promote good feelings towards the police among the little kids. The perspective I come from is that the police are good, but I'm sure there are others with different opinions." *—Denise, age 38, Mall of Amerikkka*

"I think they're necessary. We need law and order. We need people to respect each other and respect the law. I've had tickets but I deserved them. If I break the law I assume I should be punished." *— Gifford, age 60, Mall of Amerikkka*

"I think cops do a good job. But they can get out of hand, like the cops in Los Angelas. I'm still mad about that. Some of them could get off their rumps and do a little more work, but on the whole I think they're pretty good." *—Tonya, age 19, U of M*

"Seeing that it only takes a two-year education at a community college to become a police officer, I feel that is really not a high-quality education for the job. It's a working man's job and they shouldn't be on any sort of ego trip about it at all." *— Bryan Fisher, age 21, U of M*

"I don't like them. They scare me, they scare everyone I know. They're don't protect anybody." *—Kevin, age 34, U of M*

BOUND FOR HELL

Nazi Show Shut Down In St. Paul

The People Did It, Not The Police!

by Justine Abinni

"Bound For Glory?" 'Fraid not! Bound to receive hell from anti-racists! On May 20 over 85 anti-racists, pulled together by Anti-Racist Action, intercepted a nazi band's plans to discreetely sell gig tickets and distribute maps in Mounds Park on the East side of St. Paul. The show, which was to include performances by Bound For Glory, Das Reich, Freikorps (from Germany), and Centurion, was supposed to take place that day at the Smith Ave. Rental Hall in West St. Paul. Bound For Glory, one of the most well-known nazi bands in the world and based in St. Paul, advocates the genocide of African-Americans in their lyrics. Most recently they performed at an Aryan fest in Idaho commemorating Hitler's birthday.

Anti-Racist activists obtained a permit to use Mounds Park and held an anti-racist picnic there all day. Carloads of nazis, who showed up throughout the day, were met by picnic goers, who prevented nazis from being able to buy tickets or receive information about the show.

Three days before the show, members of ARA got a tip as to the show's location and approached the hall owners with evidence that proved the bands were nazis. A man named Bob Pein from Hastings had reserved the hall for a "birthday party." His phone number was on the flyer advertising the nazi show and on the contract signed with the hall owner.

But when the hall owner refused to shut down the show for fear of getting sued, ARA took the information out into the neighborhood by door-to-door flyering. In a matter of a day and a half, ARA had set of a string of events landing enough concern and suspicion of a nazi show that police undertook their own investigations. Neighborhood folks discussed what to do, while the local TV media ran a story on ARA's organizing attempts that ran second only to Oklahoma City coverage on the news.

The next day a demonstration of 400 people (mostly neighborhood folks) in front of the rental hall brought the mayor out. He ordered the show cancelled. After the show was cancelled police escorted 35 nazis out of the hall into police vans. But it wasn't the cops or the mayor who shut the show down, it was the demonstrators--community members, ARA, anti-racist skinheads, punks, anarchists, socialists, youth, whites, people of color, jewish activists, and queers.

Although there were a few tensions between activists from Minneapolis and community residents, over all they worked together well given the short period of time to organize resistance.

Two minor anti-racist arrests occurred. Both were released and one is awaiting a pretrial hearing. A nazi was also arrested; he was released.

This was a clear victory for anti-racists. Nazis use their musical venue to publicize their race hate and recruit new members. So it was more than just their stinking show that was shut down- their morale, confidence, and organizing abilities were also chipped away. (Contact ARA at The Blast! PO Box).

Dyke "artificially colors hair blond"

by Erika Thompson

The above statement is from an actual court document and just one example of the ludicrous interrogation that queer parents are subjected to in child custody cases under the established "justice" system. Is this a genuine concern about hair aesthetics or a homophobic remark intended to slander a marvelously maternal dyke?

In the summer of '94, Heather Sia, a local Minneapolis dyke, received a court summons for full legal and physical custody of her son, Ian "ChaCha" Sia. As a happy member of the ruling class who can easily afford the privilege of legal representation, ChaCha's father, Tomm Erickson, is able to wring Heather through the family court system that is biased towards pasty white, anti-queer, right-wingers like himself.

In contrast to the part-time working, full-time student and single mom that Heather has been throught the last three years, Tomm has repeatedly attempted to appeal to the system's homophobia by portraying her as a confused and crazed HOMOSEXUAL too obsessed with sinful same-sex genital cravings to care for her son. Heather has been ChaCha's primary caregiver for most of his life, yet the legal system could reduce her parental rights from the daily bliss of motherhood to twice-a-week visitation.

Thus far, Heather has managed to persevere through the system's bullshit, such as humiliating, irrelevant interrogations about her hair color, lovers, non-traditional medical treatments, and brother's prison record. Despite all the prejudiced slandering, Heather continues to shine as a fabulous mother (the court system thus far has favored and granted her and ChaCha the right to stay together during the court proceedings). But Tomm's economic privilege allows him to keep advocating his weak case.

photo: Lida Rogers

The custody case is nearing one year in length and legal costs continue to climb. In response to the blatant homophobia, looming injustice, and economic hardship, Heather's friends and supporters organized ChaCha Stays! to raise money for her legal costs. ChaCha Stays! has so far raised $5,000 and needs to raise an expected $10,000 to $15,000 more to cover legal costs. Heather and ChaCha's custody case will establish legal precedence for queer families in Minnesota, so please dig deeply and donate to ChaCha Stays!

Send donations to: ChaCha Stays! P.O. Box 7075, Mpls., MN 55407.

Cops Abuse Power In Powderhorn Park

a boy and his dog

by Justine Abinni

On May 17, Police instigated a clash with Powderhorn neighborhood youth culminating in the arrest of eight youth and one of their parents. The youth were verbally and physically mistreated and several were maced.

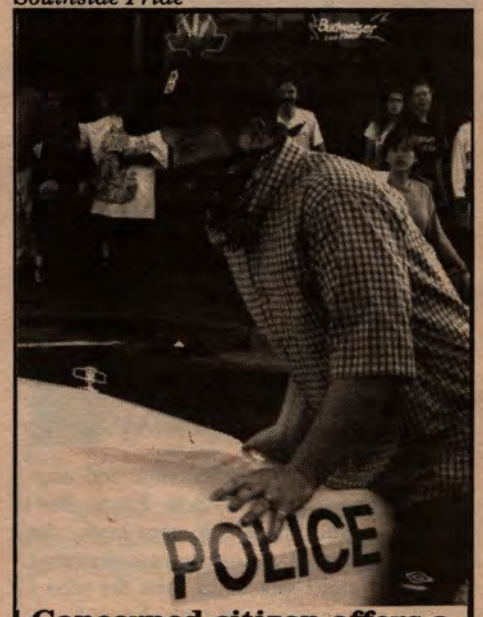
The Police were in the park responding to a call about a boy with an agressive dog. By the time they arrived this boy had left the park. Seeing another boy with a dog they decided to approach him. They told him to leave the park. The youth refused, and a confrontation ensued that drew a crowd in support of the youth. Tensions grew and 33 police cars including the new chief of police were called out to the scene.

When police tried to take away the boy's dog, he moved forward and said, "Why are you taking my dog!" Two officers grabbed him, he resisted, and things escalated. By this time a lot of people gathered, concerned about further police misconduct. Many people were mad and began shouting at the police, especially after kids got maced.

Police harassed Terri St. Sauver, the director of Powderhorn Park, who knew the youth being detained. When she tried to intervene they told her to "get the fuck out of here!" When a mother arrived on the scene and asked what was going on a cop responded, "I'm not talking to you!" As she went to save her son who was being arrested the police grabbed and handcuffed her.

On May 22, at a community meeting organized by Powderhorn Community Network, Black and white neighborhood members vented their anger and concerns about racist cops in their community. Nothing was resolved at the meeting and many left in frustration. The Commander of the 3rd precinct, Inspector O'Rourke, made it clear that he wouldn't commit to participating in any kind of workshops designed by the neighborhood to improve relations between the neighborhood and the police. Nor would he concede to some people's demands that charges against the kids and the parent be dropped.

The charges of creating a riot and disorderly conduct are still pending against these innocent people. *—info from Southside Pride*



Concerned citizen offers a cop assistance in pushing police cruiser into the lake.

Cops Can Trick Little Kids

New Ruling Says:

Children Can Be Used As Tools Of The State

by Ms. Applebomb

In late February, 1995, the Minnesota Court of Appeals ruled that police officers may enter a home without a search warrant if they have "consent" from a person as young as ten years old. This ruling was a reversal of a previous ruling in which cocaine, stolen by a police officer from the South West Metro Drug Task force, was not admitted into evidence because the police had entered the apartment without a search warrant.

In March of 1994, the ten year-old stepdaughter of a Mound, Minnesota cop (Officer Lotton) found some cocaine in the family's apartment and told her teacher, who in turn informed the police. A police officer who was a "friend of the family" came to interview the child at school and she took him and another officer to her apartment and let them inside. Once they were inside, the mother signed a consent to search the home.

Later, the trial court decided that neither the cocaine nor Lotton's statement that he stole the cocaine could be used as evidence because the police had obtained it illegally.

The Court of Appeals reversed the decision. It ruled that a ten year-old child is capable of giving consent to police officers to search a home.

I would argue that in this case, the court is right. Almost any ten year-old, if properly disciplined, is capable of giving consent to the police. Yet the real question is conveniently left unanswered: Is a child capable of *refusing* consent?

From day one of pre-kindergarten, children are taught the golden lesson: obey authority. If we examine this case we see that this child in particular has been well-trained. For example, this child finds drugs in her apartment. She tells her teacher first, before telling her mother or stepfather, a move that would make any D.A.R.E. officer proud. Second, when the police arrive at the school, the child tells them about the drugs.

Imagine that you are a ten year-old, your mother is not present, and "friends of the family" (who have guns) ask you to tell them what happened. The image of the cops' guns, if not the the image of the "good cop," would surely encourage you to talk. Next, the cops ask you to take them to your house. Only the trick is that they already know where you live so it won't protect your family if you refuse.

Although few of us would cry at the conviction of a cop for stealing drugs, we must recognize that the appellate ruling of this case demonstrates the government's increased "legal" use of children as tools of the state against their parents and others. The schools team up with the state to instill in the child a sense of conflicting allegiance between parent, community, friends, and authority.

COPS RIOT

JAMAL SUPPORTERS ARRESTED

by Justine Abinni

On June 4, a little over a day after the signing of political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal's death warrant, 200 people gathered on the West Bank to make what was one of the first organized angry reponses to the signing of his warrant in the world.

The protest, organized by the Twin Cities Coalition to Defend Mumia Abu-Jamal, blocked traffic on the intersection of Cedar and Riverside until cops arrived. But protesters continued to walk on the crosswalks for at least an hour, handing out leaflets to onlookers and passersby.

With mounted cops and pepper spray, police attacked supporters of Mumia just as the demo was obviously coming to a close. One youth was punched and maced while lying on the ground, handcuffed. Eleven unjustifiable arrests were made. All were released without charges and, as of yet, the "probable cause to riot" charges they were threatened with haven't been filed.

Since then three more demos have followed, two downtown at Peavy Plaza and one in Central neighborhood at Chicago and Lake. *(for more info about Mumia Abu-Jamal see back cover)*

photo: Todd

"Free" Speech = Police Riot

...You'll say people can speak freely until the speech begins to threaten your idea of so-called freedom, then folks ain't free to speak, they're kicked, punched, clubbed, stomped, handcuffed, shot, jailed by the cops, and jailed again by you judges when the trial takes place... John Africa, The Judge's Letter

by Mumia Abu-Jamal

On the West Bank of Minneapolis, "free speech" is a crime, punishable by state brutality and false arrests!

There, in the summer eve, more than 11 innocent demonstrators were brutalized; so too were the "free speech" alleged rights of all Minnesotans.

If you must pay with beatings and arrests with your speech, how could it be called "free"?

For those 11 men and women, and the 200 others who saw this outrage with their own eyes, they don't need to read *Live From Death Row* to find out how innocent people can be beaten and arrested by brutal cops, nor how cops routinely lie in police reports to support arrests. They know now by their lived experience— what they saw, heard or felt, how this evil abuse of state proliferates.

Will judges throw out these bogus charges? Will those cops who attacked innocent people be arrested? We shall see. For those 11, we share an experience that shall never be forgotten. We are the sisterhood and the brotherhood of the beaten. As they have supported me, I support them, and urge us all to heed this call: Charge the cops for their police riot! NO to state terrorism! Freedom for all political prisoners! Long live John Africa! Down with this rotten-ass system!

excerpt from column written 6/11/95

LOCAL SHORTS

Cops Think It's a Crime for White and Black Youth to Hang Out Together

Once again police officers stationed in South High let their racist violent tendencies show, this time outside of school. In late April, a car with mainly Latino and Black kids was pulled over. A white kid who goes to South was pulled aside and choked by a cop who recognized him from South. The cop told him to stop hanging out with non-white people. As he was choking him the cop asked, "Who has the ultimate power?'

Enough Is Enough Is Enough! Knutson Trial Delayed Again

On June 26, Kieran Frazier Knutson made his ninth court appearance in a year and a half. Kieran is charged with two felonies, while the nazi who attacted him at an anti-racist demo remains free. His next court appearance is August 14.

Evidentiary hearings around whether or not it is constitutional for the prosecution to subpoena press photos of the demo are holding up the trial.

Demand the charges be dropped! Call or write Mike Freeman, Hennepin County Attorney, C2000 Hennepin County Government Center, 300 S. 6th St., St. Mpls, MN 55415. (612) 348-5550. For more info contact the Anti-Fascist Defense Committee, c/o The Blast!

Welfare Rights Activists In Court

Welfare rights activists Linden Gawboy and Mickey Kelly were charged with interfering with public property, gross misdemeanor, while participating in demonstrations against Welform Reform at the State Capitol. After a jury trial Gawboy was found innocent; Kelly was convicted and given 10 days in the workhouse, a $200 fine and a 2 year suspended sentence.

In a related incident at the Capitol, Gawboy, Kelly, and Deb Konechne were charged with more gross misdemeanors. They pled out and were given community service and a 15-day suspended sentence

The whole first half of this year was marked by struggle between the State Legislature and poor people who will be affected by welfare reform. Activists were able to successfully soften the blow of repressive legislation by getting the "two-years and out" cut off limit that would have been imposed on welfare recipients abolished.

Direct Democracy in Action JULY 24

The EZLN (Zapatista Army of National Liberation) has called for an International Referendum on Democracy in Mexico. Be a part of the dialogue. Come to a discussion and film. And vote on the Zapatista's referendum.

This event is being organized by Frente Del Norte, a local Mexico solidarity committee of the NCDM (National Commission For Democracy In Mexico). Come to The Red Eye Theater, 15 West 14th St. Mpls., July 24th at 6:30pm. FFI call Arise Bookstore: 871-7110.

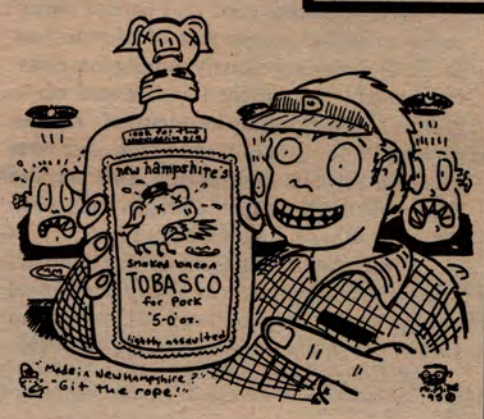
Or maybe it was an accident!

Coy Cook Caps Cops' Grub! — Charges Dismissed!

New Hampshire — Two Vermont state troopers tasted a wee bit too much Tabasco in their Denny's breakfast eggs, so they busted the cook!

A judge threw out assault charges, saying the law required that victims allege physical contact. Spiking food with a legal substance that many normal people find quite yummy is not an offense.

The wiley cook, a soldier in an industry with a median wage of six dollars an hour and a workplace-induced psychosis rate of 110%, explained that the sauce may have got into the troopers' food from the last order on the grill.



WHAT TERROR TACTICS SAY ABOUT YOUR FUTURE:

If you think blowing up a bunch of kids and workers is a good way to get to the cops in the building, you must be a nazi.

We didn't have to ask our staff psychic to get that answer. It's as plain as McVeigh.

The nazis show the kind of future they want by the kind of tactics they use.

Random violence: McVeigh and Nichols seem about as well-thought out with their building-bombing as a crew of boneheads or jarheads going out looking for queers to bash.

Both actions are the movement-building tactics of our enemies.

What it shows about the future they want: They view people as garbage, even themselves. They define their culture only in negatives. "Whiteness" isn't its own thing, it's only *not* the things that they hate. Their fantasy and political theory — in their books and musik — show only the desire to kill. Their expressions or descriptions of love sound empty and shallow. Their utopia is a shotgun wedding of Norman Rockwell and razor wire.

Unsurprisingly, their movement is growing by leaps and bounds. The old America, the one in the real Norman Rockwell paintings, has had plenty of barbed wire and prison cells all along. So when white people rebel against their own society, they very often want to replace it with more of the same.

People who think we anarchists are into violence and chaos for the hell of it should look again.

The world we want is based on cooperation and mutual respect, and the tactics we use to get there reflect that desire:

•**Democratic process:** The people effected by a decision get to make it.

•**Building organizations:** Making sure everyone participates equally in decision-making means abolishing every type of privilege, and appreciating and building on people's talents. Where we're unorganized, the old rules of the system win by default. New values — solidarity and mutual aid — need to be promoted in a organized way.

•**No "hierarchy of oppressions":** We don't put class, race, or gender as the single most important thing. The chattel slavery of millions of Africans has only been officially "over" for 130 years, so obviously it still shapes our society. Also, even in the next century, men will probably still be the main decision-makers outside the home — and that problem's been with us about 6 thousand years. And the effect of white, male supremacy is to keep wealth in the hands of the few. You can't pick only one front to fight on.

•**No bullying ordinary people into joining our "revolution":** People aren't the enemy just because they believe something different. They have to *do* something to make them the enemy: Auction off your farm, shoot your child in the back. And even if someone is the enemy, anarchists would never go and murder their kids.

We practice revolutionary pluralism. We build revolutionary alliances. That means we think the coming rebellions will be politically all over the map. We're going to be arguing for anti-authoritarian politics, but we'll be working with anyone who really wants a new, better world, no matter what label they put on themselves.

So we can build alliances that will last, we want to know who we are, where we come from, where we're going, who we want to be with when we get there, and who we need to be with *now* in order to get there.

The nazis don't care about any of that shit. They think they already know as much as they'll ever need to, unless they want to learn a new way to kill people.

—*N.K.*

Yet another reason to abolish the white race!

WHITENESS BITES OFF THE GOVT'S FACE. . .

And dozens of kids are collateral damage!

Everyone talks about how white amerikans never invented anything themselves, they just stole it all from other cultures — like **Elvis**. The **truck bomb** in Oklahoma City is the latest example. Even white terrorists bite other people's styles!

But it's not totally true. Whites invented germ warfare — just check the smallpox-infected blankets they gave to Native Americans. Who dropped the first atom bomb on a city full of civillians?

No, white amerika, you don't get to be shocked by the nazi shit bomb. Timothy McVeigh is your boy. You promised him privilege at birth, and when you didn't pony up, you turned him into another crazy, vindictive devil.

Go ahead. Pass your Prop. 187s and your anti-queer laws, all in the name of protecting the "decent" people. The "decent" people blame everybody else for their problems, but the real cause is whiteness itself.

'Cause when you whip up the "decent" folks to skapegoat "Black gangbangers," "illegal aliens," "perverts," don't act surprised when your children take you at your word and start making shit bombs.

— *Nikolas Kautz*

The Chickens Have Come Home to Roost (In Oklahoma)

by Pedro Villarreal

The true message of Oklahoma is that governments have failed — the very Western governments whose people, institutions, and stability are the target of terrorism from home or abroad.

— *N.Y. Times*, April 21, 1995

This statement ignores an inconvenient fact: Most targets of terrorism are peoples of the Third World. The greatest purveyor of terror is not anyone in the Mideast, but the U.S. government.

Weeks before the bombing, the CIA was exposed for funding, in the 1980s and 1990s, **Guatemala's** long war against guerillas, farmers, peasants, and other opponents. Central America's most violent military killed 110,000 people, mostly **Mayan Indians**, and razed hundreds of villages to destroy a guerrilla force that may have been no larger than 2,000 armed rebels.

In 1965 the U.S. invaded the **Dominican Republic** to prop up the pro-U.S., fascist Cabral regime. In the wave of state-sponsored murders that followed, there was one death or "disappearance" every 34 hours.

The U.S. also spent the 1970s helping the dicatators of **Argentina, Paraguay,** and **Chile** terrorize their opponents, providing both ideological and military instruction during the killing of 50,000, disappearing of 30,000, and imprisoning of 400,000 in all three countries. The U.S. introduced Brazilian death squads to the Argentines and Uruguayans, and provided electrical torture equipment to **Brazil** and **Uruguay**.

Indonesia sought and got U.S. support for its 1975 invasion of **East Timor**. When its U.S military equipment began running out, the "human rights" Carter administration authorized a 200 percent increase in arms sales. Reagan did even better. In the twenty years since the invasion, 200 thousand East Timorese have died while the U.S. has trained 2,600 Indonesian officers.

Martin Luther King Jr. warned us that the greatest purveyor of violence in the world was our own government; yet, many wonder why such a terrorist attack would happen here. Examining U.S. violence against Third World populations provides the answer: "The chickens have come to roost."

Sources: NY Times, Amnesty Int'l, Wall St. Journal, Chomsky & Herman *in Monthly Review*, Calloni in *Covert Action Quarterly*, *Z Magazine,* Matthew Jardine

NY SQUATS SMASHED!

Tank, machineguns & felonies

by Paul O'Bannion

On May 30 here in New York City, 300 riot cops, SWAT teams armed with machine guns, three helicopters and a tank! (an armored personnel carrier with treads and a turret), evicted two of the five 13th Street squats in lower Manhattan. The five building are the farthest west and most visible in the increasingly-gentrified Loisaida neighborhood. The site had been going slated for development by a corporation tied to a corrupt city councilperson.

A New York Supreme Court case based upon "adverse possession" law has gone very well. Lawyers argued before a sympathetic judge that because the squatters have been in the buildings more than ten years, they rightfully "own" the buildings. The city took advantage of a legal loophole during proceedings to enforce vacate orders and move to evict the buildings at dawn.

People got word aobut the eviction the day before and put out the word to show up and defend 13th Street. Targetted squats were welded shut, four street barricades were built, and a car was overturned. Several hundred people, ready for anything, gathered.

In surveying our defenses, the cops delayed their assault five hours. If they would have come when planned, it probably would have been a fierce battle. As dawn broke and more hours passed, the long standoff with riot cops at each end of the block started to wear on people. A rumor circulated that our attorneys said the cops were not going to evict.

Those hopes were dashed after 9:00 am, when all the local news programs, which had been reporting live from the scene, gave way to morning talk shows, and the cops started moving in. By then there were as few as fifty people in the streets, as people left to go to work or sleep, avoid arrest, or thinking that the eviction had been prevented by our nine-hour vigil.

With little resistance, the cops cleared the biggest barricade, and then brought in the tank to clear the overturned car. SWAT teams appeared on the roofs and the press was relegated to a pen a block from the site.

Forty or so folks linked arms in front of the squats; most were arrested. The cops used battering rams to get in the buildings and arrest everyone inside. The resistance was largely nonviolent; thirty-one people were arrested and charged with disorderly conduct and trespassing (!). The military-type seige made the front pages of most local papers.

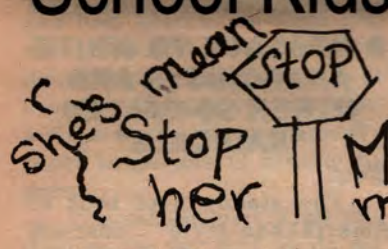
On Saturday, June 3rd, a prosession was held to protest the evictions. A big cardboard tank, mocking the one the cops used, was built, and people dressed in colorful masks and costumes. Including members of the local squat and anarchist scenes, neighborhood people and radical ecologists in town for a social ecology conference, the march had 200-300 people at its height. It headed through the neighborhood towards 13th Street. Within a block of the evicted squats, people started jogging to get on the street before more cops could arrive to stop us. We caught the cops guarding the buildings by surprise. Police barricades surrounding the evictted squats were kicked over, dismantled, and removed. The cops were completely outnumbered, freaked out, and temporarily defeated.

Soon cops started arriving by the score, attempted to reset the barricades, only to be met of struggles and people dancing and chanting in the street, which was now filled with hundreds of people. Someone lassoed a corner scaffolding in front of one of the buildings, in an attempt to pull it down, and was arrested. Cops started macing people indiscriminately. A police barricade was smashed into a police cruiser a couple of times and the cops, wielding batons, charged the crowd. A person fleeing the scene was tackled and arrested, whereupon he had his head bashed into the ground several times by the cops. In the melee, caught between charging and retreating cops, three more anarchists were arrested. One is alleged to have tripped a cop, kicking his baton away, another was on a bicycle, and a third is said to have attempted an unarrest.

Invigorated by liberating the street and freaking out the cops, the march moved to a main avenue, taking the whole street and marching triumphantly through the neighborhood. Soon there were hundreds of cops in the area, with 150 on 13th Street alone. Vanloads of riot cops were parked at every entrance to Tompkins Square Park, and part of the main avenue was barricaded and closed by police.

The five people arrested spent thirty hours "going through the system." The 9th Precinct cops joked about shooting one of the detainees as they brought him out of the precinct. All five were charged with four felonies each, including incite to riot and rioting. Three with no prior convictions got out on their own recognizance, but two were held for $1500 cash bail each. Twenty to thirty people showed up for the arraignment at midnight. The next court date is August 16. The 13th Street court case has just concluded, and a decision should be handed down in August or Septermber.

School Kids Write to Cruel Yuppie,



— So She Sues Them!

Jessica McClintock has come to be a symbol for repression in the garment worker's industry. She has repeatedly passed up chances to do the right thing, like pay the people who made the dresses she makes her fortune off of.

She was sued by the workers for a whole seasons worth of wages they were never paid; instead of paying the back wages; she spent considerably more in lawsuits and attempted bribes to the Chinese community.

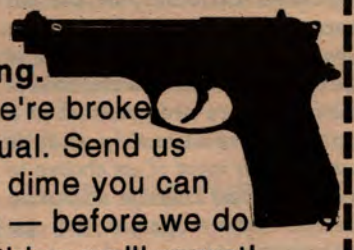
Anger at her "business" practices are spreading. There have been actions against her almost every week since March in a dozen different cities across the country.

All this has been taking its toll on Jessie's business. She has lost her lease on one store in San Francisco and may lose her Beverly Hills shop due to repeated demonstrations. I guess the yuppies are getting sick of seeing young, angry, working-class people of color when they are trying to shop.

One of the most recent actions took place right here in downtown Minneapolis at one of Jessie's boutiques in Gavidae Commons. The picket was comprised of 40 students from Webster Open School. They decided to have a protest as part of their human rights class. They had already written letters demanding that she pay her workers minimum wage and pay back wages to those she had cheated.

Jessie decided once again to try to use high priced lawyers instead of just owning up to the fact that she is evil. Since the kids who held the demo had written her letters she had all there names and addresses, and she tried to sue them for libel.

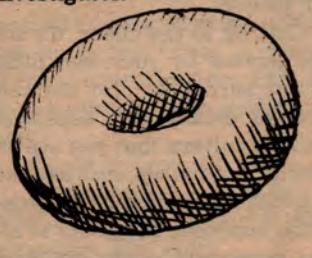
Blast! Gun Shop
BUY • SELL • TRADE
Just kidding.
But we're broke as usual. Send us every dime you can spare — before we do something we'll regret!
POB 7075 / Mpls MN / 55407 Chex pay to *Blast!*



DOUGHNUTS FOR THE MASSES

Don't you hate it when you're sitting at a red light late at night and a cop car comes up, flashes its lights, and runs the red light for no reason other than the copper's laziness? Well, last November in Tampa Bay, Florida, sweet revenge was served. A lazy-ass cop ran a stop sign and was struck by a truck, flipping the squad car.

Immediately after the car flipped, hungry bystanders grabbed the twelve-pack of Dunkin' Donuts that flew out of the squad and escaped with four jelly-filleds, six krullers, two powdereds and a rainbow sprinkle. A police reward of $10,000 failed to recover the lost donuts, although several youth were seen walking around the neighborhood that day with "powdered sugar all over their lips," according to a suspicious investigator.



LETTERS

NEW AGE RACISM CAN'T DO SHIT AGAINST THE PIG MENTALITY

Blast!,

Excuse me for stating the obvious, but these are disturbing times for us, especially the poor and the nonwhite. This letter is a reaction to a specific incident of ignorance that most of you will regard as inconsequential, but I argue is a pretty major block to understanding, and has shown itself to have disastrous effects on many individuals.

I wrote a letter, published in *The Blast!* #5, calling attention to an incident of police violence inflicted on one of my Anishinaabe brothers and asking for support in a call against the silence—media and otherwise—that has been the primary outcome of these many incidents.

One infuriating response I got came all the way from the Shetland Isles, UK. In a postcard, one person wrote about how her life was changed by reading *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, saying that she is "really blown away by Indian peoples." She goes on to say "don't encourage them to be as sick as their oppressors." She then quotes Loa Tzu (her spelling) and ends with "Blessings light upon you."

I call attention to injustice and ask for help in the struggle against the Pig Mentality and I get condescending new agey bullshit from across the ocean.

Yes, there have been worse things to cross the Atlantic Ocean. But these stereotypes, even the "noble counter-image," are so powerful and so dangerous that they must be addressed.

Just stop and think, five hundred years ago the people populating this hemisphere had no common language, no common world view, not even full knowledge of each other's presence. So, quite obviously, the idea of "the Indian" is a white invention, a label ascribed to the nonwhite others encountered by those glorified sailors from across the ocean. And nothing—not disease, not warfare, not land theft, nothing—has been more devastating to the many peoples who make up this nonwhite Other than the introduction of good old European ethnocentrism upon these "newly discovered" peoples.

Cutting to the chase, do not judge anyone by your own little cultural yardstick. Do not celebrate or defame any aspect of another's culture that you see as "lacking" in your own, such as close ties to nature, ignorance of Christianity, supposed proclivity to alcohol, purer spirituality, etc. And do not lump the many diverse indigenous groups together as "Indians." There is no "Indian language," no "Indian way," and no single "Indian world view." What there is is a continuum of opinions and a variety of cultures, each having its OWN merit.

So if you think that being anything but silent in the face of oppression is too "sick" for me or anyone else, then get a clue or just fuck the hell off. I've seen too much pain to remain the "strong, silent Indian" you wish I was.

I will send a much more in-depth response to the clueless of Shetland. Oh, and the picture on the postcard sent to me was of a naked Yanomami boy sucking sugar cane in the Amazonian forest. That is probably what I would have to look like for this person to like me.

I welcome any response, and I am still working on an action regarding the brutality incident. Pander pushi ga!

Division By Zero / PO Box 49221 / Blaine, MN 55449

NO PASSING LUXURY

The Blast!,

I come in the universal signs of Love, Truth, Peace, Freedom, and Justice.

I would like to spend some time on prison organizations, gangs, cliques, sets or whatever they may be called in your area.

First, I must say that ALL of us brothers inside "the belly of the beast" must amalgamate and use our minds instead of our colors, signs, and symbols. We all sit behind these walls without a drop of light in our darkest chambers of the body (mind) and go against each other. There is another more difficult world that awaits us. The world of the sons and daughters of Europe-America who have already begun to discover their own underdevelopment, who recognize the warping and desensitizing of their spirits.

Without rehearsing all the political arguments about coalitions and alliances, neither forgetting the past nor being bound by it, we must find some way to respond to them and to allow them to come in touch with us. THIS IS NO PASSING LUXURY, in the old "race relations" style. Rather, we now realize that the children of the oppressed and the children of the oppressors are involved in a dialectical relationship that is deeper then most of us choose to recognize, and there is no fundamental redevelopment for one without the other.

Brothers, this is a heavy burden, *but* it represents a great possibility as well. In this country (Amerikkka), with our peculiar history, it is also an undeniable reality. LET'S COME TOGETHER; anything less is inadequate for the perilous times. Anything less would be unworthy of the memory of our brothers, the needs of our children, or the magnificent, untapped capacities of our own best selves.

Vice Lords, GD's, Black Stones, Crips, Bloods and all that I didn't mention, it's time to redevelop from that underdevelopment. As we all move into the '90s, the situation has gotten worse. It's time, brothers!

Lord Khaliff Amir Jihad #134224 / Box B / St. Cloud, MN 56302-1000

you all know I support your magazine.

In closing let me quote a saying by a Muslim scholar: "Correct thought is the prelude to correct knowledge and correct knowledge is the prelude to belief."

Jazakallahu Khoyran (May Allah reward you for the good),

Khalil Abdul Aziz #65488 / Unit 5, Box 10,000 / Limon, CO 80826

EUROPE'S OWN CRIME BILLS

Dear *Blast!*,

Hello. Thanks very much for sending me a copy of *The Blast!* I was interested to read about the US Crime Bill because on the same day I got my *Blast!* I got *The Verge*, which is a European magazine, and there was an article in it about the Criminal Justice Act in England *[see also* Blast! #4—*ed].* Here's a summary of what they printed:

In Germany, a big package of laws known as 'security laws' passed in the German parliament with support of both major parties. Hidden behind propaganda against organized crime, these laws include increased penalties for trespassing on land and for public disorder. They extend permission for government telephone monitoring, enact new measures to speed up trials, and introduce official vigilante patrols. Further measures include clamping down on raves and anti-foreigner legislation, which will make deportation easier. It will also create a central register of 'criminal foreigners' to collect information about 'extremism'.

In the Netherlands, a law has been reintroduced from the 1930s that forbids you to show your beliefs on your clothes. It was meant to stop the nazis from walking the streets, but on March 4 it was used in Utrecht to prevent an antifascist demonstration! Everyone with army boots or hair that was too long or too short was arrested.

In Austria, after successful occupations of building sites of an energy plant in 1989 and a road building site in 1991, Austrian activists were fined not only for the normal sentence but also had to pay compensation to the companies who could not do their work while the sites were occupied.

France recently introduced the Criminal Code without any protest from the opposition party. Squatters now face a jail sentence of up to a year and a 100,000 francs fine. The Criminal Code also contains legislation against travellers and ravers, and allows any vehicle within a 10 kilometer radius to be searched.

I know this is all pretty tame stuff in comparison to the Crime Bill in the US, but it's the thin end of the wedge.

Be fruitful,

Maggie / 16 Greenbank Trc / Cullivoe / Yell / Shetland / 2E2 9DD / UK

"GOOD COPS"

GOOD COP IN THE SUBURBS — GOOD COP IN THE CITY

ISLAM AND GANG BANGIN'

Dear *Blast!* magazine,

I am an incarcerated Muslim in Colorado. I was recently given your magazine to check out, and I can totally relate to it. I don't consider myself an inmate, I am a hostage of this fascist government.

I read one of the letters in your letters section and would like to comment on it. It was titled "Crips are Rollin with the Struggle" [*Blast!* #5]. I am glad the Crips are trying to come together to stop the violence, but on the other hand I have to speak on the comment that brother made pertaining to Islam. One, you can't be a Crip gang member and a Muslim; it doesn't work like that. Two, the Rollin Sixtys (who get their props) are not an "Almighty" gang. Only Allah (azza wa jall) is Almighty.

The religion of Islam is about submission to Allah (azza wa jall), not gang bangin'. The Holy Quran says "Oppression is worse than slaughter." I believe that, and I give props to any and all who are for positive movement, Muslim or not. The point I wanted to stress with this missive is just to set the record straight on Islam, and to let

A MESSAGE TO WHITE ANARCHISTS AND OTHER SO-CALLED "RADICALS"

Blast!,

The steady hoof beat of Amerikkkan-style fascism marches on in thunderous repetition across the US and the world. While the left continues to exhibit its usual impotency due to its inherent dogmatism and cult-like sectarian nature, anarchists and anti-authoritarians squander our golden opportunity to provide a meaningful alternative by not organizing a real example.

Factionalism bordering on fanaticism divides many of the so-called "revolutionary" formations. The same individuals or groups who denounce and ridicule Marxist-Leninist formations for being authoritarian in fact contribute to a general atmosphere of rigid authoritarianism on an interpersonal level with an underlying attitude of "my way or no way." Why is it that the various formations cannot accept a plurality of views among anarchist pro-revolution forces throughout the country? Aren't the concepts of compromise

Two Strategies for Radical Change

Number One

The *Blast!* collective,

I rarely write letters to publications, but in this case I feel like I have a personal connection as well as a vested community interest in doing so. First off, let me say that I respect the huge effort y'all are putting in to get out information from a radical position. Often you expose information and perspectives that are either hidden or supressed. The value of such an effort goes beyond measure. My concerns are three-fold: 1) vanguardism and reactionary attitudes within Love and Rage towards info shops, survival centers, and free stores; 2) the leftoid "bourgeois-baiting" of the everyday, the creative, and the cultural aspects of struggle in favor of a very linear, formulaic, heavy-handed, long-winded political strategy; and 3) the relationship between Love and Rage and *The Blast!* and revolution. *[editors' note:* The Blast! *collective is a member group of the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation.]*

I've been actively involved in the Emma Community Center / free store / info shop for three years, both in its inception and its development. I don't identify as an anarchist, yet I believe strongly in decentralized, directly democratic power and organizing; political and cultural autonomy/free association; basic universal human rights; and the *self-liberation of the oppressed.*

When Emma Center got started I was excited at the prospect of being involved in a radical collective that would engage in creative actions that provide *real material support* and solidarity with struggling people in a mixed class and multi-racial neighborhood in South Minneapolis. I was frustrated with the limitations of protest politics and the futility of constantly debating the finer points of revolutionary thought with the same twenty people—my particular clique, "the anarchists." By creating an open public space for a broader range of people to enter, interact with, and organize with, the more practical ideas of anarchism like collectivity and mutual support might be seen as options by those people who could stand to gain from them. At the same time, a common meeting ground can help break down the severe social and cultural alienation and stagnancy that keeps people isolated from one another and powerless against the dominant powers and culture.

Until recently at Emma, I often felt alone in my enthusiasm for developing a free food and clothing distribution and the free day care we've been offering every second and fourth Saturday for the past two years. I became depressed and frustrated with all the long-winded anti-authoritarian leftomatons who are so dogmatic that they could romanticize the Black Panther Party's work in developing free social services in the 1960s and at the same time revolutionary anarcho-rationalize against the creation of collectively run, radical, no-hassle, no preaching free food, clothing, childcare and information centers using, get this—an anti-imperialist argument.

Rather than build programs like free stores, food shelves, info-shops, literacy programs, and childcare centers, these "revolutionaries" would rather sit on their asses and nitpick, debate, and have national conferences of thirty elites to agree on a fifty-page formula for "the revolution" or the direction of their "federation." It's obvious to me that anarchist revolution these people are developing does not bode well for the poor, homeless, or others who are down on their luck.

And now Love and Ragers are waking up one by one to the fact that info shops, survival/cultural centers, and free stores are doing a fuckload more than their leftist cult, so in typical leftoid fashion they're covering their flat asses by either writing off these efforts like Chris Day [*see* Blast! #3—*ed.*] or complaining that they're "not explicitly revolutionary enough" like Big B [*see* Blast! #4]. Maybe not as "explicit" as Love and Rage's fifty-page political manifesto, but so what? If you are a poor single mom, what would you take? A long-winded political rant or free childcare, some free spaghetti and tomato sauce and a warm winter coat for your three-year old kid?

I don't want to sound paranoid, but what's next? Is Love and Rage going to try to co-opt the work of autonomous info shop collectives in order to "revolutionize" them?

One local [Minneapolis] Love and Rager once tried to justify his lack of support and dissatisfaction with the work of the Emma Center collective by accusing Emma of being too "countercultural." This leads me to my second main gripe: Does the revolutionary shmanarchist movement, does Love and Rage, does *The Blast!* have it written somewhere in its political statement that the actions and resistances of people in their everyday life mean nothing to the transformation of society; that music, fashion and art are bourgeois by their very essence; that there are only a certain range of activities that can be classified as "state smashing" and that all other activities have no connection to resistance? Because y'all certainly act like it.

But then again, the amount of respect y'all seem to have for the often very radical music and culture of hip hop seems to contradict this. Or are you putting hip hop an an uncritical pedestal out of your own insecurity about how white your movement and political groups are? Is it a recruiting strategy? If this is the case, you are tokenistic and avoiding dealing with your own racism.

Or if you, hypothetically speaking, apologize for any machismo, homophobia, cutthroat competitiveness or any other reactionary stuff that exists in parts of hip hop then you are condescending hypocrites. And if you seek to use hip hop culture and music (without being an answerable part of it) as a cultural medium, anthem, or symbol for your particular revolutionary platform or as a

Continued on next page

and mutual aid two pillars of anarchist and anti-authoritarian theory and practice? It seems to me that anyone who cannot get past their pathetic little ego long enough to assist in the creation of institutions which propagate and demonstrate the practicality of anarchism in daily life are basically closet supporters of fascism by default.

The saddest part of all this (besides the fact that we do not deal with these people decisively) is that the practitioners of this type of reactionary ideology are too ignorant, self-righteous, and weak to just simply join a fascist organization, put on its uniform, and do their "Christian duty" of eradicating all of us "niggers," "spics," "faggots," "race traitors," "gooks," and "hymies."

I believe that the reasons behind the stifling of the "do-somethings" by the "do-nothings" has much to do with the fact that the majority of the "do-nothings" (who do occasionally contribute something, albeit marginally) view anarchist politics as a means of escaping from white bourgeois authoritarian society and their own personal middle or upper class upbringing.

Unfortunately, like their ancestors did in the various exoduses from Europe after 1492, they bring with them the diseases of the "old world." Upon their arrival into the "new world" of anti-authoritarian-style struggle they attempt to or begin to "kill off" their more dedicated neighbors and natives within this type of struggle (long-time activists and people from oppressed nationalities and classes) by knowingly or unknowingly dumping their emotional and egotistical baggage upon them/us.

In addition, they then proceed to enter into the realm of struggle as if struggle is some kind of game in which the object is to impress others with your superior revolutionary insight or ability to name-drop. Their said intent may be the same as those of us who do this type of work seriously, but as many of us have witnessed time and time again, the intention of the pseudo-intellectual super-individualist is merely to stroke his or her transparent, fragile little ego.

This achieves nothing except to bog down the most directly affected nationalities and classes while at the same time assisting the trained, dedicated forces of fascism and reaction in their tasks of recruiting poor (and middle class) whites as their "guard dogs" against poor Black and Brown people. And let's not forget the equally dedicated opportunist Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties who seek loyal subjects for their "kinder, gentler" version of (left) white supremacist "utopia."

I've had some of these middle class dropouts tell me that they do political work purely out of sheer "self-interest." To them I say: What "self-interest"?! You barely do anything at all, so obviously you don't seem to be very interested. It's purely by accident you make any kind of lasting contribution to the struggle on your days off from "defending your right to be lazy." For you, it is not about national or class liberation (or even human liberation), it's about doing the very thing you shun leftists for: *struggling for a cause*. Sure, you could argue that your "personal self-interest" and "pleasure" are your motivations (is that your "cause"?), but this would also explain your distinct lack of real commitment, since you approach (and interfere with) the struggles of economically and racially oppressed people as a *hobby* and do not treat political work as a statement of the quality of your individual character or as a matter of life or death.

This explains why "issues" such as racism, sexism, homophobia, hierarchical oppression, etc. are nothing more than just "issues" to you: *you are not the most directly affected, so therefore it is not in your "personal interest" to thoroughly and honestly deal with the totality of the much larger crisis that is bearing down upon oppressed nationalities and classes! You can stop pretending at any time that you give a shit about anyone except yourself!*

To sum up, your motives are suspect, your actions are obstructionist and generally opportunistic, your theory is bankrupt, and your attitude (like others of your class) is predatory. "Whiteness" is a dis-ease which I believe over time can be "cured" by the individual his or herself. Let's hope that we, as poor people of color (and the descendants of African slaves) do not have to "cure" it for you with the various "vaccines" manufactured by Smith & Wesson, Glock, or Winchester. We're making an honest attempt at raising political consciousness among our people. Will you do the same among yourselves? Or will you work for a "brighter future" for your class of origin with such sparkling personalities as Newt Gingrich, Bob Dole, Jesse Helms, and David Duke? Remember, you reap what you sow...

Greg Jackson / 323 Broadway Ave. E., Box 914 / Seattle, WA 98102

COLUMBUS ARA WANTS TO SEND YOU THEIR NEWSLETTER

And it's free as the wind! Lots of great anti-racist news, photos, and more. Send a postcard to:

Anti-Racist Action
PO Box 02097
Columbus, OH 43202

ISLAM AND THE LEFT

Dear Partisans,

As a believer in the faith of Islam, I must state that many misconstrue the position of a Muslim in light of oppression and the overall struggle we experience as human beings. There is no such thing as a "moderate Muslim" or passive pacifist in light of these circumstances. To those against whom war is made, permission is given to fight because They are wronged, and verily, Allah is Most Powerful for their aid—"Jihad." "Oppression is worse than slaughter" and treason is tantamount to murder!

This short missive was not spurred by anything written in your newspaper, but I felt that it should be clarified for the benefit of "commune" with the masses of the so-called Left. The first opportunity to read your fiery rag has sparked an interest in many of the true "soldiers of Islam" to create a definite identification with the devout—first to Allah, and he says fight!!

Peace be upon you all,

As-Sayyid Q.A.M / (s/n Jolivet) #534372 / 12002 South FM 350 / Livingston, TX 77351

Two Strategies

Continued from page 9

quick cultural replacement for your own lack of reflection and general out-of-touchedness with you own roots, I'd call it exploitative. But if you are truly interested in supporting, interacting with, and developing principled ties with the radicals in hip hop, more power to you. I know I am.

An isn't that it—an out-of-touchedness that many "white" radicals feel when considering their cultural options after rejecting the fucked-up dominant culture? Isn't that where punk sometimes steps in? And doesn't that make it a significant cultural phenomenon? Yes, a lot of punks have some really fucked up attitudes, but I've never felt that the answer was to become blanketly reactionary towards the punk scene and ignore it as some anarchists have done.

I've chosen to be directly critical of it while working with those punks who are sincere about resistance. Forget the punk kings at Profane Existence, the real heroes and heroines in the punk scene are the ones who don't spout off about recklessly smashing society to pieces while peddling chaos punk records but actually take care of each other, support each other's resistance, and establish respectful relationships between themselves and other people squelched in the inner city. You, like I have been, will be called "anti-punk" for pointing out fucked up attitudes in the punk scene, whether they be violent, nihilistic, homophobic, or macho. But you've got to get into it; c'mon, joel, how many years were you a punk?

Punk is not inherently revolutionary but neither is hip hop. So what! Neither are you or I for chrissakes! Get in touch! Anyhow, I hope you continue to hook into the counterculture even more. In fact, maybe this is a place where a positive, noncompetitive-lefty connection could be made between *The Blast!* and the Emma Center, since we host shows and benefits with all kinds of radical artists, including hip hop and punk bands.

Throw your revolutionary fantasies out the window with your TV set.

Let me make this clear. I'm not a revolutionary and I don't claim to be. So if you think anything I've said in this letter is counterrevolutionary, you're probably right! You can't have a significant shift in power in society (i.e. a revolution) until you have a foundation. And that's where my energy is—building foundations, not in propagandizing for revolution. I'm not your comrade and I never will be. Maybe we're friends, maybe we're allies. In fact, the chances are greater that I become your lover than I become your comrade (you know, I've always thought you were cute, joel).

A few questions before I depart. Why does *The Blast!* put all its support behind a pseudo-federation? Basically, Love and Rage is a propaganda outfit, just like *The Blast!*. *Blast!* has way more guts and personality than Love and Rage. You're better than they are! You're more grass roots! You do more! They should join you!

Really though, in organizing terms, Love and Rage is just a leftist cadre membership vanguard. Why not get connected to more grass roots struggles, especially locally, and at the same time open up and diversify your editorial policy and decision-making and pool your production resources with other groups towards a wider community-empowering journal?

And why does *The Blast!* defend charges of racism against Love and Rage from Black radicals such as Ojore N. Lutalo and Lorenzo Komboa Ervin by saying that Love and Rage's analysis is "anti-racist" without looking deeper into where the charges and spoken frustration is coming from? There's a huge gap between paper and action. An analysis on paper could be as nonracist as anything but one's actions are another story. Let's look into the term "neo-racist" supplied to us by Lutalo and consider the position that white anti-racist groups like Anti-Racist Action have put themselves in: setting agendas to resist racism without the voices or significant input from those who are affected by the oppression.

For real work, flexibility, and reflection,

Shawn Decentralisti

OUTPUNK
is a queer punk record label and fanzine. Send a stamp for a catalog.

Outpunk, POBox 170501, San Francisco, CA 94117
email: OUTPUNKSF@aol.com

Number Two

I want to thank Shawn for writing his letter and for agreeing to let me write a response so *The Blast!* could treat his political criticisms seriously and sincerely.

First of all, it should be said that the info shop and revolutionary anarchist perspectives have a lot in common. They share a critique of vanguardism (the belief in a revolutionary Party that will "lead the masses" to socialism) and a commitment to decentralism, democracy, direct action, and a strong opposition to all forms of oppression.

That said, there are differences, and my criticism of info shops is not what they do, it's what they don't do. Case in point: Shawn criticizes revolutionary anarchists for cheering the Black Panther Party's free breakfast programs while dismissing info shops. Is this a contradiction?

According to Panther David Hilliard, the BPP used "the weapon of example to educate the masses." The purpose of the Panthers' free clinics, breakfast programs, and liberation schools was twofold: 1) to provide hassle-free services to poor communities, and 2) to show by example that the government can't or won't provide these services to the oppressed. The Panther programs were used to build a *dual power*: By providing these services, they were building a movement toward a new society while challenging the structures of the old.

Do info shops build a dual power? I think many of their advocates want them to. The free food and clothing shelves at Emma Center and the Free Skool at the Autonomous Zone in Chicago, for example, were created with such intentions. But the Panther programs were created by the oppressed, for the oppressed, especially the Black community. Most info shops, on the other hand, have problems connecting with oppressed communities because they are run by (mostly) white collectives in (mostly) poor Black or Latino neighborhoods.

Further, as one info shop activist has observed, info shops often serve as "white frontier collectives" that act (unwillingly, to be sure) as the shock troops of gentrification in poor neighborhoods. The presence of white folks in a neighborhood, even angry ones, makes it easier for real estate developers to convince yuppies that the neighborhood is safe and "hip." Shawn points to the racism and whiteness of much of the revolutionary anarchist scene, but experience shows that problems of race privilege are just as present in the info shop scene.

This problem can be overcome with effort. Hopefully it will. There is, however, another problem with the info shop strategy, and that is its conception of social change. Shawn states that he is not a revolutionary. His point is that social change is a gradual process of building institutions of mutual support.

It is important to build such institutions. But revolution is *not* just an evolutionary process of changing ourselves and our surroundings, it is also a concrete historical event. Revolution is the (often violent) overthrow of an oppressor class by the oppressed. Of course, a revolution that leads to a truly free society will have to do more than that—it will have to fight all forms of oppression—but that doesn't change the basic fact that revolution requires smashing the powers that be. We have to kill the cop in our heads, but we also have to clear them off the streets.

The info shop strategy sees social change as an "organic" process. The theory goes that if people create their own collectives and info shops and network them, a movement toward greater egalitarian behavior will grow organically, like mushrooms in a wet field. The purpose of info shops is to provide people with the political education that can help them develop their own understanding of what revolution is, and to give them the tools to start their own collective.

This strategy has been tried before, in the Chinese "New Village" movement of 1918-21, in the American utopian community movement of the 19th century, and in the intentional community movement of the 20th century. It doesn't work. Movements aren't built organically, they are built *politically*, through struggle. The key to a revolutionary movement is to build alliances among peoples and struggles in order to create a mass movement. Info shops can provide material aid and political education, but they do not channel that aid toward the creation of a mass movement like the Panther programs did.

It is true that revolutionary anarchist groups focus on participating in social struggles (copwatch programs, defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Zapatista solidarity, prisoner support, etc.) rather than providing material aid. It is also true, however, that info shops have yet to connect their material aid with communities' struggles for justice. The belief that social change is an organic and evolutionary process will only hurt efforts to build those bridges.

A final note about *The Blast!*'s dismissal of culture and everyday forms of resistance. Our criticism is not of countercultures themselves but of *countercultural approaches* to social change. Radical culture and everyday forms of resistance are necessary to challenge the system—they're cracks in the concrete. We admire their creative forms of resistance to the cops, racism, homophobia, and Beverly Hills 90210 lifestyles. However, it takes more than culture to smash the state; it also requires politics and organization. We are critical of tendencies in countercultures that think their very existence is a threat to oppression. Likewise, we want to encourage tendencies—whether they exist in punk, hip hop, or queer culture—that see the need to link their actions and lifestyles to a political perspective and movement.

Info shops and their advocates are not the enemy. They present a different approach to radical change than we push for in *The Blast!*. Despite our differences, I hope we can debate these matters in a friendly way while working together where it counts—in the streets.

—joel

For a good look at the theory and practice of info shops, check out *(Dis)Connection* (c/o Wooden Shoe Books / 112 S. 20th St. / Philadelphia, PA 19103). For more info on revolutionary anarchism, write to Love and Rage (PO Box 25412, Albuquerque, NM 87125) or the Federation of Black Community Partisans (323 Broadway Ave. E. Box 914 / Seattle, WA 98102).

And this little piggie went to bust some...

Awww, no more little piggies!

COPS

A Special Issue

Ever heard of the "thin blue line?"

It's what they believe. Cops think they're the "thin blue line."

They claim that society has run amok; that predators and the violent crazies are everywhere; that there's three types of people: There's the decent people, there's the scum and there's the cops. They keep the scum away from the decent people. When some of the decent people go slumming with the scum, the cops might have to arrest them. But only the cops are supposed to see both worlds.

They are the thin blue line that keeps society as orderly as possible, given the circumstances.

The circumstances? What they hell are they thinking? Society has run amok, alright, because the people who own everything are the most desperate, back-to-the-wall, crazed people in history. There's a *reason* why young men are shooting each other over starter jackets. They're not the ones who invented the craziness.

The thin blue line is very much a color bar. Some peoples of color have crossed over into protection and privilege, and many people in oppressed communites have called for more cops, but policing in America has always enforced whiteness.

Ever since the invention of whiteness, poor European immigrants had a chance to escape the worst violence of the cops. Escaping into whiteness meant crossing the thin blue line into the "decent" folk — and leaving the "scum" behind. And if you wouldn't or couldn't quite escape, the billy club was for you.

We want to blast "decency" away forever. We want to abolish the idea of "scum." We want to smash the thin blue line.

Welcome to the first *Blast!* cops issue.

kops and kurfews

by Katrina

This country is implementing martial law. State by state, county by county, the government is passing laws stating that a segment of the general population cannot be outside or in any public place after midnight or in some cities after 9 pmWhy isn't everyone freaking out? Because it's just kids.

As Hennepin County Attorney Mike Freeman says, "When you have a fourteen year-old girl on Hennepin Avenue at 3 am, no good can come from it." So the answer is to arrest and detain her until her parents can come get her. She then receives a $100 ticket.

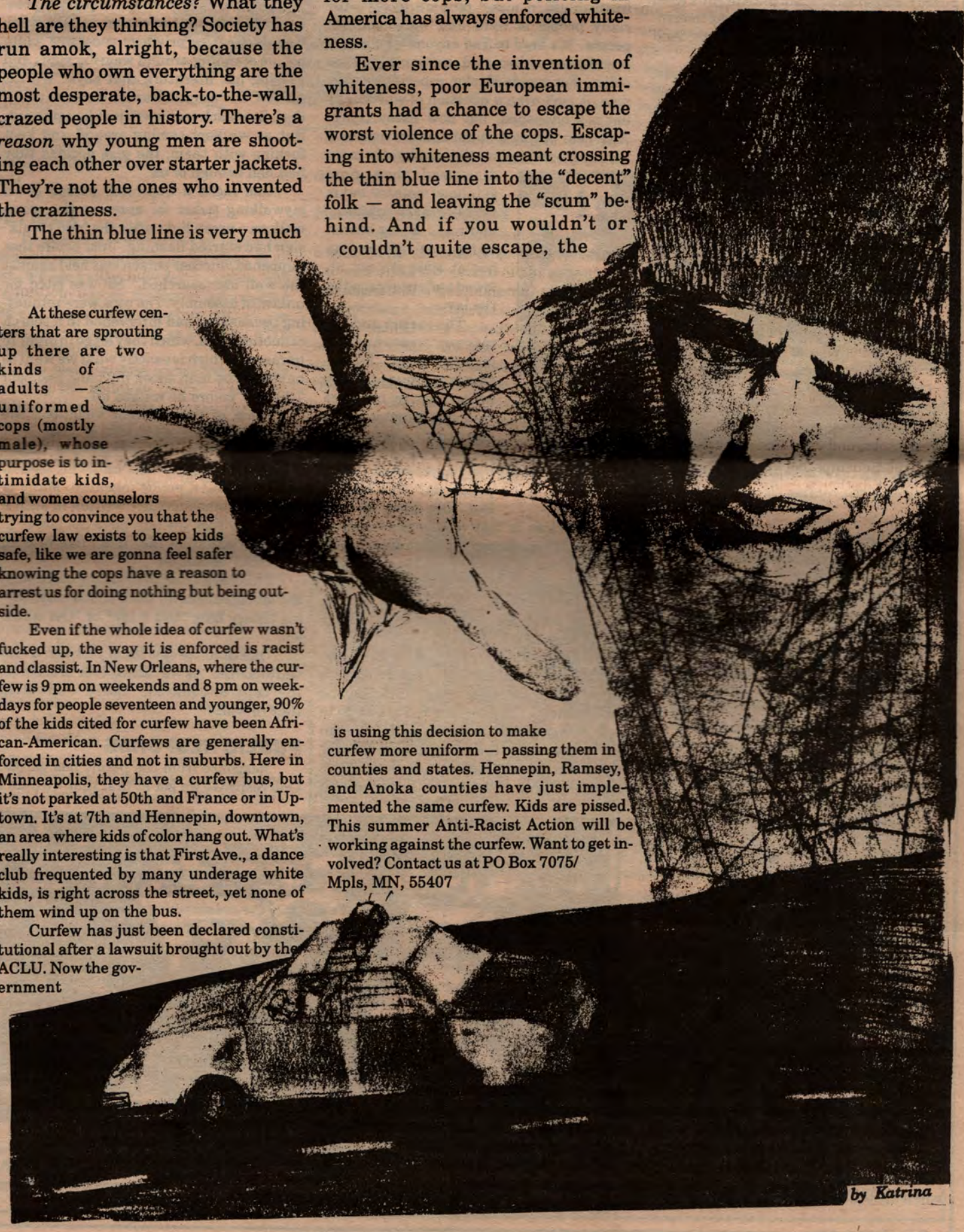
The curfew law has obvious bias. First, there's the age thing, which ain't new. People under eighteen don't have civil rights, and now they don't even have the right to work out with their legal guardians what time they come home and where they can spend their free time. There is also an obvious classism. If you have a car or your parents let you use theirs, chances are you won't get picked up for curfew. Having to walk or take a bus home is now a crime. If you have to work, the time you have to hang out with your friends is limited to night.

It does surprise me a little that more liberals aren't at all worried about this invasion of our rights. The state is playing on two big fears to justify the curfew law: juvenile "crimes" like graffiti and petty theft, and young girls getting raped or killed. The first is completely crazy. It says that it's okay to restrict freedom because if you are young you are more likely to commit crimes. The second is equally ridiculous; rape is very scary but most often women are not raped by strangers on the streets, and the way to stop rape is not to make it illegal for "potential rape victims" to be on the street.

At these curfew centers that are sprouting up there are two kinds of adults — uniformed cops (mostly male), whose purpose is to intimidate kids, and women counselors trying to convince you that the curfew law exists to keep kids safe, like we are gonna feel safer knowing the cops have a reason to arrest us for doing nothing but being outside.

Even if the whole idea of curfew wasn't fucked up, the way it is enforced is racist and classist. In New Orleans, where the curfew is 9 pm on weekends and 8 pm on weekdays for people seventeen and younger, 90% of the kids cited for curfew have been African-American. Curfews are generally enforced in cities and not in suburbs. Here in Minneapolis, they have a curfew bus, but it's not parked at 50th and France or in Uptown. It's at 7th and Hennepin, downtown, an area where kids of color hang out. What's really interesting is that First Ave., a dance club frequented by many underage white kids, is right across the street, yet none of them wind up on the bus.

Curfew has just been declared constitutional after a lawsuit brought out by the ACLU. Now the government is using this decision to make curfew more uniform — passing them in counties and states. Hennepin, Ramsey, and Anoka counties have just implemented the same curfew. Kids are pissed. This summer Anti-Racist Action will be working against the curfew. Want to get involved? Contact us at PO Box 7075/ Mpls, MN, 55407



by Katrina

Copwatch in Minneapolis

POLICING THE BEAT

by Selena and Katrina

Anti-Racist Action Copwatch has been going out every other Friday or Saturday night for eight months. Anti-Racist-Action is a youth oriented direct action group that fights racism on three different fronts. We confront organized racists/fascists like the Klu Klux Klan and neo-nazi skinheads. We fight institutional racism created by the state. And finally we watch cops.

Our "beat" is and Hennepin avenue, from 9th to 5th street in downtown Minneapolis. We talk to people and hand out information about ARA and what to do if you are arrested, and of course watch the police. During arrests and traffic stops we are witnesses to police conduct and intervene as much as possible. When we are loud and threatening enough the police sometimes will let the person they were arresting go and focus their attention on us.

Copwatch confronting the enemy. photo: Michael C.

We carry a camera and often a video camera to remind police that their actions are not going unnoticed. It also gives the people walking around downtown the message that the police need to be watched. If people realize the cops' authority can be questioned they will be willing to question it themselves. It helps build the already - existing anti-cop culture. And of course, it's a great way to piss off the cops.

WHO THOUGHT UP COPWATCHING?

Anti-Racist Action is not the first group of people to realize that cops need be watched. People have been randomly observing and interfering with police activity since cops have been abusing their authority (always!).

The Black Panthers were the first group to organize people specifically to watch the pigs. At that time it was legal to carry guns as long as they weren't concealed, so the Panthers armed themselves to defend their neighborhoods from police violence and harassment. Huey Newton, co-founder of the Black Panther Party, also armed himself with intricate knowledge of the laws, so he could come back at the cops when they lied about the peoples' rights. The Panthers proved that standing up to the police and preventing brutality is self-defense.

RACIST PIGS

Anti-Racist Action recognizes the police force as one of the most oppressive institutions in many people's lives, especially people of color and working class people. It's hard to find anyone who hasn't been harassed, arrested or assaulted by the police. For people of color, especially young men, it isn't even a question of whether or not it's happened, but how many times. ARA sees taking a stand against cops as a move against racism that is slightly more disguised then nazi skinhead violence but is actually more concrete and real. Being beaten up by a nazi is fucked-up but at least it's not allowed and encouraged by the law.

The racism and harassment we see from the pigs is blatant. For instance, a group of drunk white men in business suits can stumble along downtown, harassing women and "disturbing the peace" what dothe police do? NOTHING. But any group of African-American or Native-American men or women will get threatened with detox or jail if they stand on a corner too long because they are seen as a "threat to people's (rich white folks) safety." It is just so fucking obvious what the pigs agenda is. They aren't even subtle about it.

Although it's not only white folks who do Copwatch, we are often perceived as a white group. Being seen as "white" can be an advantage. It gives you the privilege to take things further with the police. We can get away with things cops would never tolerate from people of color, such as taunting and yelling at them. It is important for white folks to take a stand against the cops, to show we are not all loyal to this oppressive system. A part of what we are doing is trying to shift police repression away from African-American teenagers onto us.

Pigs searching a teenager for allegedly throwing gang signs. photo: Micheal C.

CLAMPDOWN ON COPWATCH

Downtown pigs do not enjoy our presence. At first they tolerated us. It's crazy how deep white privilege goes: five white people standing around wearing signs and passing out literature that says "WE'RE ANTI-COP" are still less of a threat to police than five black teenagers just hanging out. But as we kept coming around and kept fucking with them, the pigs decided they had had enough of us.

One night a Copwatch person got a jaywalking ticket for entering the crosswalk on a green light after the "don't walk" sign had started flashing. Just before that happened, another person was held against the wall and searched. He was cited for unlawful assembly. The cops were retaliating because we had intervened in a search of another man, which they let go in order to harass us, which is exactly what we want to happen. The man shook my hand and said "'thanks" before he walked off.

Some of the different violations the cops have threatened us with or cited us for are loitering, littering, obstruction of a walkway, crosswalk bullshit, unlawful assembly and being a public nuisance. Many of these misdemeanors are written in such a vague way that the pigs have the power to 'turn any situation they don't like into an "unlawful" situation.

The cops also enjoy insulting us through the loudspeakers on their squad cars, saying things like, "Get a life" or "Get a real job."

One time we saw them pull over a rich white couple. As we rushed over to observe, the cops announced, "Sorry Copwatch, they're white."

PUBLIC RESPONSE

Response from the public has varied. One response we got at first that we didn't expect was the perception of us being a Lefty-Vigilante group in support of the pigs. When we approached or were approached by folks, many asked, "So...are you for or against the police?" We quickly learned that we needed to take a different approach.

Next time out we were saying, "Hey, what's up? We're ANTI-COP, with Copwatch", or simply, "Hi, we're ANTI-COP". The response has been largely supportive. The majority of people in support of us were younger people and African American folks.

Difference in class background really has an impact on whether the individual is anti-cop or supportive of the police. Many working class white folks, already pitted against each other and against people of color, are seriously cop friendly. In this white supremacist, capitalist country, workers are taught to fear the "other." The cops are puppets for a fucked-up system, and their job is to keep us divided, maintain the hate, hype and fear, and make sure the money stays in the hands of a few.

The response to us by middle to upper class men and women is nil. They don's see us, they don't hear us. Middle class folks *are* protected by the police, and do not see what is really going on around them. Ignorance is their bliss, but it will eventually be their downfall.

Many people of color asked the questions, "So, what are you really going to do?" and "What exactly will we do without cops?" Those are both tough fucking questions and are hard to answer in a nutshell to interested passersby.

ARE WE GONNA WATCH COPS FOREVER?

Abolishing police is the ultimate goal, but this can't happen within the current system. If we had a free society, where wealth was distributed equally, white supremacy and capitalism would sink and we'd have no need for the police. But until then, police, will remain. These pigs should NOT be able to exist without fierce resistance, accountability and scrutiny of their "system."

Copwatch has lots of work ahead. Besides continuing to think theory and strategy and continuing to do more outreach, Copwatch also needs more bodies to be out in the streets. What we also need to do is learn the laws as they apply to us. The pigs use tactics to discourage us, to cost us time and money, to intimidate or discredit us. If Copwatch people are aware and have the criminal codes memorized or printed on cards, we can be knowledgeable i.e. threatening, to the cops.

Anyone can and should watch the police, whenever you see them interacting with people. As a witness you are showing your support for whoever they are pulling a power trip on. You can see their biases for yourself. You are also giving the cops the message that they are being watched.

If you want to go out on a Copwatch contact ARA, care of the BLAST!

Copwatch in Boston

WE WATCH THE COPS

by Peg

There are two segments of the population in the U.S. who know that the police are a domestic occupational military force whose primary purpose is to serve the interest of capital by maintaining "law and order"—otherwise known in the international arena as political and social "stability." First and foremost are black and brown people, who are the main targets of police repression and who are systematically criminalized as a people, no matter what their socio-economic or political status. Second are those who possess racial privilege and are considered "white" but who, for various reasons, pose a threat to the established order. Revolutionaries, militant activists, street and counterculture youth, and the homeless make up this segment of the population.

We at Copwatch fall into the "white" revolutionary camp. As revolutionaries, we believe one of the primary tasks at this time and in this part of the world is to destroy the white race. Whiteness is the linchpin that, once blown apart, may open the floodgates to the revolutionary potential of the working class in the U.S. As history has painfully taught us, the hope of true liberation in the US and of effectively supporting revolutions elsewhere will remain futile unless we hammer away at the divisive notion of a "white race."

THEORY MEETS PRACTICE

The police are the front-line assault in the war against black and brown people. While the police beat is not the only theater in this war, it is the most brutal, visible, and direct one. Simultaneously the police campaign is the most glorified, celebrated, and supported component of the war among the so-called white population. The mostly white electorate continues to vote for more prisons, more cops, and more severe prison terms. White urbanites often join forces with the police as local informers. Initiating a counter-attack against the cops and cop culture holds many opportunities for revolutionaries. The most obvious tactic to us in this counter-attack is Copwatch.

Inherent in Copwatch are several elements of revolutionary practice: 1) direct confrontation with the state, 2) mass mobilization of the two segments of society mentioned above, 3) an opportunity to build a dual power, 4) an activity that encourages treason to whiteness for whites, and 5) local application of a national issue with international implications. While we are still in the early stages of implementing Copwatch, our immediate aims are to expose police practices for what they are, establish a reputation for the project as a serious and effective part of the struggle, and build relationships with people in the area(s) we're doing Copwatch.

In the long run, we hope to create an environment of public awareness and alarm over police practices which will both curtail police "business as usual" and stimulate mass direct action that may eventually lead to a redefinition of crime, safety, and security, as well as the establishment of liberational means to address those ends.

DETAILS

To expose police activity, we patrol the area in a visible marked car, on bikes, or on foot. We use a video recorder, a camera, and a hotline to gather firsthand information and evidence. To get the word out, we use flyers, stickers, and our newsletter, THE POLICE BEAT!

Our best exposure comes from simply watching the police in public: visibly recording police activities makes their actions (and their very existence) suspect to anyone who witnesses it. By clearly identifying ourselves we create a degree of protection for ourselves (though to what extent remains to be seen) while also identifying ourselves as allies to the local black and brown population. It also helps us identify potential recruits. As a small "white" group at this time with limited connections in communities of color, we see this as a critical aspect of our work—demonstrating what we're about rather than just talking a line.

We've found it particularly important to stress that our only concern is the cops. For instance, we often introduce ourselves as "Copwatch—we watch the cops." With so many police-lackey neighborhood snitch groups out there, we want to be sure folks know we're not watching them.

We have found that it is most effective for our Copwatch to concentrate on a particular geographic area. In choosing an area, we looked for certain characteristics: a population with a high percentage of black and brown folk, low income folk of all classifications, counterculture white folk, and a substantial number of establishment-types who are interested in "cleaning up," "beautifying," or "improving" the area.

We also looked for an active street-front business district with plenty of pedestrian traffic and public facilities such as a police station, jail or courthouse, city hall, social service agencies, hospitals or public housing projects. This combination of factors generally leads to a high concentration of police activity, a prime location for Copwatch.

At this time we are concentrating our efforts in the South End neighborhood of Boston. The South End has a long history of interracial residency, grassroots community activism, and problems with urban blight on the one hand and gentrification on the other.

NAVIGATING RACE

As we've mentioned earlier, we're a small band of people with race privilege. Our main goal with white folk is to recruit participants and raise consciousness about race privilege and the role it plays in maintaining the existing capitalist system. Our main goal with black and brown folk is to develop working relationships with them, either inside or outside Copwatch.

Since they are the ones with the most experience with police repression we need to establish trusting relationships. This is necessary for us to play our role in combating the war and joining with them to end the police state we live under. Gaining recuits from their ranks is not a primary goal at this time, though recruits would certainly be welcomed.

We support any and all attempts by black and brown people to throw off their police oppressors. For a group of black or brown folk to start a Copwatch would be something like revolutionary self-defense. For a group of so-called whites, it is tantamount to opening a second front. Just as we see opening a second front as the only real way for North Americans to support Third World revolutions, so it follows for the U.S. and trying to halt existing police practices while in the process redefining reality and the future.

THE DOMINO EFFECT

We want this project to spread throughout the city, state, and nation. As more people hear about it, we expect more projects like it to emerge. We first heard of a Copwatch program in Berkeley, California, and we know of similar projects in Minneapolis, in Paterson (New Jersey), an effective (though not formally organized) effort in Seattle and one that was going strong in the 1980s in Chattanooga. Though all these differ from our project in some ways, we encourage all actions that confront the state in the guise of the police—as long as they do not fall victim to liberal reformism. Improving the behavior of the police is not the goal here. Working towards a citizen review board or any other kind of police reform only serves to legitimize the police.

We live in a violent society. People have legitimate concerns about suffering harm at the hands of other people. There is only one real, lasting way to rid ourselves of that fear. We must develop the individual's and community's ability to discipline themselves in order to foster the liberation of humanity from all oppression. A direct action campaign against the police and police culture is one step toward the redefinition of safety and security, crime and punishment. The revolutionary potential lies in discrediting and trying to halt existing police practices while in the process redefining reality and the future.

Building off of the Copwatch project, we envision related projects: a campaign against cop culture, court case support work (turning every arrest of a black or brown person into a political arrest), anti-prison efforts, and other things. Once people come together and examine the vast distance between what they need and what they are expected to settle for, the opportunities are limitless.

INTERESTED PERSONS MAY CALL THE COPWATCH HOTLINE AT (617) 455-7348

Copwatch: Because the cops are already watching you. photo: Erin

HATE THE

THE ROLE THE POLICE PLAY IN THE USA

by Justine and Joel

Admit it. Most of the time, if not all of the time, you hate the police. You hate the way they hassle people on the street. You hate the way they beat a person and then charge them with "assaulting a police officer." You hate the way they always single out Black and Brown people for "special treatment." You hate what they did to your friend a while back. You hate what they did to *you* a while back. You hate the police.

But when asked what we think about the police, most of us feel the need to get philosophical. "Well, cops are pretty racist and they beat up a lot of folks," we say, "But not all of them are bad. In fact, I know a friend's cousin's stepsister's kid who's a cop, and he's okay. The police have a tough job, it's just a few bad apples who spoil their reputation for everyone."

So here we have it. One's experiences with the police—almost entirely bad—and

one's philosophy of the police—a few bad apples spoil the barrel.

The purpose of this article is to prove to you that your gut feelings are right, and the "bad apple" philosophy is wrong. There might be people who work as cops who are otherwise okay, sure. But there is no such thing as a good cop. The role of police in this society is not to protect people and enforce the laws, it is to maintain the status quo. Police act as a form of social control over the poor and alienated for the benefit of those in power. "Good cop" or bad, that's their job.

Ideology of the pig

Cops claim their role is to be the "thin blue line" between individual freedom and social order. Without them, the story goes, everyone would step on everyone else's rights, and chaos would follow.

From this ideology arises two purposes of the police. The first purpose is law enforcement. Ask any cop and he'll tell you his job is to enforce the laws that protect persons and property. Of course, cops don't do a very good job at this. They hardly ever catch criminals red-handed (or even try), so they rarely protect persons from assault, rape, or robbery. The most they do is arrest a person after the fact and testify against them in court. So, what they end up doing most of the time is protecting property, and because most of the world's property is owned by a handful of people, most of the time the cops protect the property of the rich. So much for law enforcement.

To maintain the status quo, cops have to protect the property of the rich, but they also have to control the behavior of the entire population. As sociologist John L. Cooper points out, "Let it be said that the primary function of police is not crime-fighting, but that of attempting to maintain social order." Cops' main job is to "keep the peace" and to make sure folks behave "in an orderly fashion." This is why the police concern themselves with the minute details of society: the drunks, the purse snatchers, the prostitutes, the speeders, the rebels.

As author Michel Foucault puts it, cops are like a "dust" that covers the events, actions, behaviors, and opinions of all of society, but especially of the poor. They try to get into every nook and cranny to watch for and prevent resistance. As a French police lackey put it way back in the 18th century, "By means of a wise police, the sovereign [ruler] accustoms the people to order and obedience."

Police make sure people obey the rules of society. But under capitalism, the rules are unfair. They are designed to benefit a tiny minority and exploit the vast majority. Furthermore, some people are defined as lawbreakers in capitalist society for who they are, not for what they do, and the job of the police is to constantly repress them. In 19th century England, where the modern police first appeared, this permanent "criminal class" was the urban working class. In the United States today, it is Black and Brown people.

The invention of the police

The police as we know them have not always existed. In fact, the first modern police force didn't appear until 1829 in London. (See "Life Without Cops," below, for an idea of what existed before the cops in some societies.) It is no coincidence that the modern police emerged at the same time capitalism really started to get strong, and in the country where capitalism grew the fastest (England).

Early capitalism required a large, concentrated labor force to work in the factories. Cities like London began to skyrocket in population as more and more poor peasants moved to the cities looking for work. With capitalism comes unemployment, however, and the combination of sudden urbanization and a large group of desperately poor and unemployed people led to an increase in crime in London.

The politicians and capitalists weren't concerned about crime within working class neighborhoods (just like they're not concerned with "Black-on-Black" crime now), but they were scared that crime might spread to *their* neighborhoods, so they clamored for a better way to protect their interests and to control the poor.

They got their way. In 1829, the Metropolitan Police Act created the first modern police force. But funny enough, the new London police were not allowed to patrol the actual city of London (where, of course, the rich folks lived). Instead, their beat was limited to the working class neighborhoods surrounding the city. From the beginning, then, the purpose of the police was social control of "the rabble." Like an occupying army, the police entered poor neighborhoods to smash resistance and to keep the poor from invading the rich neighborhoods.

The first police hardly bothered with fighting crime. Instead, they focused on regulating the activities of the poor. They immediately began to inspect pubs and restaurants. They required licenses for liquor sales, street vendors, shopkeepers, pawnbrokers, and stablekeepers. They accompanied tax collectors on their rounds. With all this regulation, the police found a new way to keep tabs on people in the big cities. Under feudalism, people were tied to the land, so it was relatively easy for big nobles and landlords to keep their eyes on them. But all that changed under capitalism, where millions of people were crammed into the outskirts of cities where no noble could watch them.

Surveillance was another way the police kept an eye on the rabble. To make sure no one stepped out of line, the London cops developed a system of agents, informers, and snitches—in prisons and on the streets—that acted like thousands of eyes posted everywhere, watching people when the cops couldn't. New technologies helped, too: warrants, lineups, fingerprints, etc. The first cops had to figure out how to exercise power as extensively as possible at the lowest possible cost. Regulation and surveillance were the results of this typical capitalist logic.

Of course, the first police were hated

immediately. Police historian Brian Henry writes, "The regulatory functions of the police became so unpopular with the public that their efforts to prevent crime almost went unnoticed." The first cop died in the line of duty less than one year after the police force was first created, and many of the first murders of policemen by workers were ruled "justifiable homicides" by coroners!

The English model of the police moved with white settlers to New England. New York City established the first modern American police force in 1845, a mere 150 years ago. Other Northern cities quickly followed suit.

But the English model is not the only descendent of the American police force. There is another origin: the slave patrol. Just as in England, where the police were created to keep the working class rabble in line and to protect the propertied class, the slave patrols kept America's labor force in line. Slave patrols set the pattern of police activity in the United States: social control over the Black population. This function, expanded to include other people of color throughout history, continues today.

Policing African Slaves

In the early stages of capitalism in the colonies, white settlers enslaved Africans on large plantations. A natural desire to rebel grew out of this exploitation. Successful slave rebellions occurred in Haiti and in Jamaica. The Maroons waged guerilla war against the British and declared independence, as did the "Bush Negros" in Surinam. In Brazil the state of Palmares was formed by runaway slaves and survived for almost ten years. Because the possibility of a slave rebellion scared white settlers to death, slave patrols

E POLICE

were used to police plantation communities.

The slave patrols tried to prevent slaves from organizing. Free white men were drafted to serve a period of time on a patrol. Out of the patrols arose vigilance committees, which would literally kill any escaped slaves they found in times of feared slave rebellion.

The slave patrols—made up mostly of poor whites—protected the "property" of the slaveowners. But by guarding *all* "white" people from the dreaded slave rebellion, they protected white privilege as well. Slaveowners convinced poor whites that they had more to fear from free African Americans than they did from a society free of all forms of slavery. This unique combination of defending both the property of the rich and white privilege is the key characteristic of police in the US.

Of course this is not to say that poor whites were always shielded from police brutality. Although white skin is some protection from abuse, economic status also determines who makes up society's "criminal" class. Nevertheless, this doesn't change the fact that police in the US have historically protected white people and repressed people of color as a matter of policy.

Illusion of freedom

With emancipation from slavery, Black people faced job discrimination, limited opportunities, segregation, and wage slavery. This bred dissatisfaction. As Black people moved from plantations to the cities, white paranoia of Black people's freedom grew and new forms of repression emerged to keep whitey in power. Police harassed and jailed Black people for the slightest infractions. Black people were given more severe sentences than whites for the same crime (sound familiar?).

In the South, fear of losing its cheap labor force prompted Southern police to prevent Black people from traveling north by dragging people off trains, arresting them for loitering, or stopping trains because of "mechanical problems." In the North, these migrants were heavily policed, along with other immigrant communities. White business owners wanted their labor cheap and they wanted it under tight control.

Illusion of equality: Police state vs. integration

With the civil rights movement in the 1960s came a degree of political reform, but racism and poverty did not dissolve. There was certainly no change in the ways law enforcement related to Black people. The fact that between 1965 and 1968 almost every big city in the US experienced civil unrest reflects the level of frustration of Black people. Of course, the fact that rebellions

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LIFE AFTER COPS

by Justine and Joel

What would life be like without the police? It's almost impossible to even imagine it. It seems as if cops have always been here and always will be. But the fact is, the modern police force has existed in the US for only 150 years. Before the modern police (that is to say, before capitalism), societies used other methods to prevent crime and keep the peace. A post-capitalist society will use different methods, too.

Getting rid of the cops means getting rid of this entire stinking society. A copless world will have to be radically different from the one we live in now. However, there are things we can do today to work for a cop-free society. In this article we look at a society that did not have cops and how they dealt with crime and punishment. Then we imagine how a truly free (and a truly cop-free) society might be organized and offer some ways to get there.

Before the police: the Tis-Tsis-Tas

The Tis-Tsis-Tas (Cheyenne) of the Great Plains lived by hunting and gathering. They had no cops, but they did have five military societies to keep the peace. Only one (the Dog Soldiers) stayed together throughout the year. Membership in a military society was voluntary, and almost all male tribal members served in a society at some time in their life.

Military societies had two main functions. One was to keep the peace, especially during the summer hunting season when bands of Tis-Tsis-Tas would come together for communal hunts. The societies intervened in quarrels between individuals and tried to prevent them from turning violent.

The second function was very different from the function the police play today. In capitalism, the police serve the status quo: they make sure the poor don't take the property of the rich. In other words, they protect and serve an unequal society. This was not the case for the Tis-Tsis-Tas. The purpose of the Tis-Tsis-Tas military societies was *to guard resources for the benefit of all*, not to keep them in the hands of a few. For example, they made sure that the rules governing hunts were observed so that all men had an equal chance to kill game.

It's not that they were always nice guys. They sometimes whipped or beat people, killed their ponies, or destroyed their lodges if they broke customs or camp rules. However, they did these things to prevent anyone from taking an unfair advantage over others. The military societies of the Tis-Tsis-Tas acted as representatives of the people as a whole to ensure economic and social equality.

Can't we do better than this?

Crime in a free society

In a class society like capitalism, the police act to protect the interests of the dominant class. In a society without class distinctions, like the Tis-Tsis-Tas, the police don't exist. Instead, other institutions and customs are used to make sure that all people equally share in the society's wealth.

The police function is a product of our society. Therefore, if we want a world without cops, we have to work for a totally new society.

But that answer is sort of a cop out (no pun intended). In a truly free society, violence and crime would likely be very rare, but they would still exist. How would we deal with crime in a free society?

Before we answer that question, we first have to ask what kind of crime would exist in a free society. In capitalist society, most crimes are crimes against property. (For many years, even the rape of white women

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"JUSTIFIABLE FORCE"

Wife Battery and the Boys in Blue

by Rebecca Tillman

Think the police are always ready to make an arrest? Think Again! For years, when men assaulted women in their own homes, it was considered a private matter. A man's home was his castle, as the saying goes. Police have typically supported this notion by refusing to arrest wife-batterers.

Before the battered women's movement, battery was a shameful secret. Priests, ministers, mothers, and psychiatrists all told women to work on their marriages, to figure out what they were doing to provoke their husbands. Often, police would simply "take a walk" with men who had beaten their wives or girlfriends to "cool them off."

It shouldn't be surprising to find the state protecting patriarchy like this. After all, the family was the original model for the state. In fact, in colonial America, killing your husband was referred to as "petit treason," comparable to killing the king. Today, this law is still tacitly enforced, as women who kill their spouses constitute 50% of female death row prisoners.

While the state is eager to prosecute women who kill batterers to the fullest extent of the law, it operates differently for men who kill their wives. For example, in Illinois in 1985, Robert Carlson shot his ex-wife ten times and burned her home to the ground. When the police arrived, he shot and killed one of them. Although he was given the death sentence (for killing the cop) in the original trial, the Illinois Supreme Court overturned the sentence on the grounds that "in all probability [he would] be leading a life acceptable to our society had not his unfortunate marital affair triggered this tragic sequence of events."

In response to this state support for wife-battery, the battered women's movement has fought hard to hold wife-beaters accountable for their actions. They have lobbied for "antistalking laws," criminalization of marital rape, and mandatory arrest in domestic violence situations. With this crucial legislation, feminists were actually forcing police to do their jobs. In fact, many police were so pissed off at the mandatory arrest law's impact on their "officer discretion" that they protested against it. Cops still use their discretion too often, failing to report up to 80% of domestic violence calls, sometimes even arresting women.

While cops may be reluctant to jail white batterers, they are quicker to arrest Black men. In the Twin Cities, for instance, 70% of all domestic violence arrests are in communities of color, despite the fact that wife-battery has been shown to cross all lines of race and class. In addition, Black women also have reason to fear that the stigma of being a "battered woman" may be used to take their children away from them if they call the police.

Clearly, there are serious limits to an arrest centered strategy for battered women. First of all, making the police the primary solution removes the issue from the realm of feminist politics. Rather than treating battering as one aspect of patriarchy or seeking a radical restructuring of the family as a solution, police and courts treat "domestic violence" as a disorder within the home and seek to restore order to individual families—they aren't out to change society.

Supporters of the mandatory arrest strategy point to a study that found that "arrest works best" to stop battery. However this study was conducted by the Minneapolis Police Department and was based only on the comparative effectiveness of three different *police* strategies: trying to restore order, telling the abuser to leave the house, and arrest. The study didn't test the effectiveness of neighbors or community patrols arriving on the scene. They didn't test militant intervention by feminists. Of course not! These strategies would represent people taking the power the police reserve for themselves.

One evening, I awoke to hear the typical sounds of battery. I got up, ran to the window and saw a woman fleeing across the street to a public phone booth. Her husband followed her into the booth, beating her the whole time. Almost immediately, several police cars arrived. The next thing I saw was a cop mace the phone booth where both the man and woman were standing. As the cops began hitting the man, the woman fell to her knees screaming in pain.

Instead of seeing the police save the day, I saw six white cops beat a Black man with their night sticks. It seemed like a hopeless tragedy. First of all, the woman was damned either way she went. Secondly, the lesson those police taught the man was the same one that he thought he was giving the woman: people with more power and authority have the right to use it at will.

I am not saying that people shouldn't call the cops when they hear a woman screaming for help, but that *reliance* on a racist and sexist legal system which has historically failed to protect women will not lead to a revolutionary feminist politics. In the long run, relying on the cops to stop power and control within the home just places one system of authority over another, and does not necessarily undermine the essential notion that power should be maintained at all costs. Police are trained with the same understanding of authority as your average batterer, and are often batterers themselves. Police brutality and wifebeating are both based on the notion of "justifiable force" used to keep order and discipline. To really stop battery, we have to attack authoritarianism itself and redefine power in ways that don't mean dominance and control of others. This means doing more than calling the police.

Now that I've said all this, it may surprise you to know that I still call the cops when I hear what sounds to me like domestic violence. Here's why:

1. If you don't call the police, you're doing exactly what they want because most cops don't like to arrest batterers.

2. Letting battering go on reinforces the notion that a man's home is his castle, no matter what he does there.

3. When batterers are arrested they learn that what they're doing is not acceptable behavior.

4. Calling the police and getting the man out of the house gives a woman breathing space (and time) to figure out what she will do next.

5. *Assault by a spouse or lover is the leading cause of injury to women in the United States, accounting for more injuries than the next three leading causes—auto accidents, rapes, and muggings—combined.*

6. *Fifty percent of women murdered are killed by their present or former male partners.*

In emergency situations, it's essential to act fast and effectively—political principles are not worth any woman's life. Whether you fail to act to stop domestic violence because you believe a man's home is his castle or because you don't like the police, the results are the same: battery is condoned, it continues, and women die.

When I was an advocate for battered women, I listened to women describe being beaten with lead pipes and steel bars, being cut with razors, bottles, knives, and broken glass, being hit with cars and being set on fire. Men who beat their wives mean serious business.

Calling the cops doesn't mean allowing them to use officer discretion. It may be that a return of feminist cop-monitoring is necessary now, especially during domestic violence arrests in non-white neighborhoods. Although early feminist cop-monitoring strategies focused on ensuring that arrests were made, antiracist feminists still need to monitor cops to see *how* arrests are made.

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Because using the police against batterers is a limited strategy, it is important to both develop new ways of stopping violence right now, and work on long term projects which seek to end violence in the future.

This can begin on the level of neighborhood action. If a woman is being beaten in your neighborhood, you need to take responsibility for what you are witnessing. You can call a shelter and talk to someone who can give you advice on what to do. One of the first, and easiest things to do is to talk to this woman at some point soon after you have heard what is going on.

Often women in battering relationships don't have much contact with the outside world. They don't know that they can get help, or where to get it—sometimes they don't believe that they deserve it. Let your neighbor know what her options are, and let her know that you support her decisions. Realize that the support that you are providing may be all that she is getting.

In addition to battering their wives and girlfriends physically, wife-beaters abuse

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PRO-CHOICE, NOT PRO-5-0

Why pigs are the enemy of reproductive freedom

by Erin Immaculate

On May 28, twenty-three members of Operation Rescue, an aggressive anti-abortion organization, blockaded a Los Angeles women's clinic for two hours, while fifty of their arrest-shy buddies stood by and prayed. This happened despite the presence of more than 200 pro-choice activists and would be clinic defenders.

Why were they able to successfully block the clinic? Because the self-appointed leaders of this sad clinic "defense" were trying to prove that "the law works"—in this case the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances (FACE) Act, a new piece of legislation that makes it a federal crime to block access to abortion clinics or to threaten violence against clinic employees or patients.

In the hopes that O.R. leaders would be charged under FACE, representatives of the Fund for the Feminist Majority, a mainstream pro-choice organization, told clinic defenders to move away from their positions in front of the clinic doors, allowing O.R. to blockade.

The Fund arranged to give the cops full control over the situation—in turn, the pigs allowed the clinic doors to be closed for two hours. Not only did the police allow O.R. to block the doors, but they also turned the entire area around the strip mall that the clinic is located in into a militarized zone, closing streets for blocks around. Any woman on her way there would have to make her way through dozens of cops in full riot gear.

Once O.R. was finally arrested, the Fund held a press conference at one side of the parking lot adjacent to the mall the clinic is in to praise the LAPD and claim victory over the anti-choicers. On the other side of the lot, O.R. was doing their own photo-op, also claiming victory. When a large group of pro-choicers preferred to skip the pro-cop rally and stay in Operation Rescue's face, a member of the Fund proceeded to tell police that "those people" were not with the "legitimate" pro-choice group. In notorious LAPD style, the cops seized the opportunity to create mayhem.

A split second after giving an order to disperse, cops grabbed two members of BACORR (Bay Area Coalition for Our Reproductive Rights). Police attacked the first activist without warning, yanking her arms behind her back and reinjuring her shoulder, which had recently been dislocated. The other woman was arrested as she tried to inform the cops of her friend's shoulder injury. She was then handcuffed, dragged into the street, thrown to the ground, and kicked in the back and chest. Pigs (at least one male) then further assaulted her by pat searching her three times in the middle of the street.

As this was happening, riot police with batons and horses pushed the crowd back, until every pro-choicer was off of the block the clinic was on. The anti-choicers were allowed to stay in front of the parking lot. As the cops assaulted us, some members of the liberal pro-cop pro-choice crowd were shocked. One woman was overheard shouting to no one in particular, "I don't understand, we were just cheering for the police!"

None of the 23 O.R. members were charged with FACE. Most spent only a few minutes in jail, despite the current probation status of several of the arrested leaders. Charges against the BACORR women for "interfering with a police investigation" and "failure to disperse" were finally dropped when videotape from several sources showed only police aggression.

photo: Erin Immaculate

The Law "protecting" a North Hollywood women's clinic.

FACE up to it

This sad story is a clear example of why we need to defend reproductive freedom ourselves rather than relying on the police to do it for us. By putting their faith in the law and making deals with the cops, the Fund for the Feminist Majority essentially handed the power to decide the extent of women's access to health care over to the state.

Thanks to increased anti-choice violence and anti-choicers' willingness to break the law to enforce their misogynist agenda, liberal pro-choicers like those in the Fund are increasingly finding themselves on the good side of the law. Of course, this does not mean that the law—or the cops—are really on the side of reproductive freedom.

The history of the FACE Act of 1994 illustrates the failure of relying on the law. For example, this April, the ninth indictment under FACE was brought down against someone accused of making threatening phone calls to an anti-abortion "counseling" center. In the year since FACE was enacted, abortion providers and pro-choice activists have faced hundreds of threats, stalkings, and other forms of harassment from anti-choicers, yet only a few of the most violent resulted in FACE charges. Considering the constant attacks on providers of abortion services, it is odd that FACE should be used in such an isolated and minor incident to defend an anti-choice group.

Just as ominous is the false legitimacy this prosecution gives to anti-choice "counseling centers" like the one that allegedly received the threat. Announcing the indictment, a Justice Department statement characterized this "counseling service" as a health care provider like any other.

In fact, these centers are fronts for anti-choice harassment of women. They use distorted information and heavy guilt-tripping to coerce or frighten women into continuing unwanted pregnancies. They also use deceptive tactics to lure women in, pretending to be neutral counseling services for women and failing to advertise their anti-abortion agenda. Often anti-choicers set up such clinics with names and locations similar to those of real women's clinics, hoping to create confusion.

The FACE Act also has considerable potential to be used against radical pro-choice and queer activists because the law not only applies to health care facilities, but also to churches and other "places of religious worship." Clearly there is no movement to stop people from attending church, but members of the Christian right like to pretend that they're oppressed by those whom they attack.

The amendment adding churches to the FACE law was Republican Senator Orrin Hatch's slap at "homosexual extremists" who apparently disturb some churchgoers' ability to practice bigotry in peace. The amendment was aimed at stopping protests like those in recent years against notorious homophobes like Lou Sheldon and Paul Cameron, who attempt to hide their political agenda behind the mask of "religious worship." Many aspects of the extreme right use churches to organize and "religious freedom" as a cover for their organizing—FACE can now be used as a tool of repression against radicals attempting to draw attention to the right's bases of operation.

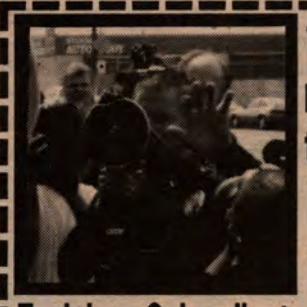
Even when pro-choicers find the law to be on their side, relying on increased police protection and enforcement of the law is a losing strategy. After the murders of two clinic receptionists in Brookline, Massachusetts, when asked where he stood on women's right to abortion, a Brookline police lieutenant told the *New York Times*, "I'm pro-law." He was against groups such as O.R. because they break the law, fill jails, and force cops to work overtime, not because they block access to women's health care. The job of the police at women's health clinics, like in any other situation, is to maintain order and control.

Choice in blue & white

Reliance on the police is an expression of white privilege. They are enemies of poor communities of color—only white people can be even marginally confident that the police will "protect and serve" them.

Meanwhile, it is poor women, mostly women of color, who face the most serious barriers to reproductive freedom—including the high costs of abortion and other health services and the coercive use of invasive contraception like Depo Provera and Norplant. These barriers become even more serious when "pro-choicers" invite the cops to defend women's health care facilities. The more the pro-choice movement relies on the police, the more it will become only a movement for white women's choice.

Reproductive freedom should mean more than the "freedom" to have the state approve of our sexuality, regulate our access to health care, and decide whether or not we are able to raise children and support a family. Health care, economic justice, and power over our own bodies, sexualities, and lives are rights that belong to everyone, not questions to be debated by white men in high places. They're also not decisions to be made by cops in riot gear.



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KEEP ON KEEPIN' ON

A History of Minneapolis Anarchism: Part 2

by Kieran Frazier

The anarchist movement in Minneapolis, through collectives, publications, political action, and counter-institutions, has consistently impacted both local struggles and the politics of the North American anti-authoritarian movement as a whole. This two-part series seeks to provide an overview of the movement and analyze its strengths and weaknesses. I want to emphasize that, while I am attempting to be objective, these articles reflect my own experiences and observations.

Part 2: New Forces Emerge

The first article in this series focused on the Backroom Anarchist Books and the Revolutionary Anarchist Bowling League. It noted that, as RABL was fading, new groups were coming to the fore, including AWOL, Profane Existence, and Anti-Racist Action, which wasn't explicitly anarchist, but was imbued with anarchist ideas and activists.

Anti-Racist Action

Anti-Racist Action was originally created by the Baldies, an anti-racist skinhead crew, in late 1987 as an attempt to broaden the fight against the White Knights (a neo-nazi skinhead group active in Minneapolis). By forming ARA, the Baldies hoped to include people from outside the skinhead scene. This was never really accomplished—the Baldies were always the core of the first ARA—but ARA was extremely successful at establishing an anti-racist ethic in the Minneapolis youth scene. Racist ideas and actions were not tolerated and hangout spots like Uptown and the First Avenue nightclub were made no-go areas for nazi skins.

The first ARA was short-lived due to lack of experience in running a political organization and uncertainty on how to proceed after the White Knights were defeated. Nevertheless, it showed great potential for militant anti-racist youth organization. This potential was not lost on some RABL members, who (along with some Baldies) relaunched Anti-Racist Action in 1990.

Along with the potential, RABL also saw some problems with the first ARA—most importantly, its nearly all-male composition and unwillingness to confront sexism. They wanted the new ARA to be grounded in feminism and totally open to young women. So in 1990, ARA became, for the first time, genuinely open to those without shaved heads (or penises).

The new ARA quickly grew and for many months over forty people attended weekly meetings. Besides skinheads, the new ARA attracted punks, students, and queers. The anarchist movement was instrumental in building ARA—ex-RABL, Profane Existence, and AWOL members all contributed to ARA's strength.

Anti-Racist Action took the lead in organizing against the neo-nazi presence on the East Side of St. Paul, and against the racist White Student Union on the University of Minnesota campus. ARA also had some heavy political discussions and tried to deal with unequal power dynamics within the group, especially relating to gender and class. ARA created a kind of subculture around itself in which people hung out, did political work, and partied together.

ARA's success in terms of numbers and ability to mobilize large demonstrations led

June, 1991 Anti-Racist Action demonstration on the East Side of St. Paul.

ARA to adopt a plan to split the organization into three subgroups that would be based in three different Twin Cities communities: South Minneapolis, the East Side of St. Paul, and at the University of Minnesota. The idea was that such a structure would allow ARA to become more connected to the community and would be able to unite anti-racists from all three communities.

The plan was an ambitious one, and it turned out to be too ambitious. ARA was a big organization, but not big enough to run three separate groups with three separate focuses. ARA just didn't have enough solid organizers to pull it off.

In addition, ARA had not developed principled ways of raising criticisms within the group or of holding members accountable to each other. Intra-group struggle tended to be extremely harsh and more often than not take the form of "baiting." Class and gender were counterposed to each other in unproductive and opportunistic ways that did not provide solutions but instead drew battle lines.

This second Anti-Racist Action split up on an ugly note, but it had accomplished much. It had exposed and confronted white supremacists across the Twin Cities, helped maintain and strengthen the anti-racist youth culture, and brought dozens of young people into organized, direct action politics. ARA also provided anarchists with experience in a "mass" organization and on-going campaigns. A third, new and improved, Minneapolis ARA started up in late 1994 and is still going strong [see page 12 for article on Minneapolis ARA's copwatch program].

Profane Existence

Profane Existence has been an important institution in the Twin Cities punk scene for a long time. First under the name *Minneapolis Alternative Scene* (MAS), the zine gave the best coverage of the bands, political organizations, and issues going on in and around the local punk scene. As the zine evolved into *Profane Existence*, it became not just a local resource, but an anarchist pole within the whole North American punk scene. *Profane's* anger, sarcasm, and unapologetic militance made it probably the second most important punk zine in the country after *Maximumrocknroll*.

Around issue 11/12 in the fall of 1991, Profane Existence began to move from being a purely propaganda outfit to becoming an activist collective that publicized and participated in struggles and counter-institutions such as ARA's campaigns and the Emma Center. Some of the content of the zine started to shift as well—towards articulating a strategy that the collective described in an article called "Anarchy, Punk, and Utopia." The basis of the strategy was to support the building of collectives and continue to participate in local struggles, all in the context of punk rock culture.

There was a contradiction though—as

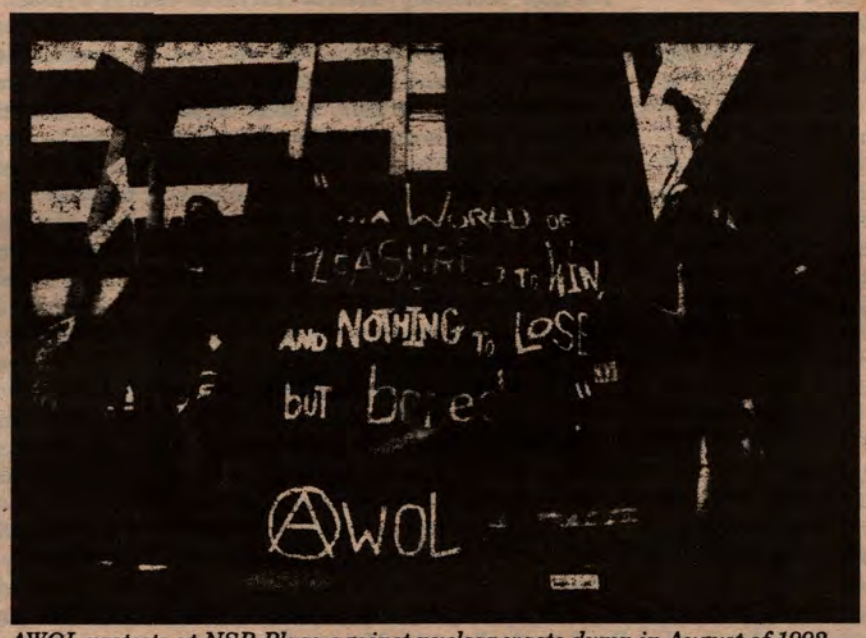

photo: Ghen

AWOL protests at NSP Plaza against nuclear waste dump in August of 1992.

Profane was becoming more political and more activist, the subculture the collective had planted itself in, punk rock, was depoliticizing, becoming cynical and even old.

Differences began to grow in the collective between those who wanted to remain the anarchist force in the punk scene and those who more strongly identified with revolutionary anarchism and other cultures of resistance like hip-hop and queer youth culture.

Eventually the collective broke up along these lines, with *Profane* continuing as a punk zine. Some of the former editors and writers went on to constitute the Agitator Index collective, which publishes *The Blast!*

AWOL

AWOL, the anarchist collective whose name changed every time you asked, first made a spark during the Gulf War, when they were extremely active in the anti-war movement in Minneapolis. AWOL planned and participated in militant street action against the war and argued for open, democratic forms of organization within the anti-war movement.

AWOL came out of the Youth Greens network, a small national student organization influenced by author Murray Bookchin's "social ecology" or "eco-anarchist" ideas. AWOL was made up of a group of students from a single Midwest college and a couple others who had studied with Bookchin at the Institute for Social Ecology in Vermont. The group moved to Minneapolis together to be a part of the anarchist movement here.

Besides the anti-war movement, AWOL was a key part of many other struggles. AWOL was a major force in making Northern States Power's Prairie Island nuclear dump an issue in the Twin Cities. The collective also had a strong orientation towards counter-institutions, the Powderhorn Grocery Co-op and the Emma Center in particular.

Two of AWOL's main strengths were their commitment to critical study and discussion and their articulation of radical feminist and queer politics. AWOL believed in critical, rational discussion of problems and differences, in contrast to the baiting and trashing that characterized debate in much of the anarchist scene. Their style had an extremely positive effect on the rest of the movement.

AWOL also articulated a feminism that was radical, liberatory, and pro-sex. This went against the grain of a lot of Twin Cities feminism (including some anarcha-feminism) that had been heavily influenced by Andrea Dworkin and the anti-porn wing of the feminist movement.

Likewise, the queer politics that AWOL embraced were blatantly radical, militant, and affirming of diverse sexuality. AWOL participated in Queer Pride, helped put on

Queer Space at Emma Center, and argued for revolutionary, anti-assimilationist strategies within the queer liberation movement.

AWOL had some weaknesses too—mainly from middle-class backgrounds, AWOL tended at first to reject class analysis in favor of more trendy "post-working-class" theories. Also, the fact that many of them had gone to school together and been friends for a long time sometimes made them seem more like a clique than a political organization. Overall, however, AWOL was instrumental in advancing the anarchist movement in Minneapolis.

ARA, AWOL, and Profane Existence, along with other groups and many non-aligned anarchists, helped create a diverse anarchist activist scene that could be present on several different fronts at once, or combine forces around particularly important struggles and projects.

Organizing against the White Student Union

In July of 1991, ARA noticed a small ad in the Minnesota Daily looking for students interested in forming a "White Student Union" at the U of M. Upon investigation, ARA discovered that the organizer of this "white rights" group, Tom David, was hooked up with neo-nazi outfits like Tom Metzger's White Aryan Resistance and William Pierce's National Alliance.

ARA went into full swing, launching a multi-faceted campaign to sink the racist White Student Union before it got going. ARA widely distributed leaflets, submitted opinion pieces to the Daily, held a Rock Against Racism fundraiser, and helped initiate a coalition of student groups that was formed to opposed the WSU.

L.A. TODAY

TOMORROW...THE WORLD

DEAD!!

THEY SHOT HIM IN THE HEAD

WHAT THE CRITICS ARE SAYING:

REVIEWS INSIDE

NEWSLINE

Police acquittal is the spark that started the fire.

PARTY IN L.A.

It's going to be one long, hot summer!

Burn Hollywood Burn!

On October 9, 1991, the Coalition Against White Supremacy (with ARA doing most of the work) held the largest demonstration on campus since the Vietnam War. Tom David and some non-student supporters were "escorted" away from the rally by Coalition security (again mainly ARA).

Despite all the hard work that ARA had done to expose and organize against the White Student Union, much of the "University community" was extremely hostile to ARA because of its militancy, radical politics, and largely non-student membership.

Unfortunately, this extended into the Coalition ARA had founded. Several days after the demonstration, a forum on white supremacy was scheduled with a panel of different groups. ARA was not invited to participate. This seemed odd at first—until it became known that Tom David had been invited to be on the panel. ARA responded by handing out a flyer calling on the audience to cheer the anti-racists and join ARA in shouting down David. In the end, David had to flee out the back door.

Later, ARA's theory that fascist speech equals violence was borne out when a large group of Tom David's supporters from St. Paul's East Side assaulted ARA members who were protesting outside a WSU appearance on the college radio station. This assault was commemorated by both sides for the next two years with tense confrontations between anti-racists and white supremacists on both occasions.

Despite an unfriendly environment, ARA grew considerably as a result of this struggle and, most importantly, stopped the creation of a fascist organization on the U of M campus.

ARA's campaign showed that anarchists could be consistent activists. ARA members held their own against physical attacks, slander in the press, and intra-coalition maneuvering. But ARA did not advance a positive program that might have kept the group going at the U of M after the WSU's defeat.

Solidarity with the L.A. Rebellion

When Los Angeles rebelled after the acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King, anarchists here took notice. Seeing thousands of oppressed people drive the police out of their neighborhoods and seize goods from stores, as well as seeing the rebellion spread to many cities around the U.S., was inspiring and uplifting.

Within days after the start of the rebellion, members of the Profane Existence collective put out a pro-rebellion broadsheet titled *L.A. Today*. A take-off on *U.S.A. Today*, it contained articles defending and contextualizing the rebellion, descriptions of solidarity actions in other cities, tips on making molotov cocktails and other urban weapons, and a piece attacking the Socialist Workers Party, who had been among the leadership of a large, tame march in Minneapolis that even the police chief had joined. 10,000 copies of *L.A. Today* were distributed widely throughout the Twin Cities.

Approximately a week later, Minneapolis experienced some civil disturbances of its own. On the Northside, a 14-year-old was shot for riding his bike on a neighbor's lawn. Both the youth and the neighbor who shot him were African-American. Shortly after the shooting, a crowd gathered at the house, threatening the man who shot the boy. Some cops and media showed up. As the crowd got larger and angrier, rumors spread that the cops had shot the boy. Then reporters and the police came under attack and were driven from the neighborhood. At some point, the house of the man who had shot the boy was set on fire by molotovs. Eventually, "community leaders" quelled the riot and allowed the police to retake the area.

Action Coalition struggles with cops at Calvary Temple protest in July 1993. Spot The Blast! collective member in the mini-dress.

Meanwhile, on the West Bank, the Twin Cities Anarchist Federation was holding a meeting when a comrade who had been listening to a Black community radio station came to the meeting with the (mis)information that police had shot a youth on the Northside. The radio reports had been confusing. With the spirit of L.A. still in the air, the anarchists took to the streets, pulled dumpsters into the Cedar-Riverside intersection, and chased off the first three police squads to respond. After a standoff, the anarchist barricades were finally broken and tons of police poured into the area.

The information about the cops shooting the boy had been wrong, but it was news of Black folks fighting back that brought the mostly white anarchists into the street. While events were over quickly, they showed incredible possibilities: mainly white anarchists tearing it up in one neighborhood for the express purpose of pulling the cops away from a Black community revolt in another neighborhood. Can you think of a clearer spontaneous expression of solidarity?

Operation Rescue on the Run

The Twin Cities Anarchist Federation was an umbrella group for the various anarchist collectives and individuals in the Twin Cities. It never had any detailed points of unity or strategy, but it could occasionally make a big impact on local struggles, such as the one against Operation Rescue's "Week of Refuge" in the summer of 1993.

O.R., the direct action anti-choice group, planned to lay siege to clinics across the Twin Cities during one week in June. TCAF planned to give those Christians hell.

The first thing TCAF did was a postering campaign with a Profane Existence poster that proclaimed, "Operation Rescue, come to our town—We'll lock you in a church and burn the fucker down!" The poster went up everywhere, including on Calvary Temple, the church that was hosting O.R.

A coalition, called the Action Coalition for Reproductive Freedom, was formed by anarchists and other local radical activists, including an anarcha-feminist group called RAGE for choice. Meanwhile, the liberals formed their own coalition, the Network to Ensure Access, and held clinic defense training that required picture ID and a signed statement promising "non-violence."

continued on page 20

Setting up shop in the new Emma Center space, July 1992.

KEEP ON KEEPIN' ON

continued from page 19

The Action Coalition took the position that the fight to defend reproductive freedom should not take place primarily at the clinics, but should be brought to the anti-choicers' doorstep. When O.R. held its kick-off rally at Calvary Temple, a suburban church, the Action Coalition was there blocking cars and chanting "The clinics are open, the church is closed." The anarchist presence was quite intimidating.

Of course, the liberals denounced these kind of "take-it-to-them" tactics, even though they proved to be undeniably effective.

Almost too effective, in one sense. The Action Coalition had left it up to the NEA to mobilize large numbers of people for clinic defense training. But the NEA never had to call out the "masses" because the radicals had done such a good job of intimidating O.R. and mobilizing their forces to the clinics. As a result, the ACRF never got a chance to argue its direct action politics against the NEA "rely-on-the-cops" line to large numbers of clinic defenders. O.R. took a major defeat at the hands of TCAF and the other radical activists in the Action Coalition for Reproductive Freedom.

Counter-Institutions

The first anarchist counter-institutions since the Backroom Books were also created during this period. First the workers at Powderhorn Grocery Co-op voted to collectivize the store and fire the manager. Soon after, a collective that grew out of TCAF opened the Emma Anarchist Center in a storefront across the street from the co-op at 35th and Bloomington.

Both of these projects faced some of the classic problems of these types of counter-institutions. People involved in organizing them had to ask: How is this project relevant to the community it's located in? Does it primarily serve the neighborhood or the anarchist movement/scene? Does it take more energy from the movement than it brings in? Neither project ever adequately answered these questions, though both counter-institutions had great value.

Powderhorn Co-op was a major player in local co-op politics, promoting democratic worker-owned co-ops over capitalist structures. These struggles took place within the co-op scene however, and didn't really effect broader communities. Powderhorn had also acquired a massive debt that proved to be insurmountable, closing the co-op just as it was becoming more connected with the surrounding neighborhood. Powderhorn did, however, show the possibility of a political center of food distribution, which will be a necessity as the movement grows.

Emma Center was started by a collective that grew out of TCAF. It quickly became a center for anarchist activities. Emma had books and magazines for sale, free clothes and food, free weekend child care, Women's and Queer Space nights, and frequent punk shows.

However, Emma never made solid connections with many neighborhood people, and never had a solid plan to so do. Emma started to lose its only base of support when many anarchists who had run the center started to move in different directions. Some of these started a punk rock record store, Extreme Noise, while others moved in a mass struggle direction via the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation. Sadly, Emma closed in late June of 1995.

Love and Rage, a continental anarchist organization, has had a presence in Minneapolis since 1989. Currently, members of the Minneapolis local branch of the Love and Rage Federation are active in Anti-Racist Action, Frente del Norte (A Zapatista solidarity group), and the Coalition to Defend Mumia Abu-Jamal. Love and Rage is helping to unite these various struggles and is a center for revolutionary anarchist discussion and organization in the Twin Cities and North America.

The Twin Cities anarchist movement has achieved much over the last ten years, including opening up space for militant protest, shutting down both Operation Rescue and the White Student Union, and running a bookstore, a grocery co-op, and a community center. This anarchist movement has made the most gains when it has oriented towards mass (or in our day, potential mass) movements. It's through struggle that regular folks will be most open to revolutionary anarchism, and it is in struggle that activists will learn important lessons from regular folks.

LOVE & RAGE FORUM See page 2

"JUSTIFIABLE FORCE"

continued from page 16

their partners emotionally and psychologically. As one battered woman described it, the emotional abuse "makes you feel like you're worthless, like you can't even lift a penny up off the floor... You become an invisible person."

For a woman in this place, support from friends and neighbors can make an incredible difference. Shelters work because they break open this dominance of men over women and create new intimacy and connections in groups of women working in solidarity. These kinds of groups show that fighting for women's liberation goes far beyond the question of whether or not to call the cops.

Truly radical feminism is about changing the entire social structure that creates wife-battery. As feminists, we should fight patriarchy, the state, the cops, and all other forms of power that seek to dominate and control others.'

COPS DON'T SOLVE PROBLEMS, THEY CREATE THEM

After over 211 complaints by policemen's wives and girlfriends in 1994, the city of Chicago had to institute a new program for cops involved in domestic assault cases.

EXISTING POLICE FORCES MUST BE WITHDRAWN FROM ALL BLACK COMMUNITIES

"It is the police who are the main perpetrators of violence against Black people. They are the official agents of a white racist society which enforces the will of that society upon the Black and other national minority communities. They are not of that community, cannot understand its problems, and do not identify with it and its needs. Their ignorance of the community leads them to deal with it through violence and gives an official stamp of approval to the idea that white racist violence is an appropriate respons to the needs and demands of the Black community."

—from "In Memory of Dr. Martin Luther King" by the Los Angeles chapter of the Black Panther Party

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HATE THE POLICE

Continued from page 15

were happening all across the country created a threat to state power and capitalism. Concern arose about the most effective way to continue to police and supress the African-American population.

After the Watts rebellion of 1965 a commission was formed to study and analyze racial tensions between white police and the Black communities they patroled. The Kerner Commission determined that the hostility of police towards Black communities and vice versa was the major cause of race riots. The Commission's report implied that there were two possible solutions to police/Black community tensions. One was to install a military presence in Black neighborhoods, like apartheid South Africa. The other solution was to persuade African Americans that the police were there to protect them, too.

Police administrators used the findings of the Kerner Commision to heavily recruit Black police officers. They determined that integration of Black people into the social order would suppress rebellious tendencies better than an all-out police state.The goal was to repress oppositional values coming out of the ghettos; hiring Black cops and using "community policing" tactics were the means to that goal.

Illusion of democracy: Black cops and community policing

The police force needed to come up with a more sophisticated method to try to keep people down. To do this, they needed to maintain an illusion of democracy. In many cities quota systems were set up to insure adequate Black participation in law enforcement. Often these new recruits were specifically given jobs in Black communities.

Heavy recruitment of Black cops was accompanied by a focus on "community policing." Police were presented as providing community services as opposed to crime control. Black cops were to play a softer role as "community relations officers." Ultimately the goal was to make law enforcement more acceptable to people of color.

But community-oriented policing was never adequately defined by police departments, and the idea that somehow Black cops would be kinder and gentler to oppressed people was a crock of shit. With the privileges and authority that came with the job came an arrogance and distance from regular people. Black police were also used to infiltrate Black organizations such as the Black Panthers and the Nation of Islam.

Even though integration of Black cops into the force was chosen over a more military-like police presence in Black neighborhoods, the motives were identical: protect capital, the state, private property, and white privilege, while keeping Black people down. This strategy of an integrated, "community-oriented" police to control the rabble continues to this day.

Over the years, the methods of social control of poor communities of color have changed—but the goal remains the same. Slavery, law enforcement, forced poverty, and imprisonment are all policing strategies designed to keep Black people down and out. These methods have since been applied to poor Latino, Native American, and Asian communities, as well as other populations considered potentially rebellious. Anywhere property or whiteness are threatened, the police are guaranteed to be there. It's their job.

There are no good coppers

Many people will argue, even if they hate most cops, that there are some good ones. The problem with this argument is that it does not recognize the structural role of police in this society. How can working to maintain a racist order be good? When a cop kills a citizen, why don't these so-called "good cops" have anything to say about it?

What gets defined as "crimes" in this society are things that members of oppressed communities do. For instance, if the poor rob it's a crime, but if the rich exploit labor and make profits off it, it's "good business." This is twisted. We need to break out of our narrow definition of what crime is and who "prevents" it. What the cops do in our communities is racist at its roots and defends the rich against the poor.

So go ahead and admit it.

You hate the police.

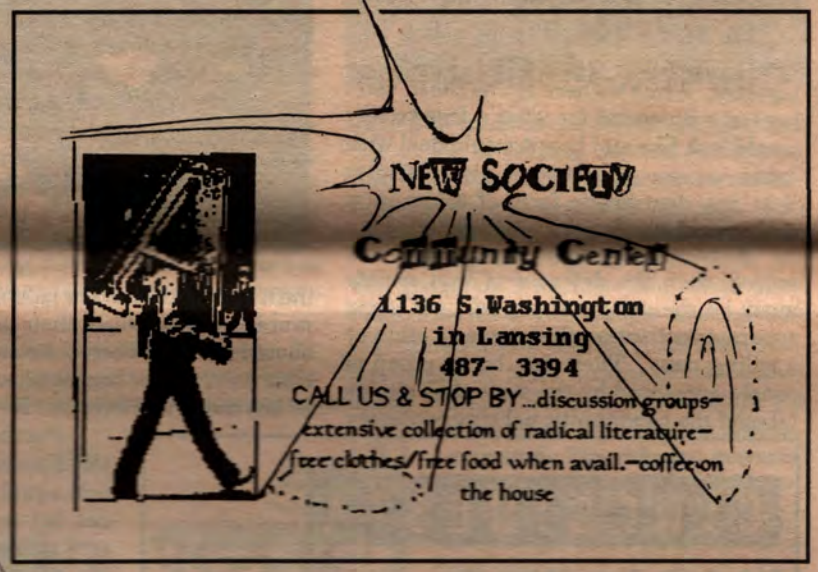
COPS AND CAPITALISTS

"No, there are no limits to the means the capitalist will employ to increase his wealth. He's pit different racial groups against one another so that the people will be busy fighting and hating one another, rather than realizing that it is capitalism that they should fight and hate. He's enslaved one group of people and tried to exterminate another (the Indians). The capitalist is completely unscrupulous in his quest for power and money.

"From this basic understanding, we can see who the police are to 'protect and serve'. They are in our communities to protect and serve the interests of this capitalist, expolitative state. They have no conception of what it would be to protect and serve the people, because they are merely an extension of the state that exists to keep the minorities in a state of neo-colonialism, and all people oppressed and exploited."

—from "Pigs-Panthers" by Candy, *The Black Panther* newspaper, November 1969

Blast! editors' fantasy #3397



LIFE WITHOUT COPS

Continued from page 15

was considered a problem only because it infringed upon the "property" of white men.)

But if we lived in a society where wealth was shared equally among the entire community, then "crimes against property" wouldn't make sense. Why steal from someone when you already have enough and when she doesn't have any more than you? In a free society, then, crimes of property would be rare.

What might be more common would be crimes of *power*. In a society where power is shared equally, a "crime" would occur when someone tried to seize an unfair share of power for themselves. The purpose of fighting "crime" in this kind of society would be to *eliminate* inequalities in power among people. This kind of "crime fighting" is what we call "community self-control." The purpose of community self-control is not to perpetuate inequalities in wealth and power like the cops do under capitalism, but to make sure that no one in society can undemocratically exercise power over others.

Principles of community self-control

We need a world without police. We need to figure out how to create that world together. While we here at *The Blast!* can't lay out a blueprint for what a free society would look like and how it would deal with crime, we can suggest some key principles that any democratic form of community self-control would need to follow.

If the goal is to fight unjust power in a society, then the defender of that society must be *the community itself*, not some separate institution that serves a state or a ruling class. There can be no group of people appointed by the state that stands "above" the community, policing our every move. We must take care of ourselves.

Therefore, the people who will protect our community (let's call them community patrols) must be from the community. They must be democratically elected, and they must be immediately recallable by the community if they abuse their power. People should serve on these patrols for a limited time only; maybe the job should be rotated so anyone who wants can serve for a time.

Further, the entire job of maintaining a free and equal society must not fall on the community patrols' shoulders. We are all responsible for our community, and so we must all make sure that no one tries to dominate or exploit others. The purpose of the patrols would be mostly to assist others in preventing crimes of power and in maintaining an equal distribution of the wealth. Their job would not be to watch over, regulate, or dominate the behavior of people.

This is reality

This sounds nice, but could it work? Has it ever worked? Actually, it has. In Spain during the Spanish Civil War in 1936-37, anarchist and socialist trade unions took over two-thirds of the country. Workers and peasants kicked out their bosses and ran agricultural production, industry, utilities, communication, trade, and transportation. They also abolished the police.

After the revolution broke out, the police and secret police were immediately dissolved. The cops were replaced by neighborhood committees and workers' militias (the rough equivalent of the "community patrols" described above). The courts were replaced by "revolutionary tribunals" of ordinary people. The purpose of these workers' militias and tribunals was to defend the redistribution of wealth that was occurring throughout revolutionary Spain, not to protect private property.

Revolutions do not mean that cops automatically go away, of course (as the Russian, Cuban, and Chinese revolutions prove). Cops only go away if we make them. The point is, because it is possible to struggle for freedom and equality, it is possible to eliminate the police.

A copless world: getting there

It's important to plan for a copless world. Remember, cops have only been around for 150 years. Athens collapsed, Rome collapsed, the British Empire collapsed; someday, thank gawd, police society will fall, too. But what do we do about cops in the meantime? They're here right now, so we need to find ways to counteract their power now and lessen our reliance on them. We should say right here that there may be times when calling the pigs is the only alternative someone has *(see page 16 for a discussion on domestic violence, for example)*. This doesn't at all mean that cops are necessary. It doesn't even mean that they're gonna help you if you call them. All it means is that no alternative to the cops exists today. This is why we need to work together to create these alternatives.

Weakening the power of the police weakens the power of the state. If we want to replace capitalism with a free society and if we want to do it soon, then we need to organize and fight those institutions that keep capitalism in place. One of these institutions in the police. By fighting the police—not just police abuse but the existence of the police itself—we challenge capitalism and demonstrate the kind of new society we want.

From anti-cop sentiment to political organization

Anti-cop sentiment is huge in the U.S. It will only increase as the economy worsens, repression increases, and as racist cops continue to wage war on "the rabble." Acts of police brutality occur every day, but at moments in time when community frustration is at a peak, things bust open. For example, cop terror against Black and Brown communities has often instigated riots and rebellions. Some people reduce rebellious moments to violent and unjustifiable occurances: "Why can't we just work it out peacefully?" they babble. Riots against police brutality, however, are honest human expressions of desperation and righteous displays of anger with the system.

During these street rebellions the authority of the police and the holiness of private property is challenged. In their anger, people act against a system that has fucked them over regardless of the risks. Since 1965, major rioting has occurred in Miami, Detroit, Newark, Los Angeles (twice), Las Vegas, Atlanta, Paterson (New Jersey), Washington, and Lexington (Kentucky). All of these were reactions to police violence.

Creating alternatives to the police requires combining people's natural anti-cop expressions and with sustained political organization. Copwatch programs are one form of political organization that challenge the authority of the pigs and make *them* feel watched and threatened, as well as intervene in situations where cop abuse is happening *(see pages 12-13 for more on copwatch programs)*. Legal defense campaigns, support political and social prisoners, anti-death penalty work, and contol unit monitoring are other forms of political organization that fight the cops and the criminal (in)justice system.

At this stage, the fight against the cops is a struggle in which it often seems like there are more losses than victories. But spontaneous expressions of resistance and consistent political work, when pooled together, are what give us an advantage over the police. Cops, police, pigs, coppers, 5-0, po-po, boys in blue: Whatever you call 'em, let's get rid of them before they hurt more of us.

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"For Everyone, Everything, For Us, *Nothing*"

A history of resistance in Mexico

"They burned my house!" said Demetrio. "But tonight or tomorrow we will see the *federales* (state police) face to face again."

"I will stop calling myself Anastacio Montañez if I am not the owner of a rifle, bullets, pants, and shoes tomorrow, truly! I have a half dozen slugs inside my body, but bullets scare me no more than pieces of candy."

"Fine," said Demetrio, "But you can see that apart from my 30-30 rifle, we count no more than twenty weapons. If there are few *federales* we will kill them all; if they are many we will give them a good scare."

"Let's do it, men!"

The first silhouette of a soldier cast itself on the summit of the hill; behind it appeared others, another ten, another hundred. Demetrio gave the signal: "Now!" he commanded, and twenty-one men shot and as many *federales* fell from their horses.

"Look Pancracio!" said El Meco, "This is for the *federale* running behind the tree. Son of a bitch! Take that! Right in the head! Did you see that?! Now this is for the one on the gray horse. Get down, *federale*!"

"Brother Anastacio, don't be mean; let me use your rifle—just one shot! The people don't have arms; they demand them. They ask for a supreme favor to let them take at least one shot."

The companions now loaned each other their arms and made bets over *federale* targets. "My leather belt if I don't shoot the one on the black horse in the head. Let me use your rifle, El Meco. I'll give you twenty bullets and a foot of sausage if you let me shoot the guy on the horse!"

"Did you see him jump? Like a deer! Don't run, *federales*. Come to meet your maker, Demetrio Macías."

¡Viva la revolucíon!

—from *Los de abajos (The poor)*, by Mariano Azuela

by Luis

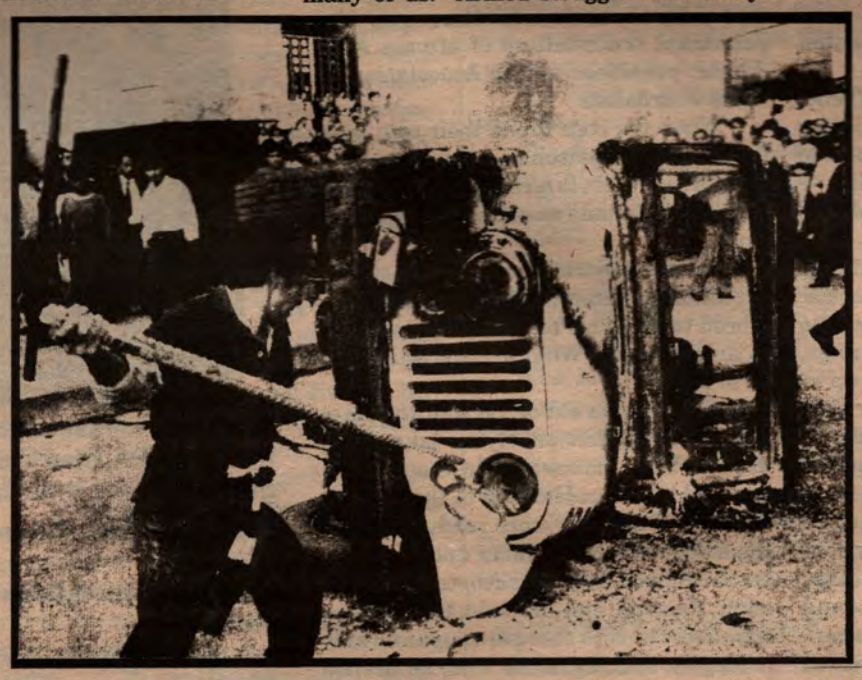
Part One

Beginning in 1876, Porfirio Diaz ruled Mexico with an iron hand. He created an empire. He built many railroad lines and received foreign investment with open arms. His slogan was "rails and progress." During his dictatorship the economy boomed and a capitalist class formed. The elite enriched themselves with the blood and sweat of millions of poor people. While rich landowners and government men sent their children to study French in Europe, exploited peasants died of hunger. The children of peasants did not have access to education; most did not even know how to read or write.

The government and their proteges armed a repressive machine—the Federal Army—in order to crush any dissent in the country. The repression was seen as necessary to maintain "order." So as not to not frighten away foreign investment, the Federal Army prevented cheap labor from striking.

Tired of hunger, injustice, and exploitation, the people said "enough!" Small bands of peasants formed and attacked the houses of landowners. They broke down the doors of the graineries and distributed all the food they found to the poor. These peasants were the *real* revolutionaries of the 1910 Mexican Revolution. The Porfirio regime called them "bandits" (the government called the guerrillas of the 1970s "terrorists" and now calls the Zapatistas "professionals of violence"). When the struggle spread across the whole country, Diaz left Mexico with his family and went to France. He died in Paris in 1915.

Francisco I. Madero then took power. Madero was the son of landowners, but he was respected for his opposition to Porfirio and for his support of the oppressed classes. He was assassinated in 1913 by Victoriano Huerta, who then seized power. The three most important revolutionaries of the time—Emiliano Zapata, Pancho Villa (Doroteo Arango), and Venustiano Carranza—declared themselves against the new dictator. Zapata directed the peasant forces in the south. His principal demands were clear: land and liberty. Villa directed the forces of the north. The constitutionalists, led by Carranza, consisted of landowners, the middle class, and intellectuals who had been excluded from the elite of the Porfirio regime.



After the triumph of the Revolution in 1918, Zapata and others were assassinated by Carranza's men. The people expected redistribution of land, free elections, and a just government. But the political party that was born, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), built a dictatorship masquerading as a democracy that continues to this day.

Part Two

In 1971, I was a boy of six years. I remember when my papa came home, exploited by his boss, tired, and dragging with hardship and frustration. My father wasn't the only one. There were (and still are) millions of peasants who emigrated to the big cities in search of a better future only to find misery and exploitation.

We lived in a house of cardboard walls and a cardboard roof without windows, plumbing, or electricity. The living room, kitchen, and bedroom were all one room. One night when my father wasn't home, it rained hard and the water leaked through dozens of holes in the roof. My little brothers and I hugged each other with fear, while my mother, with a lit candle in her hand, tried to save what little property we had.

That same night in other neighborhoods in the city, kids my age looked at the rain through their windows while their nannies prepared glasses of warm milk for them. They watched television while their parents traveled to Europe, spending the tax money that my father and millions of other oppressed people paid. "For everyone, everything, for us, nothing." This has always been the situation of our poor people in Mexico.

The hope for change faded away for many of us. Armed struggle was nearly impossible for two reasons: 1) we are neighbors of the United States, and 2) because of the repressive machinery of the PRI. However, in the early and mid-1970s, the communist September 23rd League came into existence. The leaders of this struggle were Lucio Cabañas and Genaro Vasquez Rojas. The Mexican Federal Army suffered many casualties in battles with the September 23rd guerrillas in the Sierra Mountains of the states of Colima, Jalisco, Michoácan, and Guerrero. The government never said how many people died in this struggle of the poor.

During this stage of the struggle, the bourgeoisie suffered heavy financial losses. Guerrillas took rich people hostage and expropriated safe deposit boxes from various banks in order to finance the movement. But by the late 1970s, the September 23rd League had disappeared. The rich and powerful and the PRI were happy—the country was orderly again and foreign investment could continue to flow into Mexico.

In the 1980s the situation was the same. Indigenous people and other peasants travelled to the cities to settle old agrarian problems with the government, but they got caught in bureaucratic labyrinths and returned to their homes with no solutions and only promises from the government. In the urban areas, the PRI controlled a majority of the unions and continued to exploit workers.

As for us young people, the police beat and extorted us. The bourgeois neighborhoods were off-limits. The police accused us of being criminals, drug addicts, and subversives, but our only crime was to be the children of the proletariat.

In the 1988 elections, something happened that no one expected. The PRI lost to the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), a center-left political party. The PRI refused to surrender power and through

continued on page 20

Support the Struggle in Chiapas!

ANARCHIST ABC BLACK CROSS

Abolish crime.
Abolish prison.

RACIST Jury Gets Free Lunch

Q: What happens when a detailed account of guard-on-prisoner brutality leaks out of the control unit at Oak Park Heights prison?

A: The prisoner gets another gets another 5 years probation, supposedly for screaming "terroristic threats" as he was beaten.

Pablo Salazar, formerly Antonio Shadowlove, screamed, "I'm not resisting!" as the extraction team slammed him down, handcuffed him, used "pain compliance," and dragged him naked to the infirmary. This much they admitted at trial. They denied burning his balls with a cigarette lighter, and the all-white jury in suburban Stillwater, MN, chose not to believe that the red marks on his body in the Polaroid photos were burns. The 2 surveillance cameras conveniently failed during the cell extraction.

The jury would have convicted him in less than 3 hours, but stayed longer to get the free lunch.

Pablo is out now, because the assault happened at the end of his original sentence, but, imposing 5 years probation, the judge said he wanted "some hooks in him."

The Committee Seeking Equal Justice for the MN 8 attended Pablo's hearings and wishes him the best. *Info: Lois Lenius*

DEVILS WITH BOMBS KILLIN' BABIES . . .

Ten Years Since the MOVE Bombing

by Burn One & Nikolas Kautz

Who's Shocked by Oklahoma City?

Philadelphia Daily News

MARTY KATZ—OUTLINE-COURTESY WPVI-TV

It is easier to kill a guerilla in the womb than on the battlefield. — Che Guevara

If you're age 20 or 21 this summer, think about this: 3 MOVE kids never got to be born in 1974 and 1975 because Phillie cops and a matron in a Phillie jail beat their visibly pregnant moms, Leesing, Janet, and Alberta Africa, so bad they miscarried. Alberta was held and kicked again and again in her belly and between her legs.

Think about this, too: Sue Africa's little boy, Tomassa, born August 4, 1975, almost lived to his tenth birthday. Xenophobic pinheads dropped a bomb on his house on May 13, 1985.

Sorry if we seem morbid. We just wanted to make some points:

•MOVE is a movement whose "belief is in Life," whose "work is to stop industry from poisoning the air, water, soil, and to put an end to the enslavement of life — people, animals, *any* form of life." MOVE never killed anybody.

•The cops wanted to exterminate MOVE. They were conscious, deliberate, and consistent in all their actions from the early 70s, through the spring 1978 seige, the deadly August 1978 raid, right up to the May 1985 helicopter bombing that burned down the whole neighborhood.

•The nine MOVE prisoners are political prisoners. They were targeted because they had built an organization that helped ex-prisoners back into the community, confronted lying politicians at public meetings, demonstrated against police brutality, and walked its talk in every way — members worked hard, lived and ate right, avoided or recovered from addictions, and lead by example. They still do. Inside prison and out.

Because of this, on, a stakeout unit of clumsy, doughnut-chowing, self-righteous slobs stormed their house, shot one of their own cops in the back, and saw to it that nine decent people would do 30 to 100 years. Then they broke their own law and bulldozed the house, just to make damn sure no MOVE member could ever prove themself innocent.

• • •

They should have killed all of them.
— Phillie cop after the Aug. 1978 raid

After Delbert, Mike, Edward, Phil, Chuck, Debbie, Janet, Merle, and Janine Africa were convicted of murder, their judge appeared on a talk radio show to dispel any notion of a railroad. "Who shot that cop?" one caller wanted to know. "I have no idea," the judge replied.

The caller's name was Mumia Abu-Jamal.

The determination to exterminate MOVE remained. Their collective strength was one obstacle. Another was the persistant truth-telling of Mumia Abu-Jamal, president of the Association of Black Journalists.

When the cops broke their own laws to defend the poisonous, lying system, Mumia held them to account. If MOVE was to go down, Mumia would have to go down first.

Mumia survived their botched street-execution in December 1981. He was sentenced to die. This summer, they will try to finish the job. What are you willing to do to stop it?

With Mumia out of the way, the state moved slowly but surely to take down MOVE. They manuvered in their courts and build their public case in their press. By May, 1985, they were ready. After 10 thousand rounds of ammo and a plastic bomb dropped from a helicopter, only one adult, Ramona, and one child, Birdie, were left alive. The cops shot grownups and kids fleeing the burning house. They let the fire consume 60 homes.

We told the cops there wasn't gonna be anymore undercover deaths. This time they better be prepared to murder us in full public view....We don't believe in death-dealing guns, we believe in life. But we knew the cops wouldn't be so quick to attack us if they had to face the same stuff they dished out so casually on unarmed defenseless folk.

— MOVE

The state harassed them, murdered their children, tried to starve them out, burned down their house and the whole neighborhood, and locked them up for a dead cop who was shot from behind by other cops. Write to them:

both at:
POB 244 / Graterford, PA / 19426-0244

•Edward Goodman Africa / #AM 4974 / POB 200 / Camp Hill, PA / 17011-0200

•William Phillips Africa / #AM4984 / POB A / Bellefonte, PA / 16823

•Delbert Orr Africa / #AM4985 / Drawer K / Dallas, PA / 18612

•Mumia Abu-Jamal / #AM8335 / SCI Greene / 1040 E. Furman Hwy. / Waynesburg, PA / 15370

•Merle Austin Africa #006306

•Debbie Sims Africa #006307

•Janet Halloway Africa #006308

•Janine Phillips Africa #006309

all at:
451 Fullerton Av. / Cambridge Springs, PA / 16403-1238

•Michael Davis Africa #AM4973

•Charles Sims Africa #AM4975

Use full names! Even legal mail gets returned without full names.

Proposal for an Anti-Genocide Campaign

by a New Afrikan prisoner

"Old Kontradictions Manifesting in New Forms"

Recently We have been witnessing a new genocidal onslaught, spearheaded by the u.s. kongress in the form of new repressive laws against prisoners and so-called kkkrime. All across the kountry We are witnessing various states follow the lead of the kongress in pushing so-called kkkrime packages. These packages demand that prisoners serve 85% of their time — 100% if they have a murder conviction. States that comply qualify for matching federal funds to build more prisons.

We see "three-strikes-you're-out" laws implemented nationally. We see reactionary campaigns to ban weights inside prisons and to take away all educational and vocational programs from prisoners. We hear the reactionary howling for limits on Death Row appeals. The genocidal death penalty is not only being expanded—it will be utilized more frequently. Assembly-line executions will become more common and the general masses will become more desensitized to the barbarity of it.

Most of these laws are aimed at poor oppressed people in general and kolonized people/oppressed nationals in particular. The so-called "contract with america" is in actuality a kkkontract on kolonized subjects confined within the imperialist u.s. borders. It is an intensification of genocidal policies against kolonized people.

This all-pervasive reactionary climate is a clear indication of what the future holds for oppressed people on the outside, and for prisoners as well. The question is, how do How do we confront these new realities and this new offensive of the state?

Historically, the struggle on the streets has directly impacted the prison struggle. During the 60s, the civil rights movement and revolutionary politics on the outside had a direct impact on the political development of thousands of prisoners. They inspired much resistance behind the walls and heroic struggle, sacrifice, and battles. The state learned from this resistance, such as the Attica and Soledad Brothers.

Though many of the same contradictions We see now existed then, they were not as sharp as they are today. This time, the state has anticipated social upheaval, and has developed strategies to counter what they were not effective enough at countering in the 60s and 70s.

One of these strategies has been to gain as tight control of the prisons as possible, in part by constructing kkkontrol units—modern scientific dungeons. Prisons are no longer designed just to warehouse and isolate, but to destroy prisoners mentally and physically. Those prisoners who would ordinarily be the ones to spearhead organizing behind the walls are placed inside kkkontrol units. Meanwhile, the rest of the kamps are so suffocating that prisoners are left trying to scramble out of the way of this repressive tidal wave.

We are forming committees that will focus on particular areas such as the death penalty; the construction of kkkontrol units and the fact that prisoners from kolonized nations represent the majority inside them; and the targeting of youth for incarceration as part of an overall genocidal process. We plan to expose how the so-called "contract with america" and other reactionary legislation are just another form of kolonial oppression.

Procession of hearses carrying the bodies of the six victims of the attempted break passed through the front gate of San Quentin

We want to organize prisoners to confront these realities, to do research on them, and to contact outside organizations that are doing work in these areas—such as anti-kkkontrol unit and anti-death penalty people. Our objective is to create a stronger working relationship between the inside and outside and, in the process, allow Us to develop a collective voice.

As the state begins to kill more of us and bury more of us alive in Florence-type kkkontrol units, and as the kkkourts are signaling that they will give the Bureau of Prisons free reign in its terror against prisoners, We have to have some way of fighting back. By networking inside committees through outside facilitators We hope to build a national structure inside prisons which might allow for collective resistance in the future.

To see this proposal or to organize a committee where you are, write: FUSSPP, P.O. Box 565, Madison, WI, 53701.

"In the spirit of struggle and sacrifice let's scramble towards combating genocide and kolonial violence."

**NOTE: Prisoners in Indiana cannot receive a copy of the proposal through the mail in light of recent events and still ongoing investigation.*

"Honor the Dead and Fight Like Hell for the Living"

Organize to Support Khalfani Khaldun

We need you to meet another New Afrikan brother facing death for teaching and organizing inside.

From 1993 until January 1995, Khalfani led a Nation-building program in the D-cell house ("predator" unit) of the Indiana State Prison at Michigan City. He formed a people's library and organized weekly group meetings on self-esteem, self-determination, spirituality, math, reading, and world politics, helping several prisoners get their GEDs and introducing organized prayer to the unit.

In the 80s, an official had tried to turn Khalfani into a snitch. Khalfani refused — and has caught hell ever since. Boneheads torched his cell, he's been transfered around, and was locked down from 1989 to 1993 in the Isolated Disciplinary Unit (IDU) at Michigan City.

Last December, days after the execution of political prisoner Ajamu Nassor, a guard was killed in the D-cell house. Khalfani is being framed, and faces the death penalty. Prior to this setup conspiracy, Khalfani was due to be released in two and one half years. Now his life is on the line and only with support of people from the community can he be saved.

Khalfani is locked down at MCC Westville.

Tax-deductible donations to: Sonora McQuay / Khalfani Defense Fund / P.O. Box 1513 / Gary, IN / 46402

Write Khalfani: Khalfani Khaldun (Leonard McQuay) / #874304 / IN DOC / MCC / POB 557 / Westville, IN / 46391-0557

The Minneapolis comrades are commited to helping build an anti-genocide campaign. You'll be reading more on these pages about Khalfani.

info: Gary People's Justice Committee, Brew City Anti-Authoritarian

SUPPORT THE GARY PEOPLES' JUSTICE COMMITTEE FOR BROTHER KHALFANI

STOP THE RACIST DEATH PENALTY

SHOTS

JAILHOUSE LAWYER / ACTIVIST THREATENED

CALIFORNIA — On May 19th Marcia Bunney was fired as law clerk at Chowchilla (Central California Women's Facility). She has also been threatened with a transfer to Valley State Prison (across the street from Chowchilla). This added dose of oppression is retaliation from prisoncrats for her continual dedicated activism around improving women's conditions in prisons nationwide. She is also a plaintiff in a class-action law suit, Shumate v. Wilson (filed in March of this year).

GANG SUMMIT ORGANIZER GETS 27 YEARS

MINNEAPOLIS — Six convictions or pleas, one acquittal, and 2 and a half years after the Minnesota 8 railroad, the authorities here finally framed Vice Lord and United for Peace organizer Sharif Willis. UFP pulled together a gang-truce summit in 1993, in spite of massive official hostility. Annonymous juries convicted 4 of the Minnesota 8 for the 1992 deaths of a police officer and an alleged police informer. The last Minnesota 8 defendant, Sharif's nephew, Montary, will go to trial this fall. Convicted of supposedly holding a bunch of people at gunpoint because his car repairs weren't quite right, Sharif may go to the new high-tech federal dungeon at Florence, CO.

THREE STRIKES

SAN FRANCISCO — A man who'd done time for a stabbing and a burglary got a life sentence for his 3d felony conviction — stealing 2 bikes and a truck. The judge said the 3 Strikes & You're Out law "tied his hands" (although it was the defendant who was shackled during the hearing), the prosecutor called the sentence "appropriate," and the defense attorney called the thefts "ridiculously minor."

At the time of the theft, the man was on parole, and had been out 8 days. He's eligible for parole in 25 years. He'll appeal.

MEXICO PRISON REBELLION: COPS KILL AT LEAST 3

GUADALAJARA — Cops and troops killed at least 3 prisoners at Puente Grande prison, after a crackdown sparked a riot. Prisoners took 3 guards hostage overnight, then released them. More than 400 police and soldiers retook the prison by force. Fires damaged much of the prison. An unknown number of prisoners were hurt. Government reprisals were also unknown.

NON-PRISONERS — PAY UP!

REAL WORLD — *The Blast!* is free to prisoners. Printing and mailing *The Blast!* is not free to *The Blast!* Therefore, make checks payable to *The Blast!*

"THEY HAVE THEIR ORDERS"

The Judas Factor: The Plot to Kill Malcolm X

Review by Marilyn Buck

The Judas Factor: The Plot to Kill Malcolm X by Karl Evanzz, New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1992

The cover of this book announces boldly, "a shocking exposé of the intelligence communities' secret activities." At this date in U.S. history the repressive activities of the government should not be shocking at all. After all, the land of the free and the home of the brave was built through genocidal war, grand theft, duplicity, and intrigue. Nevertheless, the state through its historians and media technicians writes history to reflect what it chooses that we believe and understand. From the moment-by-moment reporting on the evening news to "All the news that's fit to print" in the *New York Times*, to the long "scholarly" history books, we are taught to forget reality and to accept the official story. The Judas Factor is a book that seeks to disinter reality from its hasty burial.

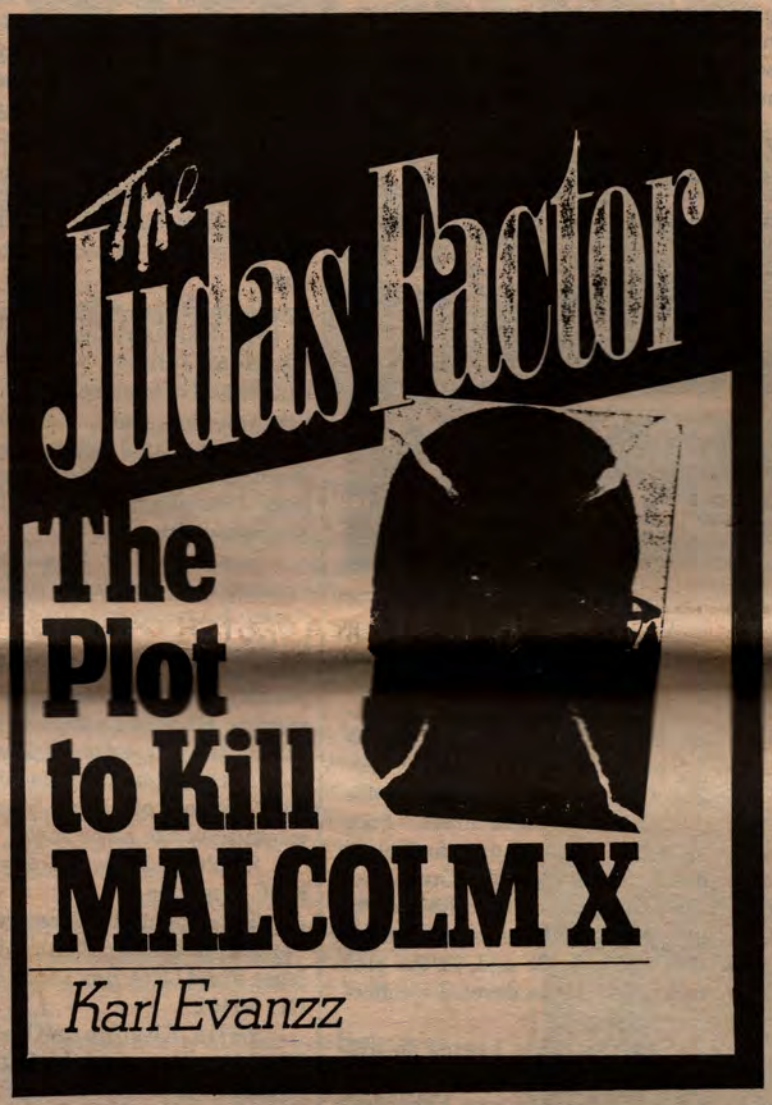
If you were born in the '70s, you may know little about what Malcolm X or Martin Luther King said. Their historical personas have been carved up, reduced to icons and "X" caps. Even Spike Lee's movie, "X," limited and censored Malcolm, focusing on his transformation from hustler and thief to religious leader, not on him as a political leader who was "neutralized"—assassinated— because he was a serious threat to the U.S. government. Spike Lee took the easy way out: Malcolm was killed because of internecine religious strife.

This book does not take the easy way out. Karl Evanzz begins by introducing the three leading suspects in the murder of Malcolm X—the Nation of Islam, the FBI/CIA, and the Mafia. Then, using intelligence agencies' files released through the Freedom of Information Act, he reconstructs a complex but straightforward historical scenario. It is a jigsaw puzzle with many pieces missing; nevertheless the overall view is quite clear.

Evanzz puts Malcolm X's importance in the context of world history—specifically the world-wide struggle for national liberation, decolonization, and independence. The book also affirms that Malcolm was a political, ideological thinker long before he left the Nation of Islam. In fact, because he was so very political, militant, and willing to struggle against the white power structure to advance Black people's human rights, he became a threat to the conservatism of the Nation of Islam as well.

This book may fill in a lot of gaps for many who have not looked at the historical panorama in which Malcolm X lived and died. To take a step back and look at the whole picture is a step of knowledge and understanding, and a responsibility to the future.

As it always has been, the U.S.'s central concern in Malcolm X's time was to maintain economic power and supremacy worldwide. The role of 22 million African-Americans was and continues to be strategic in maintaining state power and U.S. imperialism. Confronted by the rising tide of national liberation and decolonization internationally, the U.S. saw that any linkage between foreign nations and domestic forces of liberation was dangerous. Black people inside the U.S. had begun to rise up to demand justice and liberation, supported by the newly liberated nations. As a result the U.S. was forced to make civil concessions. The balance of world forces was shifting—most graphically seen in the expanded membership of the U.N. General Assembly to include newly independent African and Asian nations.



The U.S. government was not concerned about whether Malcolm X "hated white people" but with the challenge that he and his constituency posed to the white power structure. Malcolm X was an enemy to be dealt with because he represented and articulated the material interests of 22 million African-American people. He was a leading voice both for decolonization of African-American people—human rights, including the right to self-determination and internationalism—and for the linking of African-Americans' struggles to those of the decolonized nations of the world. That caused a great deal of fear and consternation within the U.S. ruling circle. With support from African and Asian independent nations, he worked to expose the U.S. government and its own version of apartheid before the U.N. Previous to his assassination, he and Martin Luther King had come to an agreement to raise a petition to the U.N. charging the U.S. with human rights violations against African-Americans colonized within the United States. This created a critical issue for the government. Malcolm was building alliances for the furtherance of the project of liberation and justice. He had to die before the petition was presented before the U.N. World Court. Martin Luther King, too, had to be "neutralized."

The U.S. was at war—a counter-revolution based in counterintelligence and police terror.

Evanzz makes a plausible case that the U.S. government was responsible for the murder of Malcolm X. The assassination was one prong of FBI's domestic counter-intelligence program, COINTELPRO. The CIA and State Department were also involved in the long-term conspiracy.

The motives of the "intelligence community" are laid bare in *The Judas Factor*. Its dirty business—"black bag operations"—are explored, pieced together from small bits of scattered evidence. This book enumerates the many assassinations of world leaders and even ordinary people, supportive journalists, etc., in which the CIA and/or FBI can reasonably be concluded to have played a key role. The list is staggering to see under one cover. U.S. foreign and domestic policy has been, and continues to be, a massive conspiracy to silence and neutralize any opposition, real or perceived.

At times the reader might wonder where Mr. Evanzz is going; the amount of information he presents is nearly overwhelming. Nevertheless, it is information and history well worth knowing. Like Malcolm X's life, the threads and connections which led to his death are numerous, varied, and complicated. This book will allow the reader to penetrate the surface of official U.S. history and white-wash.

Mr. Evanzz does not simplify in his conclusion that U.S. intelligence agencies conspired to kill Malcolm X. For example, while it may appear coincidental that the Nation of Islam played the role of the hit man, he argues that it was not. Through COINTELPRO, the FBI orchestrated and fomented the ultimate conclusion, even though the Nation of Islam created, through its conservatism, the conditions to be manipulated. Central to Evanzz's thesis is that there were FBI employees—either agents or hired informants (mercenaries)—who worked to attain high ranking in the Nation of Islam. The central character is Judas. Evanzz uses documents to identify him as John Ali, an NOI member who ultimately held very high rank and power.

The Judas Factor is especially important reading today. COINTELPRO and the government "intelligence community" continue, as busy as ever. The government's "mission" has not changed, only the historical moment and specific tactics. The government plots along—the most recent example being the set-up of Qubilah Shabazz to discredit her family and create confusion among forces in the African-American community. That this has not worked on a propaganda level is a tribute to what has been learned from history and people's strengths in recognizing the enemy of African-Americans, as well as all oppressed peoples.

COINTELPRO never stopped. There are more than 100 political prisoners and Prisoners of War in the U.S., some of whom, like Black Panther Geronimo jiJaga Pratt (imprisoned for nearly 25 years) and Leonard Peltier of the American Indian Movement (AIM), were deliberately framed and imprisoned. And there is Mumia Abu-Jamal, a bold political journalist and former Black Panther now sitting on death row in Pennsylvania *(see p. 28—ed.)*. There is not one political prisoner or Prisoner of War who has not been tracked, trailed, and affected by the FBI and COINTELPRO. There is not one organization on the left that either 1) acts to change the system, 2) engages in struggles against the policies of the U.S., or 3) supports the struggles of oppressed peoples internationally or domestically that is not under COINTELPRO's scrutiny and subject to campaigns to destroy or destabilize even today, when state power seems so firmly in control.

Educate yourself to be able to resist the enemy of all oppressed and exploited peoples. *The Judas Factor* is an important lesson. For white leftists in particular it is important—one's ideology matters little without a grasp of how pivotal the issue of national liberation and taking power from the hands of American-European imperialism is. The state certainly understands this.

Marilyn Buck is an anti-imperialist political prisoner (#00482-285, Unit A, 5701 8th St., Camp Parks, Dublin, CA. 94568)

Clip and Save!

BE PREPARED FOR THE COPS

When the cops come knocking at your front door, remember these simple tips:

1. DON'T TALK TO COPS.

This is a cardinal rule wherever you are. You do not have to answer questions or identify yourself. It is not a crime to refuse to answer cops' questions, even if they have a warrant. What you say to the police is important, as *it may be used against you (and possibly others) in court.* If cops want to talk to you, politely refuse and tell them to contact your lawyer.

2. DON'T LET THEM IN YOUR HOME.

You do not have to give your consent to any search of your house, car, or person unless the police have a warrant. Politely refuse and tell them to contact your lawyer. If you consent to a search it can affect your rights later in court. If they have a search warrant, demand to see it. Make sure they don't exceed the boundaries set by the warrant. Don't interfere with the search or else you could get arrested.

3. DON'T LET THEM INTIMIDATE YOU.

Be polite but firm. They might pretend to have information on you. They will rave, they will lie, they will make up stories. It means nothing. DO NOT try to outwit or question them. They may be stupid, but they are trained in how to obtain information. Even "harmless" information can be used against you or others. If they get persistent on you, just say, "I'm very busy now. I'd be happy to listen to your questions in my lawyer's office. Good-bye."

4. KEEP CAREFUL RECORDS.

Of everything they say or do. Write down everything; you know they do.

5. LET OTHERS KNOW THAT COPS HASSLED YOU.

Spread the word if cops abuse you. Alert friends and family and tell them to refuse to cooperate if the police try to question them.

6. IF YOU ARE ARRESTED:

Give the cops your name and address *and nothing else.* Ask to see a lawyer immediately. Do not talk to cops without one; make no decisions about your case until you talk to one.

7. REMEMBER: ALL COPS ARE BASTARDS.

Just because you have legal rights when dealing with the cops doesn't mean cops will obey them. In most cases, pigs will break whatever law they have to in order to arrest you or crack your head open. Without a mass movement or armed defense, there is no sure-fire defense against the arbitrary rule of the pigs. Your main weapon against them is to go public: let everyone you can know what they've done to you, and do what you can to organize against them.

And hey, *let's be careful out there.*

from the Mixed-Tape-of-the-Month Club, it's

THE TOP TWENTY ANTI-COP SONGS OF ALL TIME

compiled by Dang, Todd and joel

In no particular order:

- **KRS ONE** "Sound of tha Police" (Return of the Boom Bap)
- **KRS ONE** "Black Cop" (Return of the Boom Bap)
- **PARIS / CONSCIOUS DAUGHTERS** "Gonna Bring It to Ya" (Guerrilla Funk)
- **DEAD KENNEDYS** "Police Truck" (single)
- **THE DICKS** "Hate the Police" (Kill from the Heart)
- **THE GOATS** "TV Cops" (Tricks of the Shade)
- **NWA** "Fuck tha Police" (Straight Outta Compton)
- **CRUCIFUCKS** "Cops for Fertilizer" (Crucifucks)
- **2PAC** "Soulja's Story" (2Pacalypse Now)
- **MDC** "Millions of Dead Cops" (Millions of Dead Cops)
- **THE COUP** "I Know Ya Motherfucka" (Kill My Landlord)
- **BYTCHES WITH PROBLEMS** "Wanted" (The Bytches)
- **COOLIO** "Bring Back Something for da Hood" (It Takes a Thief)
- **THE GOATS** "TV Cops" (Tricks of the Shade)
- **ICE CUBE** "We Had to Tear This Mothafucka Up" (The Predator)
- **BODY COUNT** "Cop Killer" (Body Count)
- **BLACK FLAG** "Police Story" (Damaged)
- **CYPRESS HILL** "Pigs" (Cypress Hill)
- **DOOM** "Police Bastard" (single)
- **4 SKINS** "A.C.A.B. (All Cops Are Bastards)" (The Good, the Bad...)
- **BONE THUGS-N-HARMONY** "No Surrender" (Creepin on ah Come Up)
- **BOB MARLEY** "I Shot the Sheriff"

And the best album title ever:

- **CHRIST ON A CRUTCH** *Crime Pays When Pigs Die*

"For everyone, everything..."

Continued from page 27

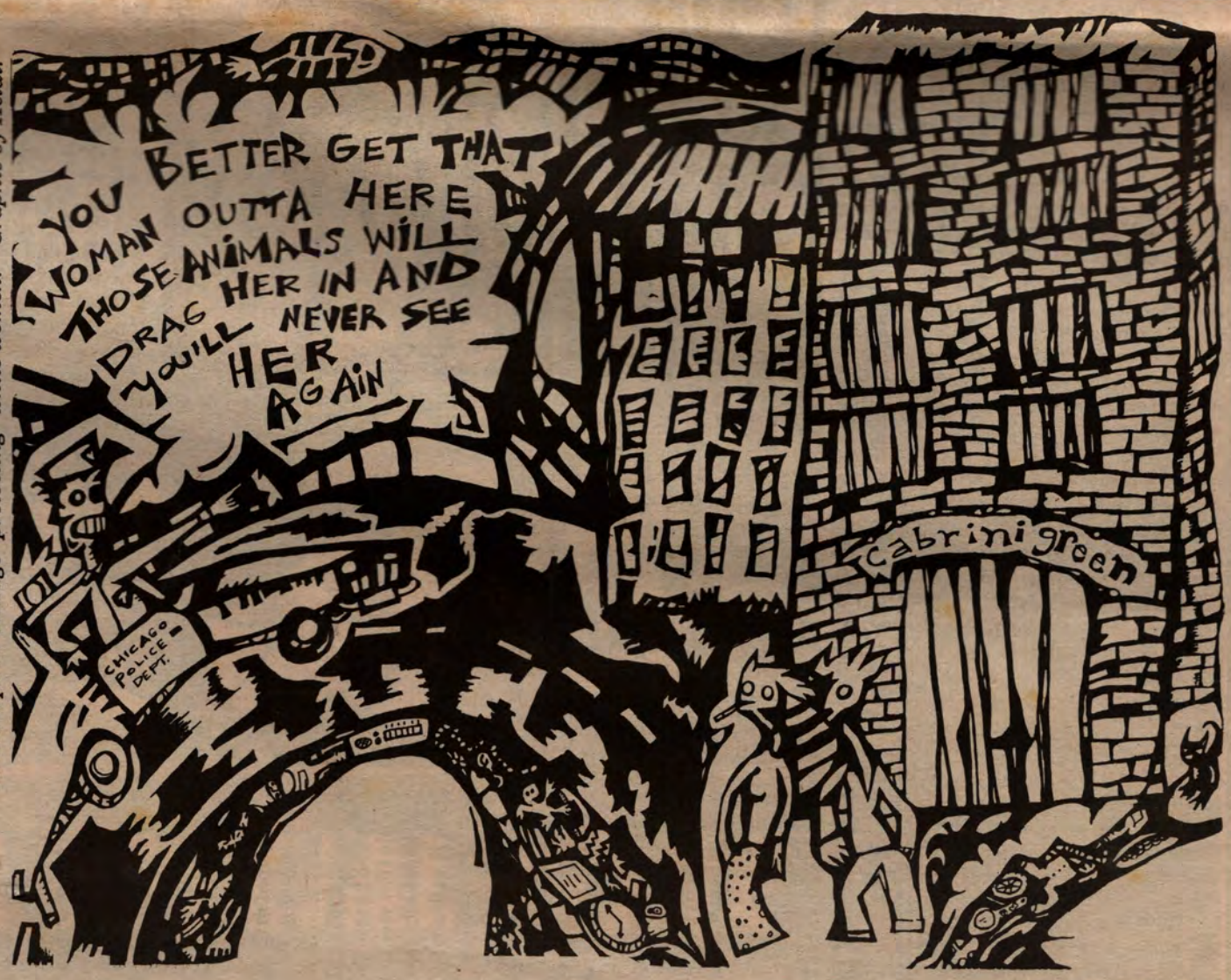
deceit they stole the victory from the PRD leader, Cuauhtemoc Cardenas. Various PRD militants were assassinated and the crimes went unpunished. People expected an uprising, but nothing happened. The PRI had proven their power.

In the beginning of the 1990s, the government claimed that they improved economy of Mexico. They spoke of an "economic miracle" and presented Mexico as an example for the rest of the Third World to follow. They prepared the stage for a play called NAFTA. The main actors were the PRI, Uncle Sam, and the Canadian bosses. The powerful were united. The poor and the working class were mute spectators.

As for the young radicals of the 1970s, now we are all heads of families, professionals, or gang members; some of us are in prisons in Mexico and the US. Many of the old radicals had lost faith in the possibilty of a revolution in Mexico. A change in Mexico? An armed uprising? When? How?

The answer came on January 1, 1994, when NAFTA, the new plan of exploitation of the three countries, was supposed to begin. In the southeast of Mexico, an army of mostly indigenous people took control of several towns. The Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) revealed themselves to the rest of Mexico and the world. They have revived the revolutionary flame in our hearts. The revolution is not dead! ¡Vivan los Zapatistas!

—translated by Angela, Luis, and joel



Racist cops in Chicago "protecting" white women. Graphic by Heidi.

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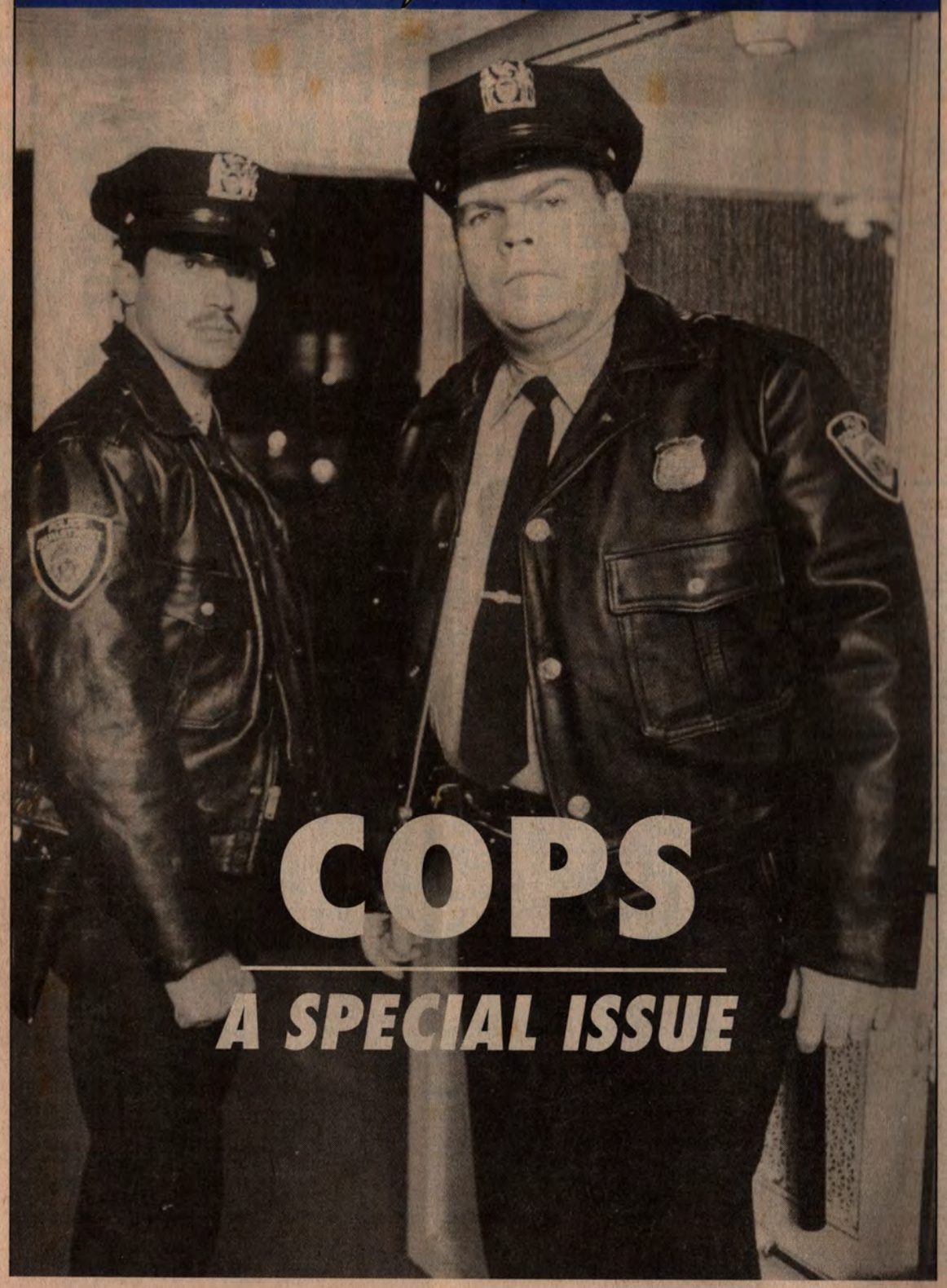

COPS

A SPECIAL ISSUE

If They Take Mumia in the night, It will be GENOCIDE in the Morning.

Stop the execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal!

I didn't speak out when they hanged Sacco and Vanzetti
because I wasn't an anarchist.
I didn't speak out when they executed the Rosenburgs
because I wasn't a communist.
I didn't speak out when they shot down members of the Black Panther Party in the street
because I wasn't a Panther.
I didn't speak out when they bombed and burned to death innocent men, women and children of the MOVE organization
because I wasn't a MOVE member.

August 17, 1995.

That is the day that the state of Pennsylvania has chosen to attempt to murder black journalist and internationally respected freedom fighter Mumia Abu-Jamal. If they succeed, Mumia will be murdered at 10 p.m. Thursday night by lethal injection. This means that this innocent and brilliant man — who has devoted his life from the age of 15 to the struggle for freedom for all oppressed peoples — will be strapped to a gurney and injected with sodium pentothal, which will make him unconscious so that he does not feel the pancuronium bromide when it paralyzes his diaphragm and stops his breathing and the potassium chloride when it causes cardiac arrest and stops his heart.

This is the same heart that he has given already over and over again to us.

He gave it when he joined the Black Panther Party in 1969. He gave it as a target of the government's "counterinsurgency" (COINTELPRO) war brutally carried out against Liberation Movements, overwhelmingly against the BPP. He gave it when, as a respected journalist, he jumped barricades to cover the city of Philadelphia's siege and massacre of the MOVE organization. He gave it on that Philly street corner when he was shot by the cop that was beating his brother. He has given it with every commentary written from death row, the majority of which are not about himself. He is still speaking out for us, humanity, and against a racist, imperialist government that began with genocide and continues every day on black and poor people worldwide.

Mumia's death is the key to the oven door. This is not a trite metaphor. If the government can openly murder an innocent activist and acknowledged political prisoner, it opens the floodgates to state-ordered murders.

—Burn One

Twin Cities Coalition to Defend Mumia Abu-Jamal

Call 649-4579 for updates and actions. Get involved—meetings are at 7 p.m. every Wednesday at ARISE! Books, 2441 Lyndale Av. S., Minneapolis.

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