

Ruanda, los Zapatistas y Revolución Social

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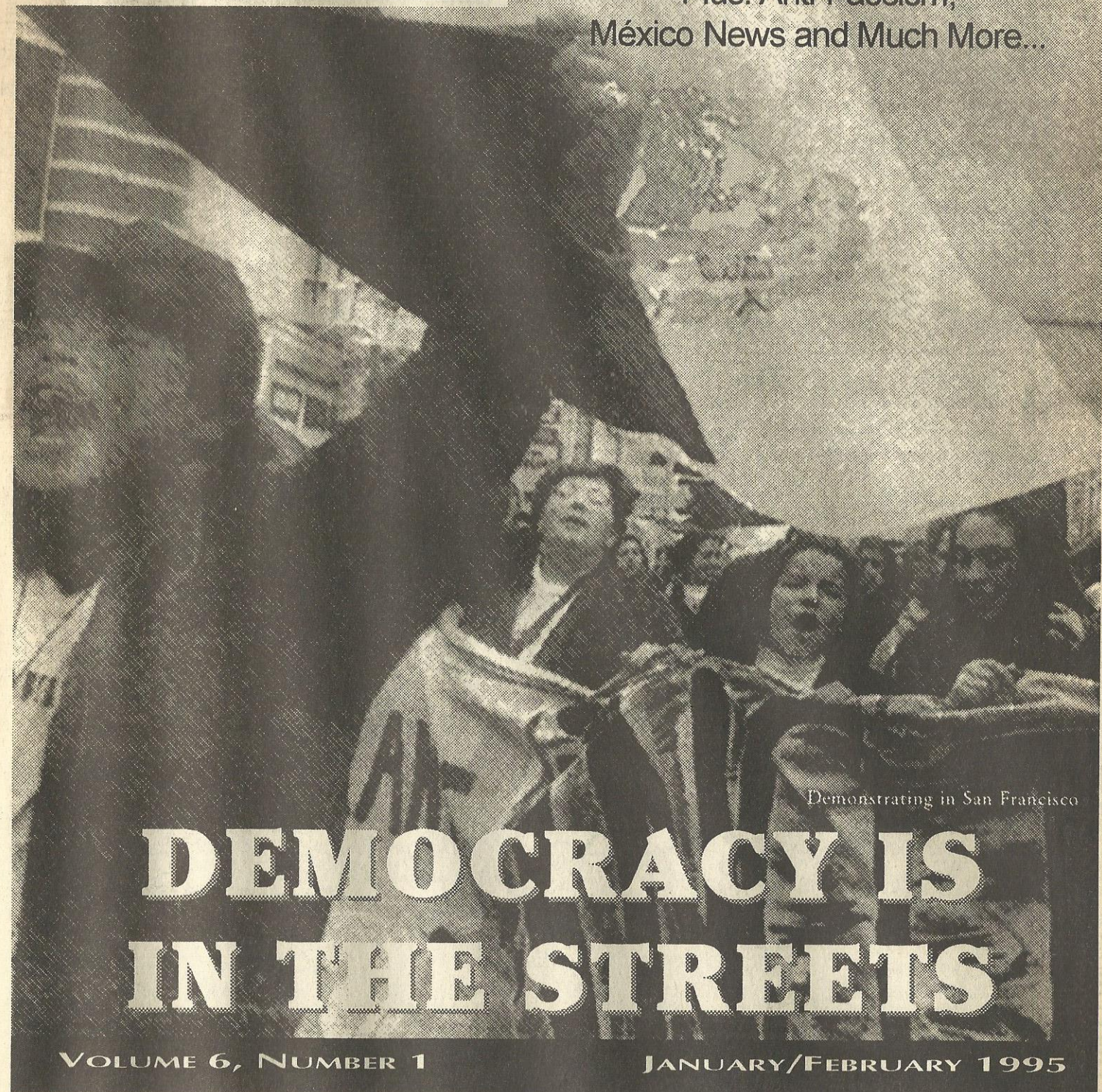
Love and Rage
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LOVE AND RAGE

A REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHIST
NEWSPAPER

- In This Issue:
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 - ★ Squatters Fight Eviction
 - ★ Intifada Against PLO Rule
 - ★ The Love and Rage Conference
 - ★ Critique of Marxism Part 3
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**DEMOCRACY IS
IN THE STREETS**

VOLUME 6, NUMBER 1

JANUARY/FEBRUARY 1995

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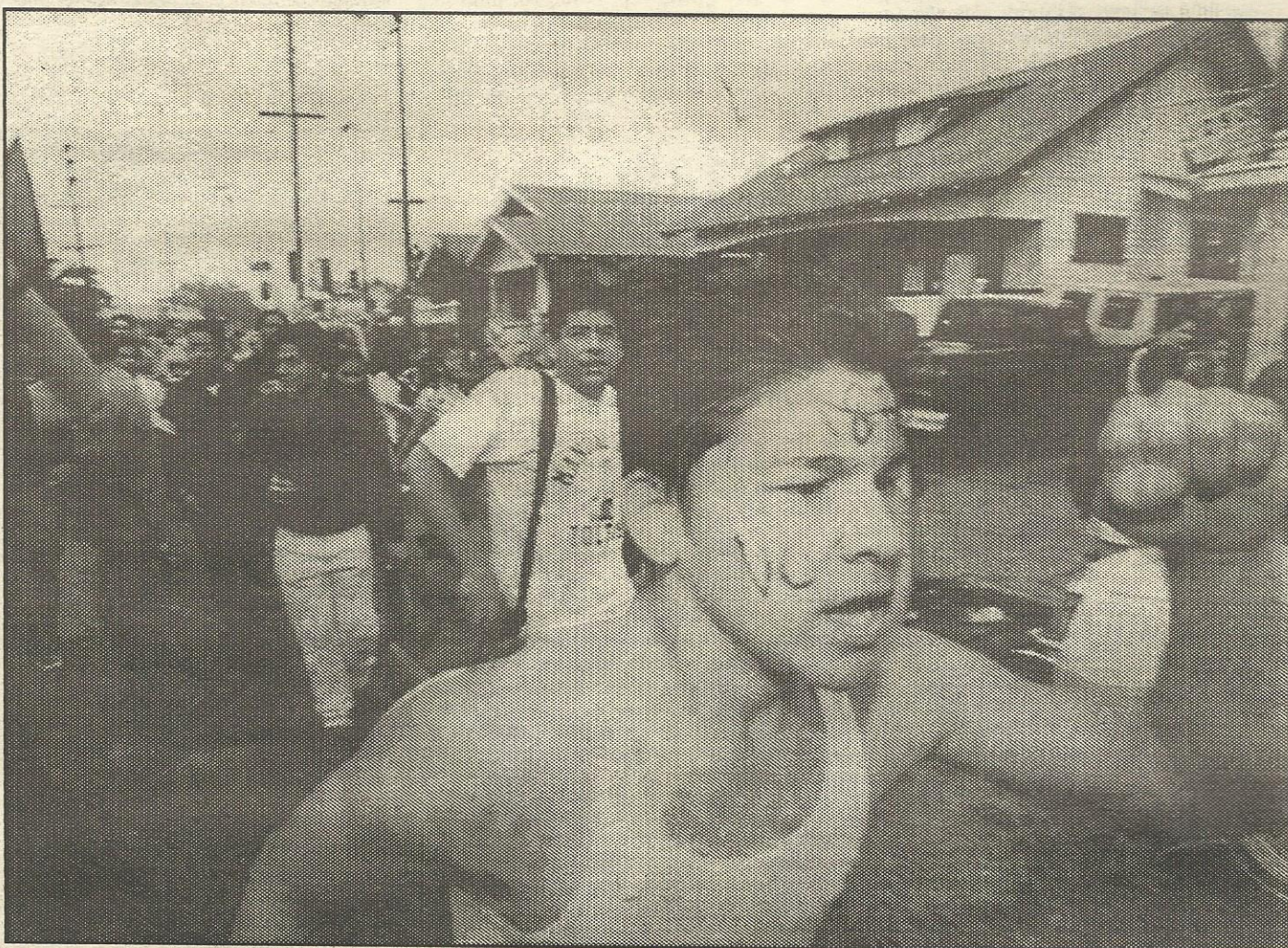
The Ugly Truth of the 1994 US Elections

BY CHRISTOPHER DAY

By now the horrible truth of the 1994 US elections is old news. The Republican Party, increasingly under the leadership of the Christian Right, has won control of both houses of Congress and is aggressively pursuing its agenda. The Republicans have won control of many governorships and state legislatures as well. A 1984ish anti-immigrant ballot initiative won overwhelming approval in California.

There have been a number of attempts to interpret these results in ways that simply hide from the truth. The election results were not the result of some sort of mysterious anti-incumbency "mood" among the electorate. Not one major race saw the defeat of a Republican incumbent. Reading liberal commentaries on the elections is not unlike listening to the incoherent rationalizations of an alcoholic. Yes, only a fraction of eligible voters voted (but in California, where a controversial ballot initiative resulted in a high voter turnout, the results were the same). And yes, many races were won with small margins of victory (but many were not). The liberals are quick to point out the ways that the legislative process will dull some of the sharpness of the Right's agenda, and that the courts will strike down the more excessive measures (as appears likely in the case of California's Proposition 187).

These sort of high-school civics lessons are being employed to avoid the truth. The cold truth is that the elections were a colossal political victory for the Right and its ugly agenda. The liberals are clinging to the notion that there is some sort of permanent center in US politics and that "excesses" like the 1994 election will correct themselves through the natural functioning of the system: right-wing elected officials will drift to the center, anti-incumbency will replace Republicans with Democrats next time, and so on. But that is not how the system actually works.



Protesting anti-immigrant Proposition 187 in California.

HOW AMERICAN "DEMOCRACY" WORKS

The main purpose of elections in the US is to obtain some sort of popular consent for the rule of an economic-political-bureaucratic elite. It is common for radicals to say that the choices offered by the two

major parties in the elections are not "real" choices. This is true in the sense that we are not given choices that involve a radical break with the existing capitalist system. But it is not true in the sense that there is no real difference between the political agendas of the different politicians and their parties. The elections give

us a choice between different strategies for maintaining the existing order and for responding to challenges to that order. In the simplest terms, the choices we are offered are between different measures of carrot and stick—or, more accurately, between different measures of food stamps and police batons. The two parties, and the factions within the parties, represent different sections of the ruling elite, and different views of what is in the best interests of the elite as a whole. The strength of each faction depends on the resources at its disposal and its ability to mobilize popular support for its agenda—particularly at the polls.

When the system is running relatively smoothly, and is able to channel most discontent into legal and non-disruptive forms, the differences between different politicians and their parties are often superficial. But when the system is undergoing dramatic upheavals, the differences between different sections of the elite become more substantive.

The Intifada Continues--Against Arafat

BY ADAM SABRA

The massacre of 12 anti-Arafat demonstrators on Nov. 18 outside the Palestine mosque in Gaza is the logical result of the so-called peace process in the Middle East. While news agencies and governments either feigned surprise at the events that have unfolded in the areas controlled by the Palestine Liberation Organization, or attempted to blame the victims, anyone with a clear-sighted view of the situation in Palestine could have predicted these events, and expects the situation only to get worse.

The reality of the Oslo agreement between the PLO and Israel is imposing itself on the fantasies of "just and lasting" peace and mutual cooperation that have dominated "mainstream" political opinion for the past year. In place of high-sounding

values and saccharine rhetoric, the Palestinian Authority in Gaza and Jericho is looking more and more like an instrument of fascist oppression in the hands of the Israeli government.

THE EVENTS

Since news coverage of the Middle East in the US is often spotty, not to mention hopelessly pro-Zionist, a summary of recent events is in order. The Nov. 18 massacre was the culmination of a series of events that began in October. Since that time, Islamic Resistance Movement in Palestine (Hamas) and Islamic Jihad have carried out a series of attacks against Israeli targets, both military and civilian; the attacks killed more than 30 Israelis in October alone. Since the PLO, in accor-

dance with its agreement with Israel, is responsible for security in Gaza, the main stronghold of these groups, it has come under increasing pressure from Israel and the US to suppress "Islamic fundamentalist terrorism" in the name of protecting peace. Of course, this amounts to demanding that the PLO defend the Israeli army against Palestinian resistance.

The first major incident in this chain of events occurred with the seizure, by Hamas

(Continued to page 3)

(Continued to page 2)

Squatter Stronghold Faces Eviction

BY DAVE LAWRENCE

Five squatted buildings on Manhattan's Lower East Side are being targeted by New York City as the site of a supposedly low-income housing project. The city council voted on June 29 to approve a plan, submitted by the Department of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD), for Lower East Side Coalition Housing Development (LESCHD, a corrupt non-profit housing organization) to develop the site. The five squats, numbers 535, 537, 539, 541, and 545 East 13th Street, are occupied by a diverse group of over 100 people, some of whom have resided in their squats for over 10 years. (A sixth squatted building across the street is not included in the development plan.) The squatter community on 13th Street was founded over 10 years ago by people who had originally sought to be accepted into the city's now-defunct homesteader program, but took a do-it-yourself approach and became squatters from the onset. They were soon joined by many more people, and expanded to include more buildings.

The city's plan was uncovered by a squatter from another block who heard rumors of the development project. Freedom of Information requests were filed, but no responses were received. After many more rumors and some anonymous tips, a New York Times reporter

confirmed that there was in fact a plan for the 13th Street squats. Subsequent requests for information turned up the plan sent to the city council. It was a reincarnation of a plan defeated by squatters four years ago, but this time around was submitted as an Urban Development Action Project (UDAP) to bypass the usual review procedures and deny squatters any opportunities to oppose it at public hearings. The so-called low-income housing proposed for 13th St. has a minimum income requirement for a studio apartment of \$13,800, well above what most squatters and other neighborhood residents take home.

ORGANIZE!

Due to factional disputes within Eviction Watch, a network of 21 Lower East Side Squats, much of the defense tactics were conceived and implemented by the Legal/Research and Outreach subcommittees, along with many squatters from the targeted buildings and former members of Squatter Activist Council. Attempts to hold Eviction Watch meetings were disrupted by residents of 535 and self-proclaimed communists from a group called the Class War Organizer (CWO). Squatters and supporters arriving at one meeting were driven off by residents from 535.

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An Israeli reservist being attacked while attempting to drive through a protest in the West Bank.

Love and Rage is the English-language newspaper of the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation, an organization made up of groups and individuals in Canada, Mexico and the US who share a set of common politics and who work on common political projects. *Love and Rage* is produced by a Production Group in New York City. The Production Group is made up of volunteers and one full-time staff person. *Love and Rage* is one of the many projects of the Federation, which also produces the Spanish-language *Amor y Rabia* in Mexico City, and publishes an internal discussion bulletin in New York City, in addition to supporting various actions and campaigns.

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

Ongoing debates and discussions within the Federation as well as timely information can be found in the monthly *Federation Bulletin*, produced in NYC.

The Federation is not a closed circle of friends. You can join the Federation and participate fully in the decision-making process. Any individual who is in general agreement with the stated politics of the Federation, who supports the projects of the Federation and who pays the \$25 communications fee to cover the costs of receiving the Federation publications, may be a member of the Federation. The communications fee will be waived on request. Even if you do not wish to be a member of the Federation you may participate in Federation projects. Please contact us.

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

Boring Disclaimer

Yo, the stuff we print does not necessarily represent the opinions of the Federation or of any member of the Federation. We print lots of things for lots of reasons. Sometimes we print articles we don't agree with, because we believe that they are interesting or provocative. Got it?

Editorial Policy

We encourage you to submit material for publication. Shorter articles are more likely to be printed. 1750 words, a full newspaper page, is a long article. Submissions may be edited. Please include a phone number and address or internet email address so the PG can consult you on editing. Articles not printed may be sent to our internal bulletin unless otherwise noted. All letters will be considered for publication unless there is a request that they not be published. Letters will not be edited.

About Our Politics

The Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation is in the process of developing a statement of our common politics. A set of Working Papers encompassing the debate on the content of this statement is available for \$5 from the Federation Office. The following introduction to our old Political Statement gives an idea of where we are coming from:

Love and Rage is a bi-monthly anarchist newspaper intended to foster revolutionary anti-authoritarian activism in North America and build a more effective and better-organized anarchist movement. We will provide coverage of social struggles, world events, anarchist actions, and cultures of resistance. We will support the struggles of oppressed peoples around the world for control over their own lives. Anarchy offers the broadest possible critique of domination, making possible a framework for unity in all struggles for liberation. We seek to understand the systems we live under for ourselves and reject any pre-packaged ideology. Anarchism is a living body of theory and practice connected directly to the lived experiences of oppressed people fighting for their own liberation. We anticipate the radical and on-going revision of our ideas as a necessary part of any revolutionary process.

Introduction

Welcome to the 6th year of *Love and Rage*. Starting with this issue, we are going back to 20 pages. Reflecting the federation's emphases on anti-fascism, Mexican solidarity, and prison abolition work, we have two-page spreads on each topic. Starting with this

issue, the ABC section will regularly be two pages. We also have an article on the Love and Rage conference, at which these focuses were chosen.

Our feature article is on the recent US elections and prospects for a "next left." We also include the third part of Ron Tabor's

critique of Marxism, an article about the NY squatter struggle, news and analysis from Palestine, a report on the Guarani struggle in Brazil, a provocative article on afrocentricity and homophobia, and, of course, much more. Look next issue for us to continue our reporting on the Zapatistas in México. The situation there has recently erupted into war again, and any analysis we could have put forward this issue would be outdated in light of these events. However, see page 7 for an as-of-press-time update on Chiapas.

East 13th Street Evictions

(Continued from page 1)

FORMULATING STRATEGIES

The first defense tactic used by squatters was what worked four years ago—going after the funders of the project. This included unannounced visits to the offices of Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC, corporate scum who finance poverty pimps by selling tax exemptions), and Enterprise Foundation (a group that collects grants from corporate scum). Actions were also carried out in Philadelphia and other cities against funders. In Baltimore, parodies of eviction notices were pasted to the residences of Enterprise board members and employees. Mass mailings were sent out to funders, politicians, and housing groups of all types, to publicize the fact that this project would displace over 100 people. Letters of support were solicited and included in mass mailings.

The second tactic was to raise awareness in the community and build up local support. A plan to march to the Community Board was approved at one of the early Eviction Watch meetings, before the complete breakdown between rival factions. The Community Board tactic had been used by squatters in previous struggles. Most recently in June of 1993, when over 100 squatters shut down a meeting to delay a vote on the development of Glass House. (The development plan passed at a later meeting, but was never implemented; Glass House fell to an opportunistic police force, compounded by internal disarray, in Feb. 1994.) The Community Board (#3) was only voting as a formality on this issue. The streamlined UDAP process didn't require its participation. However, it was an opportunity for squatters to voice their outrage. The first action was against a sub-committee. Fifty squatters packed the room and prevented the board from convening a meeting.

An important part of the overall strategy to defend the buildings is on the legal front. Recent court rulings over the evictions of squats in the Bronx set favorable precedent for due process to be recognized for squatters. 535 E. 13th decided, undemocratically, in the opinion of many squatters, to drop out of the legal action. Two residents of 535, including a member of the CWO, showed up in court and asked that their building be removed from the case. They also discussed a deal offered by the city to accept relocation to city-owned apartments in exchange for their dropping any and all claims to their building. Many squatters active in this struggle consider any negotiations to vacate a building to be a "sell out," and feel the divisiveness weakens the squatters movement. CWO distributed hundreds of leaflets filled with lies and mis-



Doors at community board meeting chained shut by squatters with board members and cops still inside.

leading information, which created much confusion for people trying to keep up with the complexities of the situation.

Knowing that legal tactics alone cannot bring victory, squatters continue to put up posters and do outreach in the Lower East Side. Squatters also developed good contacts in the mainstream media. Two major daily newspapers have run sympathetic articles covering the dispute between squatters and the city.

This plan to evict five buildings is the most serious threat the squatters of the Lower East Side have faced. Squatters realize that if these buildings go the remainder will be weakened and picked off over the

next couple of years. Since the mid-'80s there have been 15-20 buildings occupied by organized squatters in this neighborhood, existing in a gray area of semi-autonomy as government administrations have come and gone. The survival of squatting as a continuing movement rests heavily on whether this fight is won or lost. If the squats lose in court, squatters may have already won a political victory in the eyes of the public. If the squats were to win title to the buildings, they would no longer be squats, but could inspire others to carry on the struggle. A favorable court ruling on due process alone could put squatting right back where it was—in legal limbo.★

1994 US Elections

(Continued from page 1)

STRATEGIES FOR SOCIAL CONTROL

That is what is happening now. Capitalism, both in the US and around the world, is undergoing massive restructuring. This restructuring is resulting in dramatic upheavals in people's lives. The Los Angeles rebellion and the Zapatista uprising are only the most apparent indications of the socially explosive potential of these changes. The failure (and potential further failure) of the system to channel discontent into acceptable forms is forcing the ruling elite to consider new strategies for social control. Beginning in the 1930s with the New Deal,

and continuing through the 1960s with the Great Society programs, a central feature of social control in the US has been a variety of social welfare programs that have given the poor a sense of investment in the system, and that have fostered a mentality of dependency that has tended to weaken the appeal of more radical politics.

In the late '60s this strategy for social control began to break down, and proved unable to effectively contain mass challenges to the system. The system was forced to concede to certain economic and political demands coming from the Black community, to end conscription, and to withdraw from Viet Nam. This failure led to the development of a new and more repressive strategy for social control. The elements of this strategy are now familiar features of life in the US: a decline in real wages and the exclusion of unions from new industries, cuts in education and social services to the poor and other policies that would tend to break the fighting spirit demonstrated by the urban rebellions of the '60s, massive prison construction, and a "war on

drugs" to fill the prisons with potentially rebellious youth of color. In short, a war on the poor. At the same time there was a need to mobilize popular support for these policies, to break the white middle class and white workers away from their traditional support for liberal social programs. Restructuring was undermining the economic position of these relatively privileged whites as well—the trick was to convince them that these changes were the result of excessive government spending on the poor and a sort of moral rot, represented by permissive attitudes on sex and drugs, that demanded a "get tough" attitude.

The 1970s saw the consolidation of a mass base of support for this new strategy, which led to the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980. The 1980s can be seen as a period in which the forces that supported the new strategy of social control pushed back the supporters of the old liberal strategy. By the beginning of the 1990s, old-style liberalism had been effectively defeated, even within

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militants, of an Israeli soldier in mid-October. The militants demanded the release of their comrades held in Israeli jails. Initially, the Israeli authorities claimed that the soldier was being held in the area administered by the PLO, and began a campaign to disparage the PLO's ability to maintain security. In the end, however, the soldier turned out to be held in the Israeli-occupied West Bank, and was killed, along with the militants, during a botched Israeli commando raid on Oct. 15. Four days later, a Hamas suicide bomber killed himself and 22 Israeli civilians when he blew up a bus in the heart of Tel Aviv.

Clearly, the message had been delivered. The Islamic movement would continue its attacks on Israeli targets, without regard for the PLO-Israeli peace agreement. Naturally, the Israelis demanded that the PLO crack down on Palestinian opponents to the peace process, which they proceeded to do, arresting dozens. As will be discussed in more detail below, these initial events were very much to Israel's advantage. Arafat and his cronies were being turned into Israel's first line of defense. Furthermore, Israel did not leave matters in the hands of the PLO. Shortly thereafter, the Israelis assassinated a journalist, Hani Abed, who was a major figure in Islamic Jihad. On Nov. 13, Jihad responded by launching a suicide attack, in the PLO-controlled zone, which killed three Israeli soldiers. This attack was a major embarrassment to Yasir Arafat, since it was carried out right under his nose. The PLO responded by arresting approximately 180 activists from the Islamic movements. A war of words ensued, and tension within the Palestinian community grew more intense.

Matters came to a head when, on Nov. 18, a joint Hamas-Islamic Jihad demonstration, following Friday prayers at the Palestine mosque in Gaza, turned into a massacre. For no explicable reason, the PLO fired thousands of rounds of live ammunition at the demonstrators. Twelve were killed and dozens injured. The PLO quickly tried to blame someone, anyone, else for the incident. First they claimed that the demonstrators had started the shooting, then they blamed foreign instigators such as Iran. When this failed, they tried other, more absurd explanations. Nabil Shaath, the main PLO negotiator with Israel, claimed that nine of those killed were members of Yasir Arafat's own organization, Fatah. Arafat himself tried to imply that the Israelis were responsible. With hundreds of witnesses to the events, however, none of this nonsense could convince anyone.

Since the massacre, the political leaderships of both the PLO and the Islamic movements have taken a step back. While the rank-and-file of Hamas and Islamic Jihad have been calling for revenge, the leadership is more timid, or perhaps believes that time is on their side. After all, with every new outrage, Arafat loses more and more credibility with his own people. In the meantime, a war of demonstrations has broken out. Arafat's storm troopers, the Fatah Hawks, staged an armed demonstration of several thousand men in support of their leader. When Hamas organized an even larger "festival" the following week, the PLO police confiscated the Palestinian and Israeli newspapers distributed in Gaza to prevent their reporting on the size of the opposition. Despite attempts at mediation on the part of several parties within Palestinian society, the situation remains critical. Any move by either party could set off a bloody conflict within the PLO-administrated areas. The current plans to hold elections in Gaza and the West Bank could provide the spark that sets off the conflagration.

ANALYSIS

That the PLO-Israeli peace agreement is in mortal danger is now obvious to everyone. The fact remains, however, that the commentators of the mainstream press are unable to comprehend the real causes behind the collapse of "peace." Most of the rhetoric emanating from the Western capitals presents the image of Islamic reactionaries trying to sink the enlightened attempts of secular powers to bring a new hope to the benighted peoples of the Middle East.

This rhetoric is based on two fundamental errors in conception. First, the problem is perceived as a struggle between national movements, which can be solved by some

form of re-partition of Palestine. Second, the attempts of the US and Europeans to arrange peace agreements between the Israelis and the Arab states are presented as aimed at changing the future of the Middle East for the benefit of its peoples.

The first point requires a

substantial reply. The conflict between Zionism and Palestinian nationalism is not really a conflict between two national peoples over the division of land. In fact, the conflict more closely resembles the struggle in South Africa against apartheid. The Zionist movement is a settler-colonial movement that has established a state by and for the Jewish people, an entity it created in the process of settlement, to the exclusion of the indigenous Arab Palestinian people. As such, Zionism is a form of racial segregation and oppression that cannot be alleviated by an attempt to redraw the borders of the state.

The bankruptcy of this measure becomes clear when one examines the case of the Gaza Strip. Gaza has no independent economy. More than 30,000 Gazans work inside Israel, and when the borders are closed between the two regions "for security reasons," they and their families go without income entirely. According to a recent statement by Yasir Arafat himself, the unemployment rate in Gaza is currently 52%. In these circumstances, it is clear that Gaza forms a source of cheap labor for the Israeli economy. Despite many plans to replace "dangerous" Arab labor in Israel with "safe" labor imported from Southeast Asia, Israel continues to depend on Palestinian Arab labor. Even if the Israeli economy could be gradually weaned of its dependence on Arab labor, this would only cause the complete collapse of Gazan society.

On the West Bank, the situation is much the same, although the economy is somewhat less depressed. Nonetheless, the major question there will be the division of lands. The West Bank has considerable agricultural potential, but Israel has seized most of the best land for its settlements. Despite all of the loud noises concerning peace and brotherhood, Israeli settlers continue to pour into the West Bank. It is therefore very unlikely that the Israeli government will be willing to concede any territories to the

Palestinian Arabs. Redrawing the maps will not change the basic economic realities in Palestine.

It should also be noted that "peace" has been more of a fantasy than a reality. In the first 11½ months after t h e

The Intifada Continues

O s l o
accord, 119
Palestinians were
killed by the Israeli
Occupation Authorities (including
17 killed by undercover units). Another 45
were killed by Israeli settlers. In the same
period, 29 Israelis were killed by
Palestinians. The fact is that the Intifada
goes on, with or without international
recognition.

As for the second point, that the peace process will bring a new future to the Middle East, this is the most absurd idea of them all. Any remotely competent observer can tell that the peace process is a tool to rescue the regimes in place in the Middle East. It has become increasingly obvious that the entire Middle Eastern state system requires direct and regular American intervention to avoid being swept away. The opening act of this drama was the Gulf War, in which the US and its allies intervened to save the Gulf states, especially Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, from collapse. Currently, pro-American regimes in Algeria and Egypt are under sustained attack by Islamic militants. The future of Lebanon depends on Syrian-Israeli cooperation, and Iraq and Turkey are wracked by ongoing civil wars, especially with their Kurdish populations. The US desperately needs a settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict to keep a lid on the changes that are sweeping the region.

Perhaps the most endangered group of all is the leadership of the PLO. When the Intifada, or Uprising, began in Dec. 1987, the PLO was taken completely by surprise. The Palestinian people showed a remarkable ability to reorganize themselves spontaneously by recasting old organizational forms and creating new ones overnight. Since the Intifada began in Palestine, the methods displayed there have been studied and put into practice by opposition movements all over the Middle East, although none of them has yet to achieve the success of the original. Perhaps the most remarkable achievement of the Intifada has been its ability to perpetuate itself over seven years of constant, bloody repression. Its strength lies in the fact that it is not a

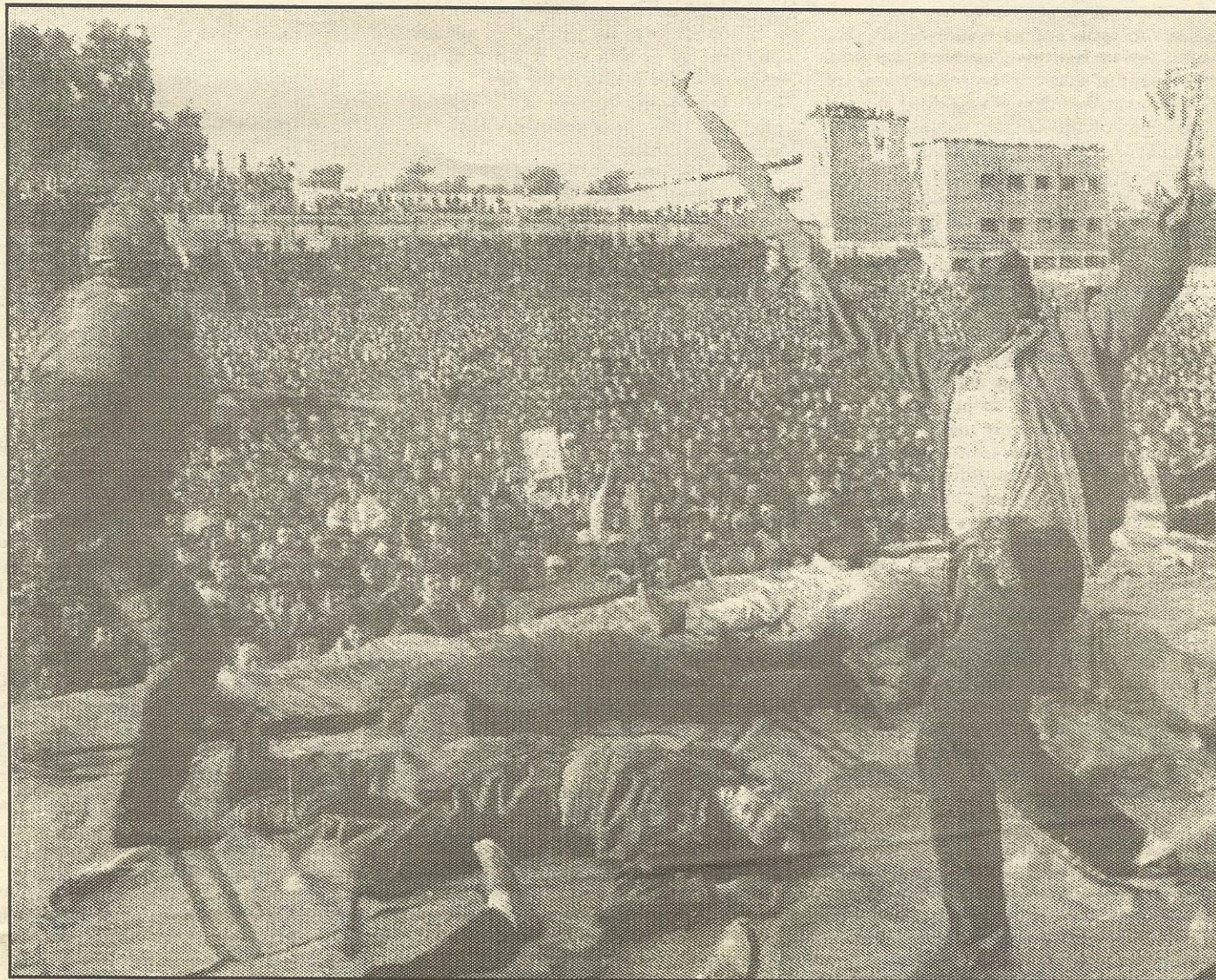
small, conspiratorial party, but a true mass movement that cannot be beheaded by the death or imprisonment of a few leaders. In spite of every attempt by the Zionist government and the PLO leadership to liquidate the Intifada, the struggle continues.

It must be said, however, in criticism, that in many aspects the Intifada has yet to transcend the limitations of a national movement. The PLO and the Islamists are selling different brands of the same product: the dream of a Palestinian Arab national state. The PLO has abandoned its call for a secular, democratic state in all of Palestine in favor of accepting an Israeli-backed bantustan. The Islamists, at least some of them, reject any compromise with Zionism, but want to substitute an Islamic state for the Jewish state. Clearly neither option holds out much hope for either Arab or Jewish Palestinians. Neither does either endeavor have much chance of succeeding.

It is important to remember here that the Zionist movement has not succeeded entirely in subjecting Jewish opinion to its aims. Large sectors of Israeli Jewish society continue to suffer class and ethnic oppression, especially Jews of Arab origin, who are largely working class, and recent Russian immigrants. Like working class whites in the US, these groups sometimes support extreme-right policies as a means of keeping the racially oppressed one level beneath them. On the other hand, they have no illusions about the dreams being sold by the Zionist leadership and its international allies. Any attempt to move beyond the current impasse must make use of their talents and address their concerns.

What is needed now is coordination between Arab and Jewish Palestinians to build a united movement against Zionism and its Arab lackeys. Such a movement cannot make any concessions to Zionism or ethnic nationalism. The basis of this movement should be the common exploitation of Arab and Jewish labor by Zionist capital. The Intifada, which was begun by Palestinian Arabs, must be extended to include disaffected elements within Israeli Jewish society. This process will not only help to strengthen the existing struggle, it will also transform that struggle into a united front against all forms of exploitation. The repartition of Palestine must be replaced by a Palestine without borders. The failure to build such a movement can only invite further tragedies on an even greater scale.

For reasons of space, the writer has refrained from giving a detailed historical summary of the Zionist movement and the development of the race war in Palestine. Those readers who would like to obtain a more detailed account of the background to the Palestinian conflict are directed to the writer's articles in *Love and Rage* (Nov. 1993) and *Race Traitor* (Fall 1994).★



Members of Hamas at a rally marking the group's seventh anniversary.



The Mexican Army Prepares for Democracy

BY GUSTAVO RODRÍGUEZ
TRANSLATED BY TODD PRANE

[From *Amor y Rabia* Vol. 1, No. 3.
Analysis just prior to the Aug. 21 elections in México]

Stuck to the patterns of the six-year presidential term, Sedena (the Secretariat of National Defense) is "modernizing" and raising itself to the "heights of the First World."

Although they tried to discretely buy the anti-insurrection vehicles, Blackhawk helicopters, armored artillery carriers, and arms from the US (the great supplier in these cases), the acquisition was quickly made public. The Secretariat of Defense, by means of a communiqué published in several national and North American newspapers, assured us that they were only fulfilling the "National Development Plan 1989-1994," which established "the need for the armed forces to modernize, for which they require constant perfection of the organization, the equipment, and military capacity."

In the same Sedena communiqué, they offer figures and give specifications with the intent of quieting the people's fear, or rather, with the intent of disguising the real intentions of the soldiers in this electoral year of fierce political opposition.

They specified that from May 13-15, customs in Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas received 260 Hummer vehicles and 36 Chrysler Ram Charger trucks. They add that "the Hummer vehicles have come to substitute for the traditional Jeeps and Dodge Power Wagons, which date back between 1962 and 1970."

The purpose of presenting these small figures, and of showing equipment which can be used for "aiding the population in cases of disaster," is to perform a huge make-up job on an army that, on previous occasions (Oct. 2, 1968, to cite an example), has demonstrated its anti-democratic calling and its potential danger.

However, according to information offered by the workers at the Pantaco de Ferrocarriles Nacionales de México [National Mexican Railroad] station to the capital city newspaper *La Jornada* (1), Sedena has been using the railroads to transport military equipment since the beginning of April. They explained that they don't have an exact list of the material that has been imported because "many of the orders and permits have only been issued verbally, and therefore are not archived."

The Pantaco railroad workers also reported that between Friday, Apr. 13 and Sunday, Apr. 15, an "undetermined number of military vehicles" was received at that terminal. (Sedena assures us that those were the 260 Hummer vehicles and 36 Ram Charger trucks.) The workers corroborated that the units were shipped from Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas, that they were

unloaded on Friday at dawn, and that from there they were taken to Campo Marte and Campo Militar Número 1. According to the report, the transportation of the military vehicles was carried out on 24 three-level Piggy Back brand platforms, which were heavily guarded.

When the goods arrived in Mexico City, the railway workers continued, almost 10 Sedena trucks were posted at the exit to Ceylán Avenue, normally a lightly traveled street, and they waited to unload them in special units. According to the workers' report in *La Jornada*, "the vehicles came with extra guards, which doesn't make sense, if they were just coming to substitute for older vehicles, and not to provoke, or avoid problems."

THE ARMY GETS READY TO ACT AS POLICE

In an article published on Apr. 27 in the *San Antonio Express News*, reporters John McCormack and Carmina Danini wrote that the first evidence of the purchase of military equipment by Sedena was reported at the beginning of the month in the *New Orleans Times*. John Kelly, director of the Textron Company, told those reporters that the Mexican government had bought 18 vehicles from his firm at a cost of \$9 million (N\$30 million). Another six similar vehicles were acquired by the Mexican Government from the Custom Armoring Company.

On Thursday, Apr. 28, it was confirmed by Subsecretary for Foreign Relations Andrés Rozental that the acquisition of the armored vehicles was paid for by the Secretariat of Defense. Shortly thereafter, on Friday the 29th, Sedena announced in a press release the purchase of 24 anti-insurrection tanks from the US.

This purchase demonstrated the intentions of the federal government to use army soldiers as police forces in the eventual case of popular disturbances caused by the generalized widespread discontent. According to military sources consulted by the newsweekly *Proceso* (2), Sedena personnel are currently training in the use of this anti-riot equipment. In the same article, *Proceso* reports that: "It is routine to see maneuvers of anti-riot vehicles in Campo Militar Número 1. These can even be seen from the street, through door number eight of the Campo near the Tereo de Cuatro Caminos." They describe the soldiers, now serving the functions of military police, as they throw stones and sticks at each other, which are repelled by protective shields. They return the attack with gas grenades, which previously were not used. *Proceso* also reports that military troops are being organized into special units concentrated at the Mexican Air Force Base at Santa Lucía, in the State of México. They also report the purchase of Dina Busses designed to trans-

port anti-riot troops. These vehicles "have five doors on each side that can open simultaneously, with a capacity of transporting up

to 50 troops."

By using the Federal Army as "police," the government, that is to say, the president, is violating Article 129 of the Constitution. That article declares that "In times of peace, no military authority can exercise functions other than those which have a direct connection to military discipline..." By the fact that the presidency has not recognized the Zapatista Army as a belligerent force, and due to the lack of a declaration of war by the executive, or an official suspension of rights, the federal army cannot be used in Chiapas (where the state has been impeding free travel, monitoring vehicles and travelers, seizing gasoline and other goods and consumables, and carrying out searches in houses and schools without judicial order) or in other states of the Federation and in Mexico City (where they are preparing to repress possible uprisings). To the contrary, they are violating Article 129 of the Constitution.

It is true that in Article 89, under the "powers and obligations of the president," the president is given the power to "oversee the whole of the permanent army, that is, the land army, the sea forces and the air forces, for the security of the country and defense from attacks from outside the Federation." But this is only possible, according to Article 129, in time of war; that is to say, when a suspension of rights is declared or a declaration of war is issued.

In order to follow the Constitution, Salinas, rather than resorting to having the army carry out "anti-riot" work, pursue "drug traffickers," and carry out "rescues," should use the National Guard, according to what is stipulated in Article 73 of the Constitution. In this sense, he should, in an "emergency situation," appeal to the National Guard. But the National Guard is a thing of the past. It existed long ago and was used to defend the Federative system. It was used in Zacatecas by Francisco García to confront the centralist government of Santa Anna; it was also used by Benito Juárez to combat the French occupation; but specifically, with the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz, the dangers posed to a centralist government by a "parallel army" were realized. Since then, the National Guard has only existed in the Constitution, in addition to what is stipulated in the Law of Obligatory Military Service, which says that all men between the ages of 40 and 45 form part of it as well; this is the only reference that remains to the National Guard.

SEDENA'S BUDGET RISES 18%

While Sedena tries to justify its acquisitions within the "National Development Plan 1989-1994," in its administrative summary for 1994 in the Budget of the Central Public Administration, we find detailed figures on the increase in the budget of Sedena: 18.8%

and 13% in its nominal and real spending, respectively. It is one of the few entities of the federal government that received an increase this year, and its budget stands at N\$62,377,200,000 (US\$20 billion) this year.

With this financial state, Sedena has increased its staff, from 157,010 in 1993 to 162,048 currently. Its "permanent" personnel stands at 162,062 people.

BEHIND THE WAR ON DRUGS

The "War on Drugs" is not a new theme. It has been used by Yankee imperialists to justify invasions, occupations, military advisors, the sale of weapons and sophisticated military equipment, and the installation of gringo military bases in Central and South American territory. The examples are many: the invasion of Panama, the presence of US warships on the coast of Colombia, the military advisors to the Bolivian and Ecuadorian armies, the military base in Santa Lucía in Peru, and so on.

Many governments in Central and South America (Guatemala, Peru, etc.) have used this beautiful propagandistic slogan to allay the "people's worries" in the anti-insurgent and anti-guerrilla struggle, and México has not been an exception.

If we remember the statements released by Sedena in Oct. of 1993, the confrontations experienced by the federal army in Chiapas were not with combatants of the EZLN, but rather with "presumed drug traffickers, contraband traffickers, and illegal cutters of wood." [Cutting down trees is not permitted in many of the forests in Chiapas.] After the Zapatista offensive on Jan. 1, this could not be hidden from the public any longer. In the same way, statements from the Sedena continue to appear in Mexico City newspapers, reporting that the military presence in various states of the country is "only to combat drug trafficking." But it is noteworthy that more than 25% of soldiers are involved in the so-called "War Against Drugs." Last year the Federal Army used 43,410 soldiers (generals, officers and troops), which is to say one fourth of all soldiers in the Sedena, to "fight drugs." Through different "anti-drug" operations, such as the "Condor Plan," in which 7,500 soldiers participated, the country has been militarizing.

The existence of a "Fuerza Marte" with "elite" training is also known. This is a "special forces" unit of 3,000 soldiers who were deployed in the states of Durango, Sinaloa and Chihuahua.

The presence of the Fuerza Marte was known in the high Sierra Tarahumara and near the towns of Pericos, in the section of the Ejido Borigame, when a military squadron from the "fuerza" (stationed in Bodiraguato, state of Sinaloa) was fired upon by a group headed by Angel "el Tohui" (the child of Tarahumara) and his brother Artemio Fontes. This confrontation took place on Friday, Apr. 22, while a "secret" meeting took place between officials from the US Pentagon and their Mexican counterparts. This meeting took place in the utmost secrecy on the former Hacienda of Gertrudis, now the Francisco Villa military zone. Officially, there was no information available about the meeting, or the presence of the North American officials, or on the meeting's discussion topics. However, the presence of federal soldiers in Roberto Fierro airport, in the capital of Chihuahua, while the meetings were carried out, was known. The soldiers were guarding three Boeing 747s registered in the US.

Armed conflicts were also confirmed in Chihuahua, in the area of Guadalupe y Calvo, on Apr. 24 and 25. During the confrontation on Monday, Apr. 25, one of the alleged drug traffickers was killed in the confusion. According to the Mexican troops' version, the "drug traffickers" attacked them, and one of them, a young man by the name of Martín Jesús Saénz Rodríguez, fell down an 800m (2600 ft) cliff, in the area of "the Peach Table," about two hours away from the county seat, Guadalupe y Calvo.

Later, a 15-year-old who wished only to be identified as "Martín," told *The Chihuahua* newspaper on Apr. 29 that, "before these events, he and Martín Jesús were getting ready to eat when they were surprised by three soldiers, one of whom began to fire without any apparent motive." He added that his friend was shot in the head and that he was grazed by a bullet on his right knee. Martín continued, "I hid among the pines and hills and was able to reach Guadalupe y Calvo." This forced the

(Continued on page 5)



The Popular Urban Movement Has Also Said "Enough!"

The Front Resists in the Face of a New Attack!

TRANSLATED BY ELIZABETH BRIGHT
WITH TODD PRANE

[From Amor y Rabia Vol. 1, No. 3.]

In the climate of repression that surrounds the last days of Salinas's presidency and his despotic neoliberalism, attacks on radical and independent movements and organizations have been the rule of the day. Every day we read small notes, buried in the bourgeois press, that describe in great detail how a group of workers, belonging to any of the few independent unions, were oppressed, how a group of campesinos was evicted from its lands, how some teachers were blocking traffic on a highway, demanding better salaries and better contracts, how students were demonstrating, etc. And the popular urban movement is included in this generalized repression. It is a movement of land and building squatters, a movement for dignified life, and within these movements you find one of the organizations that has been the most repressed in its valiant fight: the Frente Popular Francisco Villa (FPFV—Francisco Villa Popular Front).

The Front, as they are called, has been winning battle after battle against the state in their struggle for dignified housing, and they have suffered state repression since their first days as a popular organization. Arrests, political assassinations, kidnappings, beatings, and police assaults have been the state's response to the struggle of this squatters' movement, which includes more than 20,000 people in its ranks.

One of the sites most attacked by the state, through the Department of the Federal District [Mexico City] (DDF) has been the encampment at the Ciencias y Humanidades Número 6. [Sciences and Humanities Number 6—a high school. CCHs are preparatory high schools for students who intend to go to university. They are educationally, and by prestige, a step above regular high schools, but they are not accessible to most students.] The encampment is commonly called Cabeza de Juárez because of its proximity to the gigantic sculpture located in the Iztapalapa Delegation. [Delegations are units of local government in México.] This encampment has suffered constant police harassment since its occupation.

THE MOST RECENT EVENTS

On Sunday, May 28, in the dawn hours, *compañero* Eduardo Mendoza Arellano (Lalo) was detained as part of the permanent harassment by the organizations lead by the DDF. This detention occurred—as is now commonplace—along with robbery and sexual harassment. Lalo's *compañera*, who was with him at the time, was sexually molested by the police. They robbed Lalo of N\$25,000 (US\$8,000). The stolen money was the weekly earnings of the co-ops of the organization, which provoked even more anger among the members of the Frente, who organized an emergency meeting once they found out about the detention and robbery.

The meeting happened in the early hours of Monday, May 30, in front of the buildings that make up CCH 6, shutting down traffic on Ignacio Zaragoza Street. During the demonstration, the Frente demanded the immediate release of Lalo, the return of the stolen money, and the presence of the political delegate of the Iztapalapa Delegation, Lic. Florentino Castro López [Lic. is a title signifying that one holds a law degree], who is now the candidate for deputy of the 40th District. López never came to meet members of the Frente, trying to not involve himself publicly with the planned repression.

In the face of the stand-off with the political delegation, and the lack of response to the demands of the organization, members of the Frente from the encampment decided to head towards the Iztapalapa Delegation, where Lalo was being held, in order to demand his release and the return of the stolen money. A little later, they managed to occupy the building and rescue Eduardo Mendoza from the hands of the police, who had beaten him savagely. Hours later, at approximately 7:00 p.m., a large number of troops from the Cuerpo de Granaderos appeared, with shields and nightsticks in front of the main door to the encampment. The objective was to distract the majority of the occupants in the two buildings that make up CCH 6, while some 600 Granaderos openly were entering in the back side of the complex, openly attacking anyone who got in their way. Since the 600 troops who had managed to enter the building were protected by gas masks, the Granaderos in front began to launch tear gas grenades and molotov cocktails indiscriminately, trying to start a fire that would destroy the buildings (this reminds us of "accidental" and "inexplicable" fires which have frequently razed buildings in squatted lands, and the "accident" that charred a group of street kids while they slept in an abandoned building).

This brutal assault on the part of the police quickly provoked resistance by the squatters occupying CCH 6, unleashing a pitched battle. Men, women, children and older people returned the tear gas grenades to their attackers, improvising rapidly with sticks, rocks, bottles and other objects, which served to repel the aggressors. The combat lasted several hours and produced wounded on both sides.

David Mendoza Arellano, one of the leaders of the Frente and a squatter in CCH 6, was kidnapped by the police during the confrontation. From the moment that he was detained, he was beaten severely, and suffered several fractures and traumas to various parts of his body.

As the confrontation dragged on, the victory of the squatters became evident, as they managed to turn back the uniformed attackers. From defense, the families quickly turned to offense, managing to drive off the Granaderos, chasing away the patrol cars and busses, which found obstacles wherever they turned, making it difficult to flee easily. Behind them they left wounded of all ages and both sexes. Genoveva Váldes Camacho died shortly after the savage attack.

One of the attackers, slowed by alcohol and drug consumption, did not notice the forced retreat of his uniformed companions,

Mexican Army

(Continued from page 4)

investigating agent, Rosario Villalobos, to carry out "in-depth investigations" which, according to the ministry, revealed a 9 mm pistol on Martín Jesús Saénz's chest, and a hat with a hole in it 10m (33 ft) away. Villalobos also found tracks indicating that something had been "dragged."

In spite of the evidence of similar facts, which prove the existence of a military presence in various states of the country, and, above all, the intensification of this presence since Jan. 1, Sedena, by means of a press release at the beginning of June, indicated that the "supposed militarization" was part of "Operación Nacional II-94" (National Operation II-94), and that said operation would be carried out from June 24 on, as part of the battle against drug trafficking. That raises the question: Were the events that occurred before that date not

part of the war against drugs? Then who were they fighting?

The same press release goes on in detail that the Defense Ministry, through the operation, sent more than 9,000 troops and 464 land vehicles, 14 helicopters, and air force planes, "particularly" to the states of Sonora, Chihuahua, Sinaloa, Durango, Nayarit, Jalisco, Michoacán, Guerrero and Oaxaca. It goes on to say that they seized 268 firearms, seven land vehicles, and 39 alleged drug traffickers, while killing seven people in the state of Durango.

THE CREATION OF A NEW MONSTER OR THE LAST BABY OF SALINASTEIN

In the middle of this climate of political violence, repression, and iron-fistedness, the ruling class collapses quickly. Within the party-dictatorship (or the "Party of the State," as the politicologists like to say) fear and mistrust are sharpening careers

(Continued to page 18)

They were only able to capture two people: Gustavo Marquez Franco, age 20, on whom they caused severe lesions and traumas, including disalignment of the spine as a result of continued blows by the agents; and the youth Zacarias Torres (who is currently only 13 years old).

Less than a year later the same acts are being repeated. Once more the state has given orders to attack the occupants of CCH 6 without compassion. This is not an isolated event, it is part of the repressive means of the government and part of its attempt to crush the independent popular movements. The encampment is not the only squat occupied by the Frente that has been brutally harassed by the police. Recently, the *compañeros* at the squat known as "El Molino" were also brutally repressed by the state in its attempt to evict squats in Mexico City.

HOW TO HELP?

Of the 19 people under "search and capture" orders, arrest warrants were issued for 12 *compañeros*, members of various cooperatives within the Frente, including:

Rosario Hernández of the Moyocoyani Cooperative; René Velázquez Arévalo of the Huasipungo Cooperative; Enrique Reynoso of the Huasipungo Cooperative; Enrique Hernández Cárdenas of the Nahaltí Cooperative; Eli Homero Aguilar of the México Izapan Cooperative; David Mendoza Arellano of the CCH 6 encampment; Eduardo (Lalo) Mendoza Arellano of the CCH 6 encampment; José Jiménez Magaña of the Anáhuac Cooperative; Alejandro López Villanueva of the Ceani Cooperative; Agustín González of the Tonaca Cuahutitlán Cooperative; Raúl Trejo and Adolfo López Villanueva of the Tlatenco Cooperative. This last was arrested even though he was under constitutional protection. Adolfo López Villanueva was released to await trial.

This permanent harassment against the Frente is without a doubt political, and is marked out within the intentions of the state to crush independent organizations. Because of this we are making an international call to all anti-authoritarian organizations and individuals to send fax protests demanding the withdrawal of the arrest warrant against the *compañeros* of the FPFV.

Send faxes to:

Lic. Manuel Aguilera Gómez (Chief of the DDF)
fax: (52) (5) 542 14 29

Lic. Jorge Carpizo McGregor
(Secretary of Governance)
Fax: (52) (5) 522 86 55



Kurdish Update

The Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) is a Marxist-Leninist group with about 30,000 soldiers fighting for the liberation of Kurdistan, which is occupied by Turkey, Syria, Iran and Iraq. The PKK's European representative, Kani Yilmaz, was arrested by the British police on Oct. 26.

Greek Anarchists in the Streets and Jails

On Nov. 17, prior to a march commemorating the 1973 student uprising that led to the fall of Greece's American-supported military junta, police arrested 60 people to prevent direct-action-oriented anarchists from participating in the march. Masked anarchists fought pitched street battles with the police for several hours on Nov. 16, exchanging tear-gas and petrol bombs in preparation for the following day's events.

As the march was underway, more than 100 anarchists occupied the Polytechnic School, the starting point of the march and symbol of the student uprising. Hundreds supported the occupation from the outside. The anarchists were demanding the release of those seized in the police raids. We have no further details on the fate of the imprisoned anarchists.★

Anarchism in Arabic

Members of Al Badil al Taharroui, a Lebanese anarchist group, have translated Daniel Guerin's *Anarchism* into Arabic. The hope is to begin a propaganda campaign, with 2,000 books being distributed in Lebanon and elsewhere in the Arab world, and 2,000 being distributed among Arab workers in Europe. However, money is still needed to print the books. Anyone wishing to make donations can send international money orders to:

Agora 2000 via BP 177
75967 Paris cedex 20
France

Yilmaz had been invited to England to address members of Parliament regarding the PKK's proposals for a peaceful solution to the conflict in Turkish-occupied Northwest Kurdistan. It is feared he will be deported to Germany, where the PKK is banned and Mr. Yilmaz faces charges of "suspicion of being a ringleader of a terrorist organization." As of mid-December, he was still held by British authorities.

On Dec. 3, the Ankara and Istanbul

offices of the Kurdish daily newspaper *Ozgur Ulke* (Free Land) were bombed. No group has claimed responsibility for the bombing, but the Turkish fascist party MHP and the Turkish secret police are suspected. A few days before the bombing, *Ozgur Ulke* published a cease-fire offer, from PKK chairman Abdullah Ocalan, which Turkish prime minister Ciller flatly rejected.

At least two dozen people were hurt in the blasts, and a driver for the newspaper,

Ersin Yildiz, was killed. On Dec. 5, several thousand people took part in Mr. Yildiz's funeral. Police attacked and seriously injured several people. Several small, democratic, Turkish presses have pooled their resources to enable *Ozgur Ulke* to continue publishing.

An ARGK (the military wing of the PKK) commander has announced that a major offensive against the Turkish state will be launched in 1995.★



For an independent Kurdistan

INTERNATIONAL News and Notes

An Interview with Nigeria's Awareness League

[Conducted mid-'94 by Germany's Free Workers Union.]

Edited only for American English clarity by Neither East Nor West-NYC and Love and Rage.

The Awareness League is the Nigerian affiliate of the anarcho-syndicalist International Workers Association.]

Do you think there is a real danger of a civil war in Nigeria? Or is there a real chance for free elections, which have been promised several times?

The way things are going, there is a real risk of civil war. Many prominent Nigerians have warned about this. So have many foreign commentators who have recently visited the country for a first-hand assessment, such as American civil-rights leader Jesse Jackson. For the record, Nigeria fought a civil war from 1967 to 1970, when the eastern part of the country declared the Republic of Biafra and seceded. All the elements that were present in that crisis are equally present in the current imbroglio:

A. There were disputed federal elections in 1964, and canceled presidential elections in 1993.

B. There was trial and imprisonment of one of the opposition leaders on treason charges in the 1960s; today we have the ongoing treason trial and incarceration of [opposition leader] Chief Moshood Abiola. The chances of conviction are high.

C. There was the military coup in 1966. Now, the chances of a military coup are high in the country.

D. The east seceded from the federal government in 1967; today the west and a host of ethnic nationalities in the east have openly called for a confederation, with the establishment of regional armies, which could be a prelude to another secession bid.

Overall, the civil war scenario is not inevitable. The lessons of 1967-70 point to the futility of war as a means of resolving any conflict. Internal and external pressures to force the military to hand over power

within the next six months can avert the looming catastrophe.

As for elections, the experience of [ousted dictator General Ibrahim] Babangida shows that the military cannot be trusted. In the event of any future election, the military will want to hand over power to their candidate, or nothing. If they could annul the June 12 elections [believed to have been won by Abiola], which, by their own admission, were the freest the country has had, wherein lies the guarantee that they would allow free elections in the future?

"Nigeria fought a civil war from 1967 to 1970. All the elements that were present in that crisis are equally present in the current imbroglio."

Is the Awareness League involved in the strikes now shaking Nigeria? If yes, what are the activities of the Awareness League? If not, why aren't you involved?

Yes, we are involved in the strikes. Our members are principally university and polytechnic lecturers, journalists, students, civil-service employees, and other activists of leftist persuasion. The universities are currently on strike nationwide, and our members are involved. Civil servants in the Enugu state are presently on strike, and Awareness League activists are a part of it. Additionally, many independent newspaper houses are presently shut, and their premises forcibly occupied by soldiers and policemen. Again, our members are affected.

What is the position of the Awareness League towards the election?

The June 12, 1993 presidential elections pitted the Social Democratic Party candidate, Moshood Abiola, against Bashir Tofa, the candidate of the right-wing National Republican Convention. The latter was clearly the candidate of the military. All progressive groups, trade unions, pro-democracy groups, and left organizations, including the Awareness League, rallied around the SDP candidate. This action was, in the main, a vote against military rule. The Awareness League, like many other left groups, was of the view that the installation of a left-of-center government was a minimum condition for the propagation and pursuit of anarcho-syndicalist struggle and ideals.

Is there cooperation with other groups in Nigeria and other African states?

The Awareness League collaborates with the human rights group Campaign for Democracy, but we are not members of the group. There is an emerging body in Nigeria known as the Left Coalition, to which the Awareness League belongs. Our next congress will, hopefully, ratify this step. We have been trying without success to establish links with other left groups, and preferably anarchist groups, in other African countries, especially South Africa.

What are the main fields of activity of the Awareness League? In which professions and social groups are members of the Awareness League from?

Our activities are mainly in the area of worker education, ideological re-orientation, creation of the necessary environment for political consciousness, propaganda, and mobilization. Our members are mainly university workers

and teachers, journalists, civil servants, and students.

Are there many women in the Awareness League, and what are their main political activities and interests?

Unfortunately, there are not many women members in the Awareness League. This has to do with the structure of African society, in which women hardly take part in political activities. This is made worse by the fact that not as many women as men are educated. Most women, therefore, are not in a position to appreciate the program of anarcho-syndicalism. All that will be a thing of the past with sustained political education and enlightenment over a period of time.

What can people in other countries do to support the fight of the Awareness League in Nigeria?

Fist and foremost, the Awareness League seeks fraternal international solidarity. We also seek material and financial support to be able to build a strong anarchist group in Nigeria by creating the necessary enlightenment and ideological consciousness for the mobilization of workers, leftists, and other activists. Our immediate needs include a printing machine, photocopying machine, electric typewriter, anarchist literature, books and other materials. These materials will enable us to carry out our educational and propaganda activities throughout the country, and facilitate our communication with other groups around the world.

Awareness League
POB 1920
Enugu State
Nigeria

[Donations should be sent in cash or unsigned, blank American Express Travelers checks.]

Late Breaking News: War in Chiapas!

As we went to press, war broke out in Chiapas. Knowing this was likely, we did not attempt an updated analysis of the Zapatista struggle for this issue. Any analysis would now be outdated. The following is excerpted from an EZLN communique dated Dec. 19:

On the 11, 12, 13 and 14th of December, Zapatista troops from Infantry Divisions 75 and 25, first entity of the Southeast Army, broke the military circle in the Lacandona Jungle. Organized in 4 columns, one of which was at the command of a woman military commander, the Zapatista units infiltrated enemy lines with the objective of avoiding an armed confrontation. During these 4 days, protected by the terrain, the climate and the support of the civilian population, thousands of combatants managed to cross the line. As of the 14th of December, the total units assigned were outside the military ring without one casualty or open fire with the federal

troops. Once this action was completed, Zapatista combatants prepared for the second phase. The 15, 16, 17 and 18 of December of 1994, in actions called "Lightning" and "Deployment" as part of the campaign "Peace with Justice and Dignity for the Indigenous Peoples." With the support of local civilian populations, they have taken positions in the following municipalities of the state of Chiapas: Ocosingo, Las Margaritas, Altamirano, La Independencia, Trinitaria, Chanal, Oxchuc, Huxtán, Comitán de Domínguez, San Cristóbal de las Casas, Teopisca, Villa de las Rosas, Nicolás Ruiz, Soconusco, Totolapa, Palenque, Salto de Agua, Tila, Sabánilla, Yajalón, Tumbala, Chilón, Huitiupán, Simojovel, San Andrés Larraínzar, El Bosque, Bochil, Chenalhó, Pantelhó, Mitotic, Sitalá, San Juan Chamula, Zinacantan, Ixtapa, Cancuc, Jitotol, Amatenango del Valle, and Venustiano Carranza.★



Zapatistas patrolling Nuevo Momón on Dec. 19.

NOTES OF REVOLT

Nazis Bashed in Berkeley

BY A BERKELEY ANTI-FASCIST

Two hundred anti-fascists gathered in Berkeley on the evening of Oct. 13, disrupting a speech by Holocaust denier David Irving. This infamous British revisionist "historian" has been waging a campaign for what he calls "real history," but what is in fact an insidious pack of lies.

He has written sympathetic biographies of Hitler, Goering, and Rommel, and travels around the world lecturing at events sponsored by various pro-Nazi groups. He has been accompanied by Nazi skins and Toronto-based fascist Ernst Zundel, author of *The Hitler We Loved and Did Six Million Really Die?* In his home country of Britain,

Irving is prevented by anti-fascists from speaking publicly, while in Germany, Canada, and other countries, he is banned from entering altogether.

Irving was scheduled to give a lecture at the Alumni House of the University of California, Berkeley, but the event was secretly moved to a YWCA due to protesters already present. Scouts quickly determined the new location and informed the crowd, which then moved en masse to the YWCA. Finding no police present, protesters stormed the hall, confronting the liar and his supporters. A scuffle ensued as Irving's bodyguard attacked the protesters. Several older Nazis sporting SS pins tried to leave and were subjected to the justified rage of anti-fascists, many of whom had family members interned by these same people. Irving's literature table was overturned and a box of videotapes, *The Death of the "Holocaust" Legend Begins*, was smashed with great enthusiasm. Also found were swastika stickers, a German pride button, and other Nazi merchandise.

Cops from the Berkeley and UC-campus police departments eventually arrived, driving the anti-fascists from the building. By this time, most of the people who had come

to hear Irving speak had gotten cold feet and left. After several more disruptions, Irving was able to give his speech to a greatly diminished audience, and only under the armed protection of dozens of police.

About 75 anti-fascists waited out the lecture, and Irving, donning a disguise, tried desperately for half-an-hour to leave without notice. Finally, with cops helping him carry out his hate literature, he was whisked off in a cop car.

The action was seen by organizers as a partial but important success. Although the demonstrators were not able to prevent the lecture from taking place, hopefully the Alumni House and the YWCA have learned that people in Berkeley won't tolerate racist scumbags like Irving.

Many of us were pleasantly surprised by the breadth of participation and the level of militancy displayed by the protesters against the hate-mongers. Many passers-by joined the protest or were otherwise supportive, adding to the collective spirit of anti-fascist solidarity.

Some onlookers voiced concern over the issue of "free speech," engaging anti-fascists in heated discussions on the street. Our response was that David Irving did not come to speak dispassionately about the finer points of academia, but instead to network with Nazis and other Holocaust deniers. To have let this event occur unhindered would imply our complicity in allowing the worldwide neo-Nazi movement to grow.★

Cubans Riot in Panama

A total of 254 US military personnel and 15 Cubans were injured on Dec. 7 and 8 in disturbances when some 2,000 *balseros*—Cubans who left Cuba on rafts and are trying to get to the US—rioted in two of four US "safe haven" camps where 8,600 of them are being held in Panama. These "safe havens" are nothing more than prison camps, where the refugees are detained in inhumane conditions. The US government hopes these conditions will make the refugees opt for repatriation instead of waiting an indeterminate amount of time to be allowed into the US.

The US troops used tear gas to quell the riots. Most of the injured US soldiers suffered minor bruises and scrapes from rocks, bottles and bricks thrown by the frustrated Cubans; 18 were hospitalized. Army tents,

televisions, and computers, as well as 15 military vehicles, were destroyed. Some 1,000 *balseros* escaped; an unspecified number returned voluntarily, and some others were recaptured. On Dec. 9, US troops at the camps were issued shotguns, tear gas, and riot gear. According to the US-based Spanish-language television network *Telemundo*, 300 *balseros* involved in the riots were arrested and are awaiting hearings. On Dec. 10 *Telemundo* reported that 24 of the Cubans were still at large; the unidentified body of one was found on the southwest bank of the Panama Canal. Reuters reported on Dec. 10 that two Cubans were found dead near the canal, and that more than 30 remain at large.

—From *Weekly News Update on the Americas*

Revolt in Lexington

On Oct. 25 a police officer in Lexington, Ky. who was serving a warrant to Antonio Sullivan, an 18-year-old Black male, decided to shoot Sullivan in the head, killing him, instead of serving the warrant. In response, hundreds of Black youth rioted, attacking a police station with rocks and bottles, overturning

cars, causing thousands of dollars of damage, and injuring at least one cop.

A similar rebellion broke out last summer when police raided a Lexington housing project. Then over 500 people clashed with the police after it was rumored the cops had hit a 15 year-old with a vehicle and arrested the wrong person.★



Protesting against police brutality in Lexington.

Conference Against White Supremacy

The Center for Democratic Renewal (CDR) recently announced that it will sponsor a conference in Atlanta, scheduled for March, 1995, entitled "Building Community with our Allies: Defending Diversity and Democracy." CDR has been monitoring, documenting, and educating the public about the white-supremacist movement for 15 years. The conference "will bring together allies in the pro-democratic movement from various issue areas" to look at the white supremacist/radical-right movement and the way that it affects us all, and "seek common ground" in our work against it.

For info:

CDR
PO Box 50469
Atlanta, GA 30302
(404) 221-0025

—From *ARA News*

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New York, NY 10009

Calendar

January 17, Tue.
Free Mumia Coalition Demonstration
Tell the new governor not
to sign Mumia's death order!
Harrisburg, PA
Info: (212) 330-8029

January 20-22
Visions of Freedom
Anarchist Conference and Festival
UTS Haymarket Campus
Sydney, Australia
Info: (02) 550-9931

Father Pat Convicted

On Nov. 28, Father Pat Moloney and Samuel Millar were found guilty of conspiracy to receive and possession of stolen cash from the Jan. 5, 1993 Brinks armored depot heist. After the judge refused to set bail, Father Pat announced he would begin a hunger strike.

Father Pat is an Irish-born Catholic priest and long-time political activist in his community, the Lower East Side of New York City. He has fought to keep Tompkins Square Park open 24 hours, and has assisted squatters in their struggles against police repression.

Father Pat is an adamant supporter of Ireland's fight for self-determination, informing others of the righteousness of the Irish Republican Army's (IRA) struggle. In

1982, he and his brother were arrested in Ireland, accused of running arms for the IRA. Father Pat was acquitted of all the charges, but his brother pleaded guilty and did time in Portlaoise prison near Dublin.

In Nov. 1993, the FBI arrested Father Pat, along with Samuel Millar, an undocumented immigrant and former member of the IRA, Thomas O'Connor, a former Rochester, NY police officer and member of Irish Northern Aid Committee (NORAI), who Father Pat says he has never met, and Charles M. McCormick. The prosecution has argued that these men carried out the \$7.4 million robbery.

The evidence against Father Pat is dubious. One million dollars was found in an apartment that Father Pat, and many oth-

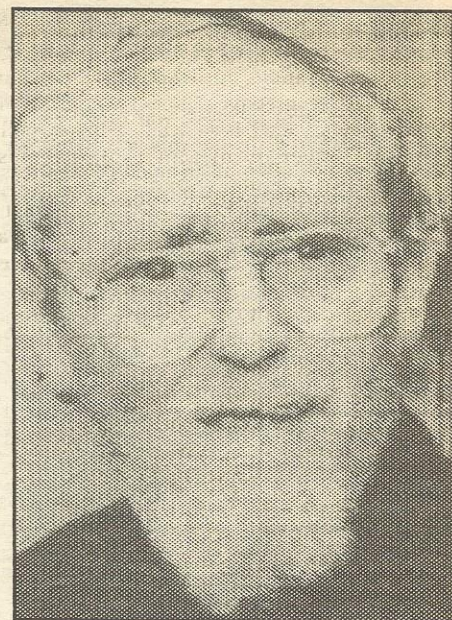
ers, have access to. This apartment, which no one lives in, is used by Father Pat for community services and religious practice.

As of today, more than \$5 million have yet to be found, allegedly having been funneled to the IRA. Father Pat and Samuel Millar await sentencing on Feb. 9. Both face up to five years in federal prison.

The Paterson Anarchist Collective (PAC/New Jersey ABC) have been doing work with Father Pat's defense committee.

Write to:

PAC/NJ ABC
POB 8532
Paterson, NJ 07508
(201) 357-0994



Father Pat Moloney

Demanding Death

BY MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

Michael Alan Durocher, of Florida's death row, wrote to the governor, literally begging for death. Gov. Lawton Chiles agreed, signed his death warrant, and Durocher sent him a thank-you note.

On Aug. 25, 1993, at 7:15 a.m., Durocher, 33, got his wish. California's death-row convict David Mason fired his appellate lawyers, saying he was both willing and ready to breathe his last in the gas chamber. Mason, 36, angrily decried what he called the "industry" of lawyers who capitalize off of appeals in capital cases. Even after his last-ditch change of heart, when he sought life, his case came to symbolize the growing incidence of death-row prisoners who demand death. There is, however, a critical difference between perception and the reality.

There are approximately 2,600 men and women on death row in the US. To this date, only 26 people have volunteered to be executed: less than 1%. The Washington-based National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty has assembled facts on this phenomenon detailing the race of those persons choosing execution.

No meaningful analysis of the incidence of volunteer execution can take place without noting who does it. How does a bare minority of death row become an overwhelming majority?

Whites constitute less than 51% of all the death-row prisoners in the US, so why are over 80% of the volunteers white?

Nationally, Blacks constitute roughly 46% of state prisoners. In the 35 states, new court commitments for the Blacks entering prison stand at 51.3% of all the admissions, according to the US Bureau of Justice statistics. Increasingly, since the rebellions of the 1960s, prisons have become blacker and blacker, a threatening, fearful milieu to white prisoners, among them, those on an increasingly blacker death row.

For far too many African-Americans, imprisonment has become a warped rite of passage, a malevolent mark of "manhood" that denies Black men entry into more socially acceptable realms of economic activity. For whites, however, even of the working class, it is a mark of social expulsion and affirmation of one's outcast status. Alienated from a social order that has prescribed death, and further alienated from younger, blacker, more militant prisoners, either on death row or in general population, is there any wonder that the majority of prisoners who have opted for death have been white? To this must be added the onslaught from the federal judiciary, which has eviscerated the Writ of Habeas, thereby thickening the atmosphere of despair that pervades death row. For all on death row, white, Hispanic, Asian, Native American, or women, the regime of lockdown, loneliness, and hopeless waits for death exacts a terrible psychic, spiritual, psychological toll. Fear of approaching, advancing lassitude, the loosening of bonds of loved ones, the specter of prison as a foreboding old-folks home—all these things play a part, more crucial than admitted, in the headlong rush for death.

As long as conditions on the row are soul-killing by design, there will be those who would rather die than live another day in these man-made hells.

—From *Prison Legal News*

Contributions to Mumia's defense fund can be made payable to the Black United Fund and sent to:

Equal Justice
POB 5206
Hyattsville, MD 20782

[On Jan. 17, activists from around the country will be demonstrating in Harrisburg, Penn. The new governor-elect has vowed to sign Mumia's execution order. For information contact the Free Mumia Coalition at (212) 330-8029.]

ARA Toronto's Summer of Trials Ends in Victory

Toronto's Anti-Racist Action spent 13 days of the summer in court in two trials, supporting 12 defendants arrested in connection with demonstrations against Toronto's neo-nazis. In the end, neither judge could bring himself to convict anyone on the flimsy evidence, and everyone got off! It wasn't that they wouldn't have gone along with a frame-up, but they were contrary enough to demand that the prosecution and the police at least do it competently.

Five defendants were charged with mischief in connection with a demonstration on June 11, 1993, when ARA brought the struggle right to the doorstep of a Heritage Front propagandist, doing considerable damage to his home. Outnumbered and outwitted, cops were forced to stand by and made no arrests at the time. But in the hysteria that followed, the police made four arrests to cover their asses, picking people up at other anti-racist events. A fifth arrest was made six months later. The other group of seven was arrested at a Nov. 1993 demonstration outside the bunker of Ernst Zundel, an internationally known nazi propagandist/organizer and Holocaust denier.

The intention of the prosecution and the cops was to handle both cases as simple criminal matters: "You have the right to demonstrate but this time you broke the law." However, the defendants insisted on collective trials and a more political strategy. Beginning in May 1994, when the June 11 group went on trial, defense lawyers emphasized the role of police "intelligence" in making the arrests. A role which the prosecution had minimized, in the interest of keeping politics out of the trial. In particular, ARA exposed the collaboration between a senior intelligence officer and Heritage Front leaders in identifying anti-racists.

Other significant political points were made. Both judges accepted that wearing disguises at an anti-fascist demonstration is a reasonable precaution to take, rejecting the prosecution's argument that wearing a mask proves a defendant's criminal intentions. In the June 11 case, the judge also resisted falling into the prosecution's trap of holding demonstration organizers responsible for the actions of everyone at the event, without compelling evidence tying them to so-called criminal acts. The Zundel-demo judge went even further,

challenging police credibility and asking why arrests had been made at all. Basically, people were acquitted because the collective strategy allowed defense lawyers to totally destroy the fabricated and twisted cop evidence by exposing its internal contradictions. The collective defense also allowed the group to bring a more political flavor to the trials, making straight-up criminalization of the accused more difficult in the media and in the community. (For example, defendants were referred to as "anti-racist activists" by the media, rather than as "hooligans.") Because the charges were relatively minor in comparison to the repression experienced at the hands of police by so many communities, ARA did not run high-profile defense campaigns. But the organization did make sure that people in Toronto knew about the cases, and the courtroom was always full of folks ready to show their support and to face nazis if necessary. (None showed up.)

Undeniably, 12 arrests over less than a year and a half of organizing has had its intended effect of disrupting the youth-based, activist group. But after a summer of trials ARA remains intact, a victory in itself. Hopefully, the acquittals will build

reflects 500 years of white racism and genocide against Native people, a legacy which presently takes the form of police brutality and harsh prison sentencing. Norma went before the parole board for a fifth time on Dec. 15th.

What you can do: 1) Write a letter to the California Board of Prison Terms supporting the parole of Norma Jean Croy #14293 currently serving a life sentence at Central California Women's Facility. Send the letter to her defense committee. Her lawyers hope to present the board with as many as possible. 2) Send a contribution to:

Norma Jean Croy Defense Committee
Pier 5
San Francisco, CA 94111
(415) 986-5591

or:

QUISP
(Q)ueer women and men
In Support of Political prisoners
#134, 380 Bleecker St.
NY, NY 10014
(212) 969-8598



Portrait of Norma Jean Croy by political prisoner Laura Whitehorn

some confidence that the community can organize street actions successfully and effectively, and can defend itself against police reprisals. Most importantly, energy directed inwards during the course of the trials can now be redirected against the common enemies.

Arm the Spirit
PO Box 6326, Stn. A
Toronto, Ont.
M5W 1P7
Canada
email: ats@etext.org

Love And Rage
Prison Abolition
Working Group
PO Box 77432
Washington, DC 20013
email:
ms272c@gwuvm.gwu.edu
voicemail: (202) 728-3899

BY JUSTINE ABINNI

On Oct. 22, 1991, members of Minneapolis Anti-Racist Action and the Progressive Student Organization clashed with nazi boneheads and pit bulls on the University of Minnesota campus. Activists were protesting an appearance by Tom David, founder of the White Student Union, on a university radio show. Several anti-racists and a university radio reporter were hospitalized.

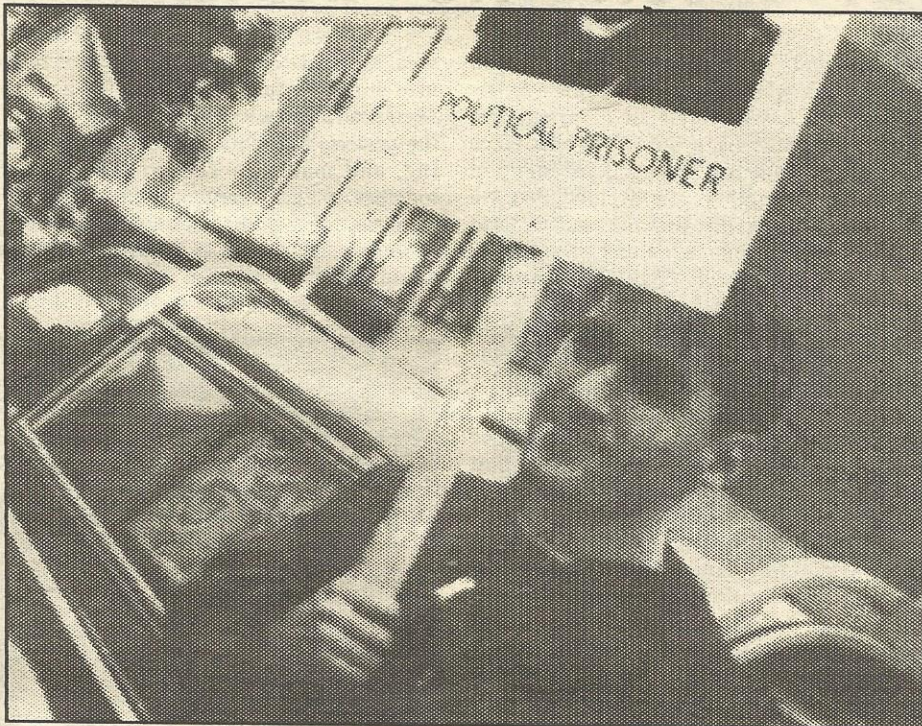
On Oct. 22, 1992, a large and militant demonstration of 400 anti-racists marched across the Washington Ave. Bridge onto Coffman Union at the U of M to counter a white-power demo that had been called to commemorate the "ass-kicking" of anti-racists that had happened a year ago that day. Boneheads were prevented from demonstrating that night.

On Oct. 22, 1993, two nazis were spotted in the area of a 150-person-strong anti-racist demonstration. A security team went to check out the situation. What they found was not "a couple out for a romantic stroll," but air-headed white-pride in attack mode. The security team immediately spotted two patches on Daniel Simmer's flight jacket that clearly identified him as a nazi. Although he latter denied affiliation with nazism he admitted to being an Odinist (a religion that upholds white feelings of greatness (go figure)). The two identifiable patches were one of an Afrikaner swastika and another commemorating the death of Eric Banks, a bonehead who was killed in Portland.

As he was being questioned about his intentions Simmer pulled something shiny out of his pocket that security team member Kieran Frazier Knutson thought was a knife. Knutson then struck Simmer in self-defense with a flashlight. Later, the shiny object was identified as brass knuckles.

Witnesses also observed Simmer and his fiancée shout "white power" at the anti-racist crowd and make "siege" motions with their arms. Simmer was arrested at the scene of the crime and charged with misdemeanor possession of a weapon and disorderly conduct. These charges were dropped. He was never charged with possession of a deadly weapon. Sixty days later, felony charges were brought against Knutson. Knutson, a progressive activist since his teens now faces up to ten years in prison and a twenty-thousand-dollar fine.

ARREST ME, I'M ANTI-RACIST! An Anti-Fascist Defense Committee Update



Anti-fascist activist Kieran Frazier Knutson

WHAT'S UP NOW! JOURNALISTS AS AGENTS OF THE STATE???

The State of Minnesota is doing anything it can to try to pull some evidence together in their prosecution of Kieran, a longtime, local anti-racist activist, and their defense of Daniel Simmer, a known nazi. The prosecution's subpoenas of a *Minnesota Daily* (the university newspaper) staff reporter, Jesse Rosen, and unreleased press photos, are primarily what have caused a long series of delays. Since the subpoenas were issued on May 3, 1994, the *Daily* has argued in court that the subpoenas are violations of Minnesota Shield Laws and are unconstitutional. On Nov. 14, the Minnesota Court of Appeals ruled in favor of the testimony of Jesse Rosen, deciding that the First Amendment does not protect journalists who witness an event from testi-

fying in criminal trials. The *Daily* is uncertain as to whether they will appeal this ruling. On Nov. 29 the court of appeals heard arguments for and against the release of *Daily* photos to a judge who would then determine whether or not to turn them over to the prosecution as evidence. A ruling on this is pending.

THE ANTI-FASCIST DEFENSE COMMITTEE

A year later, the Anti-Fascist Defense Committee (AFDC), an ad-hoc coalition of anarchists and socialists, is still waging struggle against this unjust and politically motivated prosecution. Kieran has had double felony assault charges hanging over his head for over a year. The trial has been delayed five times, with the sixth court date coming up on Jan. 30, 1995.

The Committee's strategy began with a campaign to put pressure on county attorney Mike Freeman's office to drop the charges. As a result of this looking less and less like a possibility, AFDC targeted Freeman's political campaign for governor. Soon after this, AFDC put an emphasis on pursuing the press, alternative and mainstream, to cover the issues surrounding the case. As the Committee moves into 1995 they will be making it a priority to reach out more into different communities about the way this case relates to worldwide resistance to fascism perpetuated by the state, organized nazis, and other hate groups. The AFDC wants to expose the prosecution's complicity with nazis and win this struggle to make it harder for the state to put anti-racist activism on trial in the future.

WHAT YOU CAN DO!

The Anti-Fascist Defense Committee has received worldwide support from various anti-fascist organizations, labor organizations, anarchist groups, and socialist groups who have either written letters to the Hennepin County Attorney's office, sent monetary aid, or have given updates about what's been going on in their areas. The AFDC encourages people to continue doing all these things in gearing up for the next court appearance on Jan. 30, 1995. Write to:

Mike Freeman
County Attorney
C2000 Hennepin County Govt. Center
Minneapolis, MN 55415

or call him at:

(612) 348-5550

Demand that the charges be dropped and that infringement on the freedom of the press be stopped. The Committee is in need of funds for mailing and flyers. Send contributions to:

Anti-Fascist Defense Committee
POB 7075
Minneapolis, MN 55407

The AFDC meets every Sunday at 6 p.m. at Mayday Bookstore.

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

Little Rock Reed Arrested Again

Little Rock Reed was arrested on Oct. 27, 1994, to be extradited back to Ohio. Little Rock is wanted for parole violation by the Ohio Department of Rehabilitation and Corrections, and had been living in New Mexico since he fled Ohio.

Little Rock and his supporters had been asking that the attorney general of New Mexico conduct an investigation of the extradition request by Ohio, because supporters fear that his life would be in danger should he be returned to the custody of the Ohio Department of Rehabilitation and Corrections. But Little Rock was picked up within a week of New Mexico receiving the extradition request from Ohio, without any investigation having been done. A press spokesman for Governor King of New Mexico told *Prison News Service* that the Supreme Court has ruled that extradition requests are virtually automatic, and that there was little that Governor King could do. When asked whether New Mexico would extradite someone whose life would be threatened upon their return, Rich Maespas of the governor's office said he couldn't believe that a prisoner's life would be in danger from any official.

Little Rock served 10 years in the Ohio prison system for armed robbery before he

was paroled. During his sentence, Little Rock continually struggled for the rights of native prisoners to practice their traditional spirituality. Little Rock gained the respect of his fellow prisoners, professors, lawyers and anti-prison activists for his strength of character and the quality of his work. After his release on parole in 1992, he published *The American Indian in the White Man's Prison: A Story of Genocide* which describes the struggles Native prisoners have waged across the United States on such simple, but basic, issues as the right to wear their hair long. With a few exceptions, Native prisoners have been met with ridicule and violence. The irony is that being able to develop an interest in, and then a positive practice of, their spirituality, is one of the best means of rehabilitation that some Native prisoners can have.

Little Rock was within six weeks of ending his parole when he was charged in early 1993 with "threatening" a Kentucky man, whose wife and child were willing to testify that it was Little Rock who was threatened. But that was enough for the Ohio Department of Rehabilitation and Corrections to charge him with parole violation. So Little Rock went underground. Shortly thereafter Lucasville prison, where Little Rock had served much of his sentence, blew up in a 10-day long stand-off

that left 10 people dead. Even though he was on the run, Little Rock testified to the media as to the conditions in Lucasville which made the uprising all but inevitable. Before his release, Little Rock had documented the ways in which the then-warden Arthur Tate, Jr. had manipulated racial tensions within the prison population so as to demonstrate the need for a "higher-security" prison. Examples of this are documented in a federal court case. Ohio prison officials are hoping that by returning Little Rock to Lucasville, he will be silenced, one way or another. The head of the Adult Parole Authority told Little Rock that if he returns, he will serve the remaining fifteen years of his 7 to 25 year sentence even though he has already served twice as long as others convicted of similar armed robberies. Deborah Garlin of the Center for the Advocacy of Human Rights in Ranchos de Taos, NM says that they will try a variety of legal challenges to the extradition. She says that this may take as long as two or three months. Support is needed in terms of money and stamps. There is little that can be done right now in terms of support other than spreading the word.

Write:

Center for Advocacy of Human Rights
Box 880
Ranchos de Taos, NM 87557-0880
(505) 751-0197

Irmgard Moller Free

On Nov. 17, a German court ruled that Irmgard Moller, a member of the Red Army Fraction (RAF) should be released after 22 years of captivity. Irmgard was serving a life sentence for her participation in the bombing of a US military post in protest of the Vietnam War. This has opened the possibility that seven other imprisoned RAF members might also be released. Importantly, the court ruled that no danger exists that she will return to "crime," while Irmgard has affirmed she has no regrets for her activities and asserts armed struggle's legitimacy. She has, however, expressed support for a 1992 declaration by the RAF that it was prepared to renounce violence, if in return all seriously ill and long-term prisoners were released. The German state has argued that this opened the door to negotiation for Moller and seven other RAF members, who, while serving life sentences, can be paroled after 15 years.

Irmgard Moller is considered one of the founding members of the RAF's first generation, which began armed struggle in the early 1970s. She is the sole survivor of "death night," in Stammheim prison on Oct. 18, 1977, when the state murdered Gudrun Ensslin, Jan-Carl Raspe, and Andreas Baader, after an RAF cell failed to hijack a Lufthansa jet to Somalia.★

Anarchist Black Cross & Other Prisoner Support Groups

Books to Prisoners
c/o Left Bank
Box A, Pike St.
Seattle, WA 98101

Nightcrawlers ABC
PO Box 1034
Mott Haven Station
Bronx, NY 10454

ABC Baltimore
PO Box 19245
Baltimore, MD 21213

Prison News Service
PO Box 5052, Sta. A
Toronto, ONT M3W 1W4

Philadelphia ABC
4722 Baltimore Ave.
Philadelphia, PA 19143

Crossroad: A New Afrikan Newsletter
1348 W. Irving Park Rd.
Suite 108
Chicago, IL 60613

Interview with Autonomie Antifa (M)

[This interview was conducted by Love and Rage in Sept., 1994. Autonomie Antifa (M) is an anti-fascist group based in Goettingen, Germany.]

What differences exist in the German anti-fascist movement?

The differences are in terms of what people do: whether their focus is anti-Nazi work, which means either fighting fascism in the street to doing some direct action, to focusing just on the organized fascist groups. And then there are other groups, who do broader politics that make connections between organized fascists and the state, and who focus on the state and on tendencies within the German state. And then there's also an anti-imperialist struggle that could be anti-fascist in terms of being anti-Nazi. That's something that the radical anti-fascist movement is working out: how to be a political movement that doesn't just focus on anti-fascist or reactive movements, but rather is revolutionary.

One of the main points of debate in the movement is in terms of different tendencies around the question of organization—what kind of organization. There are people like us, and the Anti-Fascist National Organization (AA/BO), who are interested in forming a nationwide organization as part of building up the left, to share resources as a federation of groups who work together on things like the Campaign Against Fascist Structures. Then there are people who are more interested in organization as a process of talking about ideas, exchanging infor-

mation, and having contacts. As opposed to the AA/BO, which wants to become a federation that has a statement of principles, which may take years, but which also, since the beginning, has engaged in common campaigns together. We decided that we wanted to be in this network and we also wanted to start organizing and acting, even though there are ideological differences within the organization and differences in terms of where people want to go. In order to become an effective group, it was decided that we needed to start acting.

Can you give us a brief history of Antifa (M) and also the AA/BO, how that came about?

The first people came together in '88 after a counter-demonstration at a local fascist demonstration and out of organizing in schools, but the group didn't form until 1990. The first time the name Antifa (M) was used was in 1990, so next year will be our fifth anniversary. Since then it's continued to get bigger, and the structure has changed into semi-autonomous work groups. M is definitely one group—the work groups are a way of dividing work so that M can be more effective and avoid informal hierarchies and the concentration of power into a few hands. The work groups also have study groups, such as the anti-patriarchy group, which has been meeting regularly since 1992. In the anti-Nazi work group there's a strong emphasis on historical work. There have been projects going on within the group on anti-fascism in the

area. There are also work groups that organize around a specific action, like a demo. There's a rotating basis of who takes care of the posters, who does the money, fundraising, and mailings. The groups all meet together so that everybody has a sense of what the other groups are doing; not every single small decision is made in the large group, but everyone has a sense of everything that is going on.

The AA/BO grew out of conversations in meetings that were started by a discussion paper published by the Antifa (M) in 1991 critiquing the anti-Nazi movement of the 1980s. The paper appeared at a time when there were several other papers floating around, but this paper was different in that it proposed a new way of organizing.

The conversations started out in a really wide spectrum of anti-fascist groups. Out of these conversations came harder issues, like how to organize, under what ideological banner, whether to do purely anti-Nazi work

(Continued to page 11)



Arrests at the Oct. 22 demonstration.

Anti-Fascists Meet in Ohio

BY M.C. REDDY

The Midwest Anti-Fascist Network [MAFNET] held its first conference over the weekend of October 15-16. Columbus (Oh.) Anti-Racist Action hosted the meeting in old North High, an adult education facility.

The previous 12 months saw runs of weekly Klan appearances at state capitols and courthouses throughout the Midwest. MAFNET formed in Ohio and Michigan as a loose collaboration of a few groupings and individuals active in counter-mobilizations.

The conference served to expand the Network geographically. In addition to Ohio and Michigan, participants came from Minnesota, Ontario, Alabama, New York, Missouri, Indiana, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania and Illinois.

The 15 workshops ranged from topics such as organizing counter-demonstrations, the Nazi music scene and anti-racist skinheads, to physical defense and pirate radio. Numerous videos were available for showing in another area. The 15th anniversary of the murders of left-wing activists by the Klan and Nazis in Greensboro, NC was just

weeks away. A widow of one victim, herself under fire that day, spoke in conjunction with a film on the events. A general meeting was held on Sunday afternoon.

Two hundred and twenty-one people registered. Ninety or so regularly participated in a combination of workshops and/or Sunday's meeting. Others came for a specific workshop or event. A certain few, Socialist Workers Party, Workers World Party, and Spartacist League types, came to do little more than set up tables. Unsurprisingly, they have no real interest in the Network. Some people pre-registered in order to make a supporting contribution. Necessary support services tended to keep others more or less out of sight or off-site.

Gifts, registration fees, and a percentage take of the door at a local club, enabled the conference to turn a profit and garner a bit of a war chest.

The weekend not only expanded MAFNET, it also built on its original diversity. Assembled was a healthy mix of new and older activists, independent rads, skins, radical lesbians, non-sectarian Trotskyists

and anarchists of several stripes.

The Network has held to two points of agreement. One is the perspective of building a movement that unites the struggles against racism, sexism, anti-Semitism and lesbian and gay oppression. A principle from jump, it was reaffirmed along with the need to respect various political cultures of resistance.

The second bond is clear support for same time/same place counter-actions to fascist demonstrations. This commitment was shown on numerous occasions. Actions organized by MAFNET affiliates have been in opposition to liberal efforts. (That is, when the liberals have chosen to do anything at all.) Their cross-town 'festival of diversity,' marches away from the race terrorists, and utterly craven day-after symbolic cleansings were eclipsed in numbers and press coverage.

Until now the Network has existed only as a loose structure that mobilized regional support for such local actions. In order to become an effective force for the future, several things need to happen. The political discussion must deepen. The Network's organizational and programmatic decisions will eventually need to be less tentative. The forms and areas of struggle must become more varied.

Many local groups are involved in related areas of anti-fascist/anti-racist work not lim-

ited to reactive counter-demos. This applies to those presently within the Network and out. MAFNET could serve to give these struggles, and the techniques used, wider exposure. Resources could be channeled to those with promise or an immediate emergency.

The potential is there. Sunday's general meeting decided that the Columbus ARA News double as MAFNET's, announcing and reporting on actions, etc. ARA News gets around widely, in significant numbers. The conference itself added an educational and a social dimension to MAFNET. It was decided to hold another conference next October. Columbus, which has demonstrated ability and resources in this area, has enthusiastically volunteered to do it again. The Buckeyes will also produce a limited run of an occasional discussion bulletin. The bulletin's actual existence depends on others submitting copy.

Contact:

Columbus ARA
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Columbus, Ohio 43202

Federation members and friends with any further questions contact:

Anti-Fascist Working Group
PO Box 10491
Livernois Sta.
Detroit, MI 48210



MAFNET affiliate Active Transformation played a central role in organizing anti-Klan demos in Lansing, MI on April 23 (pictured above) and again on October 22. The April demo was large and spirited, with over 1000 taking part. Fascist supporters were driven from the crowd. At day's end the crowd encircled the capitol and confronted the cop-escorted Klan's attempt to exit the area. Tear gas and rocks were exchanged. On October 22 there were only 350 counter-demonstrators. The cops took advantage of the situation and drove the anti-fascists from the city center to prevent any repeat of the April flanking movement. Active Transformation and others organized a speak out for Dec. 7 on the day's events and police brutality. Earlier that day a small MAFNET contingent attended a KKK rally in Howell, MI. Here about 50 anti-fascists were outnumbered by a contingent of young Nazis and Klan supporters separate from the cop and fence encircled KKK. The next major Network activity was a Dec. 17 demonstration in downtown Cincinnati against the now annual Klan erection of a 'X-mas cross for the holidays.'

AA(M) Interview

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or to also have a critique of the imperialist system. As people started to lean toward that, others left the organization, so that, finally, after one and a half years, there was a real sense of organization. In the beginning there were twelve groups in the AA/BO. This is an organization that is more than just a contact group, this is a group that has politics broader than anti-fascism.

What is the M's strategy on a local level; do you have some worked-out strategy? Do you rely both on propaganda and action equally, or more on one than the other?

There are two parts to this: one is that the M tries to engage in a wide spectrum of politics to bring in new people and organize new people into the group, and also to organize groups left over from the '80s. Also, at the same time, we try to create a larger and more meaningful left culture and get ideas presented in the press and push conversations. It is impossible to say that there is one strategy, there are lots of things that we do. We do lots of leaflets for the press and general public, brochures, posters, presentations, exhibitions, coalitions, demonstrations; that's part of an attempt to radicalize the anti-fascist movement. And the third part is organization.

What have you done differently than other groups?

When the M started out, things were a lot different. Since then, through conversations within the AA/BO, other groups have also started this kind of work. It's not so much that the Antifa (M) is different from all the other Antifa groups, although that was partly true at the beginning, it's just that this tendency in the movement is really growing. The reasons that we decided to do this kind of politics were not just random. Rather, it was a recognition both of what was happening in the left and also in the larger political situation. The Autonomen had practically disappeared from the public eye, due in large part to internal problems and isolation. That's what we were acting against. It was also a reaction against the spontaneity and unaccountability of other anti-fascist groups; it turned into a longer-term politics. Another important thing is that the AA/BO works on a delegation principle,

and when we do coalition work it's also on that principle. Before that happened there were big communities where anyone could come who wanted to, and there was a lot of fluctuation in terms of who was there. It was very difficult to do politics in that way.

How is the unification of Europe going to change your struggle in Germany?

Because of the internationalization of capitalism, customs and tariffs become necessary for capitalists to carry out their interests in Europe. At the same time, there's another tendency that moves against that, which is the rise of nationalism, and the borders are tightened. There's a whole host of ethnic groups, especially in the East, that are crying for independence. That's a tendency that goes against the internationalization of capitalism. The fascists are, of course, on the side of people who are interested in strengthening the individual nation-states. At the same time there's also a movement within the fascist countries in Europe to create a "fortress Europe" against the rest of the world, a Europe of the Fatherland. That's true not just of the fascists but of the governments as well.

How would you describe the current situation in Germany regarding the extreme right in the past six months?

The situation after the Wall has been worse. The fascists came from all over, and people were on the streets, and there were big demonstrations. All the young people of East Germany went to the skinhead movement and cut off their hair. I think the situation is now a little more quiet than just after the Berlin Wall came down and the years after. The fascists on the street are not important enough for the government to use them. They used the fascists on the street to pass the new anti-asylum law, the new anti-abortion law, the new social-welfare laws; and now the government no longer has a need for fascists on the street, they no longer have a need for big demonstrations. The international publicity is a bit better now than it was when the fascists burned down all the big houses and held big demonstrations, but the fascists still exist. We have a special name for the relationship between the state and the fascists on the street, it comes from soccer when you give the ball to them.

A doubletest?

Doubletest. Something like a doubletest. They use each other to make a new society



October 22 demonstration

to build up a new Germany. It was always clear that the state wanted to control the nazis on the street, but never give them power, as in past, because it's no problem for the state to introduce new laws, because there's no left movement. It's not necessary for the state to give the nazis too much power. They only want to control them and use them, but the state doesn't want to become the nazis on the street.

When I was there in the summer of '93 there were a lot of youth who were attracted to anti-fascist groups. I saw lots of kids, 13 or 14 years old, handing out flyers in the metro station. It seemed like there were all sorts of little groups sprouting up, like Edelweiss Pirates. Is that still happening?

It depends a lot on where you are. You can see a left presence even in fashion. It's pretty cool for little kids to wear an anti-nazi patch on their backpacks, for example. People look progressive. Groups like the Youth Front try to organize a number of people. It's different in different cities.

Anti-fascists make a point of trying to politicize young people. Most young people don't get politicized by squats or ecological movements, but by anti-fascist politics, and by fascism on the streets and in schools. This is why, if young people turn to politics, they come into anti-fascist

youth movements. Also, for older people, I think anti-fascism is the biggest issue on the radical left.

In the US one of the most important issues that the fascists organize around is abortion. Another is countering the queer liberation movement. What are the most important issues that the fascists organize around in Germany and what roles do queer liberation and abortion access play?

The issues are different in Germany. For one thing, abortion was criminalized last year. That's not a hot topic. It's already been pushed through by the government. Queer issues also aren't big in terms of what the fascists organize around. In terms of ideology, they organize around historical revisionism. It's also interesting to see where the crossovers are between immediately recognizable fascists and the more mainstream conservative right.

Do you think you can estimate how large the general anti-fascist scene is in Germany?

The biggest demonstrations had three hundred thousand people. But I think the organized radical left is about four thousand. I can't give a number in terms of cities, because they are all so different. It is not possible to count them.★

Nazi Music: Coming Out of the Underground?

BY M.C. REDDY

Members of Toronto ARA and members of the Love and Rage Federation from Minneapolis and Detroit recently hosted a workshop called "Combating the Nazi Music Underground" at a Columbus, Oh. anti-racist conference.

Increasingly in the vanguard of the new wave of neo-nazi organizing and violence in Europe and North America are young people. On both sides of the Atlantic, racist/nationalistic music and the social scene around it play an important role in bringing youth into organized nazi formations.

For years the presence of white-power skins in the punk/alternative music scene was not uncommon. In many areas they were driven out. In others they withdrew on their own, and in some locations they held sway. In this shadowy milieu, their underground, they built structures.

These included gang-like alliances, often called "Hammer Skins," with prefixes such as Eastern, Confederate, and Northern. Bands catering to this subculture developed, and followings were established. Mail-order cassette and paraphernalia operations started. Certain public areas and nightspots became turf. Some private music/drinking clubs came into being.

Cross-fertilization of ideas and skills took place on two levels.

This occurred between these youths and older Klan/nazi organizations. It also occurred between working-class elements and more middle- and upper-class types among the youth. The result has been politicization, arms caches, safe houses, crash pads, sophisticated computer operations, and business savvy. There is now a new crop of leaders attempting to cohere more dynamic strategies and alliances. There is an increasing willingness to challenge any older racist group or leader felt to be a burnout, incompetent, untrustworthy, etc.

Music still figures prominently in their activities. There are several distributors and zines across the continent. There is an

Aryanfest summer concert circuit. Now there are also two magazines, *Blood & Honor*, out of Long Beach, and *Resistance*, from the Detroit area. *Resistance* has announced an ambitious perspective of emerging from the "underground." Trying to establish a beach-head in the metal scene is part of this.

Resistance, produced by Resistance Records [RR], is a joint project of some Canadian and US nazis. It is slick in cover and content. Multi-colored, it features interviews with North American and European fascist bands, letters, nazi and music shorts, and detailed instructions on aspects of building support for RR. There is also bad poetry, crossword puzzles, and editorial-page calls to national socialist insanity.

Prior to this RR sold cassettes and promoted bands through *Under the Hammer*, a skin zine, and ads in *Aryan Action Line* (SS Action Group). With the launch of *Resistance*, they have also stepped up to what could be called visually attractive CDs. There are plans of going to music videos.

Allied bands are Rahowa (Toronto), Max Resist and the Hooligans (Rochester, MI), Bound for Glory (Mpls./St. Paul), Aryan (London, Ont.), Aggravated Assault (Plainsboro, NJ), The Voice (Phila.), Nordic Thunder (Delaware) and Centurion (Wisc.). The summer issue announced the promotion of their first long-haired metal band, an outfit from Jersey. Formerly called Ritual, the band has been repackaged as New Minority, its first release to be entitled "White, Straight and Proud."

One George Burdi is RR's main mover. Burdi (aka G. Eric Hawthorne) is lead singer for Rahowa, which stands for Racial Holy War. Until recently Burdi and company were part of the Church of the Creator [COTC]. COTC's many skinhead supporters have been a particularly aggressive lot. Young members have been convicted in murders, assassination plots, armed robberies, and pipe- and fire-bombings coast to coast.



October 22

Burdi and others have now left the COTC, in a feud with its new honcho, non-skin Dr. Rick McCarty. The Northern Hammer Skins continue to figure heavily in the COTC's operations. SS Action, American Front, nazi computer bulletin boards, and others continue to promote it.

On Sept. 31 Resistance Records promoted an Ian Stuart memorial concert in Racine, Wisc. Stuart, with his British band Skrewdriver, pioneered white-power music. He was killed in a car wreck. Nearly 400 young nazis attended. Afterwards a group of 40 boneheads fucked with some Black people in a store. Joe Rowan of Nordic Thunder was shot dead. Eric Banks, formerly of Bound for Glory, was dispatched in a similar fashion by a SHARP skin last year in Oregon. The nazis are now trying to hold them up as martyrs to pump others up.

Record shops, clubs and magazines that are found carrying their shit, that book them or take ads from them, need to be hit with anti-fascist campaigns. If you know of any, please inform us. Toronto ARA is currently taking

on two such shops. Minneapolis ARA recently checked *Skin Art* magazine for carrying an ad. Word must be gotten out and preparations made to challenge any moves into new areas.

Heads up in the metal zone!
Inform us of Fascist Activities in Your Area:
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Stn. C
Toronto, Ontario M6J 3S1

Love and Rage Anti-Fascist Working Group
PO Box 10491
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Detroit, MI 48210

Message Lines/Voice Mail:
Toronto: (416) 631-8835
Detroit: (313) 730-3517

Toronto is preparing a pamphlet and organizing kit on the nazi music scene. Send anything that may be of help: newspaper articles, copies of nazi zines, album covers, photos, intelligence reports, etc.★

(Re)Proletarian Survival: the Federation Advances

BY JOEL OLSON

For the first time in its six-year history, Love and Rage had a successful conference. Of course, the conference (held in Minneapolis from Oct. 8-10) was not free of serious problems; but, for the first time, the Love and Rage Federation, as a membership organization: engaged in serious political discussion, made decisions on activist strategies based on these discussions, and chose a structure to carry out these decisions. Not only did this conference prove that Love and Rage (and the anarchist politics it represents) is far from dead (as many critics have long hoped for and prematurely declared), it also showed that our politics, as undefined as they are, have the potential to help build and influence a mass movement.

However, the conference also did something else. Up to now, the organization's main goal has been its own existence. After this conference, the challenge for Love and Rage is no longer to survive until the next conference. We have reached the point where we must judge Love and Rage not by comparing its present condition to its past ineffectiveness, but by its ability to understand the world we live in, and to play a role in changing that world. Such understandings were not achieved in Minneapolis. However, for the first time, they were raised and debated by the organization, and the political work we chose to do at this conference is partly a product of these debates.

REPROLETARIANS OF THE WORLD, UNITE?

The debate over Love and Rage's role in revolutionary struggle was initiated by Saturday's political discussion entitled "What is the Federation for? Why is it floundering? Where should we go?" The main debate was over who or what should be the focus of Love and Rage's political work. Chris Day, a longtime Love and Rage member, argued that Love and Rage should focus on organizing a particular social base for revolution. This social base, commonly called "Generation X," Day calls "reproletarianized youth," or reproles, for short.

Reproles are the twenty-something offspring of the mostly-white North American middle class. Day argues they are potentially revolutionary because they are the first generation of America's middle class that will not live better than their parents, and they know it. Instead of a happy future of suburban housing, two cars, broken marriages, and white privileges, reproles face a job market that is more competitive, work that pays less and is more boring, college degrees that are nearly useless, and a financial situation in which they will scarcely be able to pay the interest on their credit-card debts, much less finance a mortgage. As their class and race privileges fade, reproles are being forced into a position where they straddle a fine line: their new class position could tilt them toward fascism or it could radicalize them to fight for a free world alongside other (relatively more) oppressed groups.

Reproles are also the social base of Love and Rage: Like it or not, we are an organization that is primarily white, primarily middle class, and primarily in our twenty-somethings. We are a Generation X organization. However, we are also a revolutionary Generation X organization. Day argues that because Love and Rage's social base is reproletarian, our main goal as an organization should be to win over reproles to

revolutionary politics and to ally with other oppressed peoples (especially people of color) and away from fascism. We should stop pretending to see ourselves as representing the aspirations of the whole of oppressed humanity, and instead acknowledge our social base and work to revolutionize it in order to ally with other revolutionary groups. (For a more detailed explanation of his "reprole" thesis, see the Dec. 1994 *Federation Bulletin*, address below.)

In contrast to Day's position, others, such as Laura Schere and Noel Ignatiev, argued that, while Love and Rage's social base may be reproletarianized youth, it is a mistake to make "revolutionizing reproles" the purpose of the organization. Instead, we must think and act universally: While we should openly acknowledge our present social base and its limitations, our politics are much broader than this base, so we shouldn't limit ourselves to it. After all, as Schere argued, reproles are not the only people who are potential anarchist revolutionaries. What we should be fighting for is our politics; our political consciousness (and thus our political activity) is not, and should not be, limited to a particular social base. Day's reprole strategy may be a strategy for recruitment, but it is not a strategy for political activity.

Several members at the conference, a significant number of them women, criticized the discussion over reproles and Love and Rage's social base as too limited. They argued that the discussion should have been opened up, not only to broaden the debate, but also to encourage greater participation, which was primarily dominated by men (see below for more on this). This is a valid criticism: The terms of the debate were largely set out by Day and Ignatiev, and those who were unfamiliar or dissatisfied with these terms could find no way to redirect the discussion. However, the reprole issue is an important one, for it has and will continue to determine the nature of our political work in the future. Many of us have faced the same question in our local political work: Do we focus our work on developing a revolutionary politics and practice that we hope will transcend the limitations of our presently mostly white and middle-class social base, or do we, as representatives of the revolutionary wing of our social base, concentrate on fighting the reactionary elements within our social base (like nazi skinheads, the Klan, etc.)?

ONE STRATEGY, THREE STRUGGLES

After this discussion, the conference debated which political struggles we should choose to focus on as an organization. As anarchists, we are opposed to all forms of oppression. However, as a small organization, we have a limited amount of resources. Given our desire to fight infinite oppressions with finite resources, what are we to do? Should we attempt to fight whatever injustice pops up at the moment and risk stretching ourselves too thin, or should we determine the key pillars holding this society up and then make a strategic decision on how to topple those pillars? The unanimous decision was to choose a few areas and focus on them. Four areas of struggle were proposed: anti-fascism, an anti-police campaign, Mexico solidarity, and prisoner support/prison abolition. After some debate, the conference agreed to choose three of them as the primary work of the federation: anti-fascism, Mexico solidarity, and prison work. However, the

choice of which struggles to undertake was not based so much on choosing three out of four proposals, but on the strategy members believed was necessary to build a revolutionary movement in the US. Essentially, the debate over our focus was about dual power. Noel Ignatiev put forth the position that the purpose of any revolutionary organization should be to build a dual power. A "dual power" strategy means that our political work should be geared toward building resistance movements that not only oppose oppression, but also embody an alternative (i.e. a "dual power") to the primary institutions of power in this society. According to Ignatiev, an anti-police campaign (which could involve monitoring the police, videotaping their actions, etc.) would represent a dual power because it would create direct community intervention and alternative institutions in constant conflict with existing law enforcement institutions. In this way, we could link revolutionary urges (everyone hates the cops) to a revolutionary counterpower that challenges the main pillar upholding capitalism and white supremacy: the state and their pigs. Therefore, Ignatiev argued, an anti-police campaign would be more effective in building a revolutionary counterpower than an anti-fascist campaign that focused on the racist right. He also argued that while solidarity and mutual aid with our comrades in Mexico and in prisons is essential and must not be ignored, it is a mistake to make them a primary political strategy of the federation.

Ignatiev's position, however, was in the minority. Several people felt his proposal was not necessarily revolutionary (or no more so than supporting the Zapatistas, for example), and others argued that it is simply unrealistic to attempt to organize a dual power: organs of dual power come from mass movements, not small organizations like Love and Rage. In the end, the dual power strategy lost out, as did the anti-police campaign proposal.

Although it was never explicitly stated, the decision to establish anti-fascist, Mexican solidarity, and prisoner solidarity/prison abolition campaigns was a decision by the conference both to reject a dual power strategy and to endorse a "reproletarian" analysis of our strengths and possibilities. The strategy and tactics of the federation now concentrate on organizing primarily white and middle-class youth against far-right, white-supremacist organizations, and on creating alliances with other potentially revolutionary sectors of society (revolutionaries in Mexico and prisoners). This is evident in the long-term goals each of the three working groups presented to the conference after all three groups caucused.

The Anti-Fascist Working Group's presentation focused on building an organization that can confront fascist movements across the continent (politically and physically) with the intention of "stealing the social base" of fascist groups (disaffected working- and middle-class whites: reproles) out from under them. The Mexican Solidarity Working Group pledged to establish closer contacts with Amor y Rabia (Mexico's Love and Rage member organization) and to provide material support for the Zapatistas. It also pledged to work toward creating closer ties with Latino communities and supporting Native sovereignty struggles in the US and Canada. The Prisoner Support/Prison Abolition Working Group pledged to expand prisoner support work within the federation, and to help enable prisoner members of Love and Rage to participate more in the organization.

Aside from the broad criticism that these strategies fail to build a dual power, several people in the federation have raised questions about the particular strategies each working group has chosen. For example, there is an emerging feminist critique of the almost exclusive focus of anti-fascist strategy on far-right, white-supremacist groups. Does fighting white-supremacist groups fight all sections of the proto-fascist right? What about militant feminist critique of organizations, for example?

Furthermore, even though the anti-police campaign proposal was voted down, many people want the anti-fascist group to focus on anti-police work as well. However, the past history of Love and Rage's anti-fascist work (anti-Klan demonstrations in New Hope, PA; anti-fascist days of action on Kristallnacht [Nov. 9]; the Anti-Racist Summer Project in St. Paul,

MN; etc.), as well as the present proposal, gives no concrete indication that the focus will broaden. However, if the Anti-Fascist Working Group does decide to mesh anti-cop, anti-Klan, and anti-anti-choice work, how will it avoid the classic anarchist tendency to struggle against everything until we've spread ourselves so thin that we effectively build nothing? Expect a rich debate on this issue.

GENDER TROUBLES

Despite the high level of political discussion, the conference was not free of problems. The biggest problem at the conference was an old one: male domination. With the exception of some of the working-group caucuses, the discussions at the conference were dominated by men. Men outnumbered women, and, according to the conference minutes, men spoke at least twice as often as women (many of women's comments were criticisms of the fact that many of them felt structured out of participating in the debates). The problem is not that there are no articulate and politically experienced women in the federation. Neither does it seem to be primarily a problem of gender dynamics in meetings: few women felt they were actively discouraged from participating (although this does not mean that gender dynamics played no role in inhibiting women's participation).

Instead, there were two main gender troubles with the conference. First, the terms of the political discussions (especially the initial one on reproles) tended to structure out some people from participating in the debates, particularly women. By focusing almost exclusively on Chris Day's reprole analysis, the conference failed to discuss other key issues that, were they discussed, might have encouraged broader participation. A second problem was identified by Rebecca H. in the lively debates about gender issues that have occurred since the conference (see the Jan. 1995 issue of the *Federation Bulletin*). The problem, she argues, is that good gender politics for Love and Rage boil down to being nicer to women and opening up spaces for them to speak. This is fine, but what is lacking is a commitment to making women's liberation a political priority of the federation. None of the three working groups' proposals, she points out, have any explicit strategies for women's liberation, nor is there anything necessarily feminist about them. This does not mean the working groups entirely neglect feminist issues, but without an explicit feminist commitment it is unlikely that the terms of political debate within the federation will open up to more women.

To address Love and Rage's gender troubles, an impromptu women's caucus was called for dinner Sunday night. While no concrete proposals emerged from the discussion, a variety of diverse opinions on gender issues and Love and Rage were expressed. The discussion has far from ended since that caucus. In fact, the debate over gender issues is one of the most lively, interesting, and important ones happening within the federation right now.

DEMOCRACY IS IN THE STREETS (AND IN OUR BY-LAWS)

The final discussions surrounded the structure of the federation. After reports and updates on the various newspaper production groups, offices, and (old) working groups, the conference discussed and debated the by-laws proposal written by Jean-Marc Delivour and yours truly. Debates over structure aren't exactly thrill city, but what basically happened is that a set of by-laws was adopted that should enable the organization to carry out the decisions it makes at conferences and in between. The structure of Love and Rage is now as follows: The federation consists of members brought together in local branches (where possible) that participate in local activism and try to build the federation and/or revolutionary anti-authoritarian politics in their area. Local groups must work on at least one of the three struggles chosen by the federation, in addition to any other work they choose. Coordinating local struggles with each other is the job of the three working groups, each of which has chosen a contact person. The two newspapers (*Love and Rage* and *Amor y Rabia*) are produced

(Continued to page 13)



Not the Love and Rage Conference.

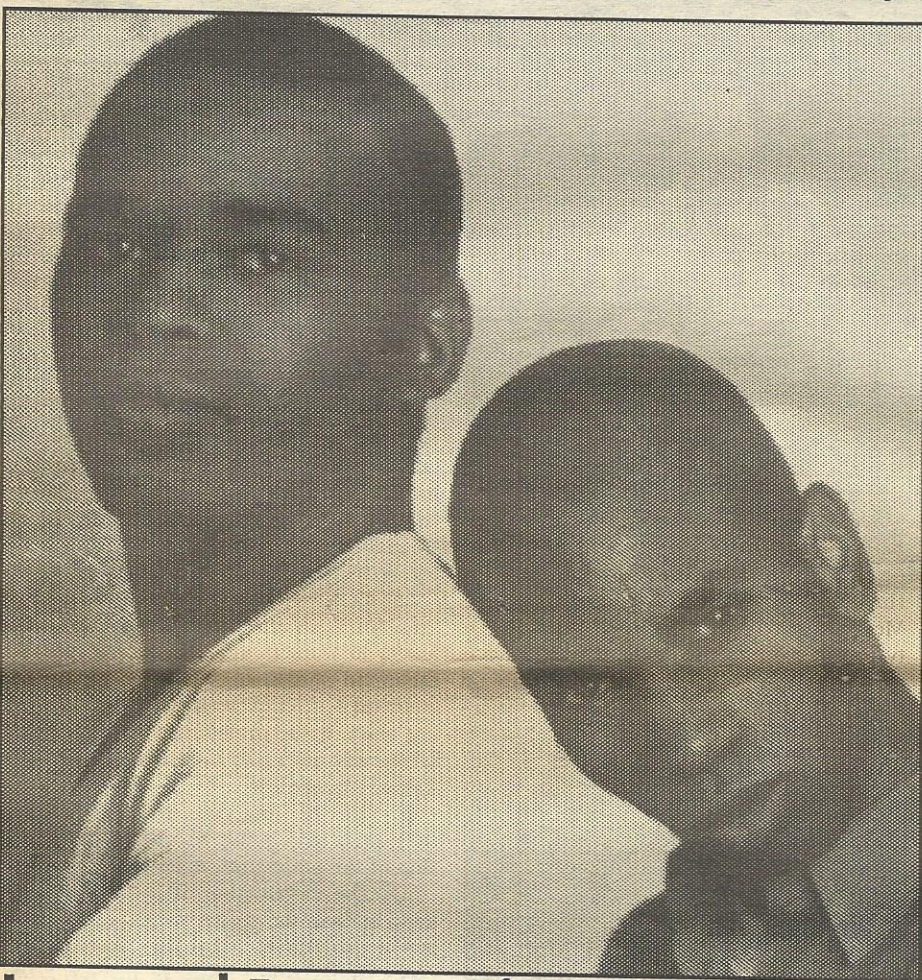
Afrocentricity vs. Homosexuality: The Isis Papers

BY MATTHEW QUEST

Dr. Frances Cress Welsing's *The Isis Papers* (Third World Press, 1991) is one of the most popular texts of the much debated but loosely defined ideology of afrocentricity. Arguing for the African origins of civilization by highlighting Egyptian and other Africans' pioneering achievements in architecture, science, and philosophy, afrocentric interpretations of history subvert traditional eurocentric fabrications. Afrocentric scholars also potentially open a path toward a new humanism, one which includes everybody with an African ancestry—the whole human race.

Unfortunately, misguided scholars often silence Black women, gay men, and lesbians, identifying these voices as oppressive and divisive manifestations of white supremacy. It is their reluctance to link questions of race with resistance to other oppressions that reinforces the categories of "race" that are the essence of eurocentric denigration of "non-white" peoples.

THE ORIGINS OF WHITE SUPREMACY



Love and Rage Conference

(Continued from page 12)

by production groups in New York and Mexico City, respectively. Space is reserved for traditionally oppressed groups to form autonomous blocs within Love and Rage. An autonomous bloc is a group created by traditionally oppressed members of Love and Rage that band together with other members of that group (not necessarily Love and Rage members) to fight oppression within Love and Rage and to act autonomously from the federation in struggles for self-determination, while still receiving support from the federation at large. As of yet, there are no autonomous blocs formed, though there has been discussion about creating a women's autonomous bloc. The major decisions of the federation are to be made democratically at annual conferences. A Coordinating Committee (CC) of five people (currently in Minneapolis) was elected as an administrative body for a year in order to see that conference decisions are carried out and to facilitate communication and debates within the organization. Interim decisions are to be made by an elected 10-person Federation Council. The CC is responsible for organizing the debates surrounding interim decisions, tallying votes, and making sure the decisions made are carried out. In an attempt to address gendered power imbalances within the organization, six out of the ten persons elected for the Federation Council are women, and four out of the five persons on the CC are women as well. (For a copy of the by-laws, write to the Federation Office address below.)

While it's a bit of a stretch to call this structure a "federation," it is a radically

Welsing articulates a familiar critique of white supremacy as the dominant system and culture in the Western world. However, her notions about the origins and perpetuation of racism are far from conventional. White supremacy, according to Welsing, began with the birth of albinos in Africa. These "recessive genetic mutants" began to mate with one another and multiply, producing what is now known as the white race.

Besides masking their African origin and proclaiming their affinity with Greece, whites avoid the true meaning of skin whiteness: "a mutation and genetic deficiency state from the Black norm, 'hue-man' norm." White supremacy is a psychological defense mechanism to genetic color inadequacy (whiteness). Dr. Welsing believes whites are "genetically vulnerable," and therefore overcompensate for their insecurity with oppressive behavior towards people of color.

EFFEMINIZATION AS OPPRESSION

A major tool of those who subscribe to white supremacy, according to Welsing, is

the perpetuation of Black male passivity through encouraging effeminization, bisexuality, and homosexuality. Welsing believes this is "a problem of epidemic proportions amongst Black people in the US."

Homophobia in communities of color is rampant...to the tenth power of the white mainstream. Why? Because the struggle for human rights against white supremacy has been disproportionately explained as the need to achieve "manhood" rights, from the period of the slave trade to the present.

Welsing believes homosexual patterns of behavior are simply expressions of male self-submission to other males in the area of "sex," as well as in other areas—economics, education, entertainment, labor, law, politics, religion, and war. Oppression is defined as forced submission, homosexuality as a sign of weakness.

Welsing defines "primary effeminacy" and "secondary effeminacy" to distinguish white causes of homosexuality from Black ones. "Primary effeminacy" is a self-derived response by whites to their genetic insufficiency, causing a negation of self-reproduction due to disgust with their own genetic weaknesses.

"Secondary effeminacy" (Black male homosexuality) is consciously imposed on the Black man by the white man for the purpose of destroying the Black family. Welsing attempts to propagate a patriarchal concept of the Black family, which is curious, since it is afrocentric conventional wisdom that there was no patriarchy in traditional African societies.

Welsing does have a concept of gender roles being environmentally conditioned. However, a continuum would not represent qualities such as aggression and nurturing as universal that all humans can embody. Rather, the author clearly believes that in the process of the Black man taking on homosexual tendencies, he is acting like a woman. She is firmly against this as illustrated by the following examples.

From her work with incarcerated Black males, Welsing concludes that, as they have been broken by the system and forced to submit to an authoritarian environment, prison is the epitome of white supremacy. Black males are "feminized in jail" in the following ways: They are given orders by men to whom they must submit; they wait passively to be fed three meals a day by men; and finally, they have sexual intercourse with men.

Welsing, in an attack on cross dressers of the "Flip Wilson/Geraldine" variety, implies that a real Black man wouldn't wear earrings or bracelets. How can an African-centered critique of white supremacy discount the earring and bracelet wearing Masai warriors or the "Mau Mau," just two of many examples of "manhood" in resistance?

The author, angry with the American Psychological Association's relatively recent repeal of their former opinion that homosexuality constitutes poor mental health, prescribes a distinct position for Black people. Black psychiatrists must understand that whites may condone homosexuality for themselves, but we as Blacks must see it as a strategy for destroying Black people. Welsing argues that homosexuals or bisex-

uals should neither be condemned nor degraded, as they did not decide that they would be so programmed in childhood. The racist system should be held responsible. Welsing believes the task of professionals who concur with her should be proactive treatment and prevention of homosexuality among Black people.

FEMINISM

Welsing argues that, since there is no patriarchy in traditional African societies, a feminist critique is not necessary. Besides, feminism is eurocentric. I wonder what Angela Davis, Audre Lorde, Michele Wallace, and bell hooks would think of that. They're anything but eurocentric.

Welsing, disgusted with the stereotyped image of the Black male as "sex-machine," believes the Black male should be the guardian of Black civilization, not only in protecting the family even at consequence of death, but by procreating. It is their sperm which is endowed with the melanin that preserves the "hue-man" norm.

Welsing gives the Black woman agency in preserving Black manhood from becoming the female, clown, infant, buffoon, transvestite, homosexual, etc. This should be done by denying these "effeminized men" "the right" to procreate, and should be enforced by the "self-respecting" Black woman.

REVOLUTION

Welsing offers *The Isis Papers* as a revolutionary treatise. This makes many of her assertions even more problematic. By equating Black manhood with "not macho or money" but "warrior or soldier against the system," she attempts to deny Black homosexuals and women, whites, and others, their necessary role as revolutionaries against white supremacy. She suffers from the common reasoning among Black middle-class voices (common especially now in books articulating their "rage") that are surprised and/or disappointed that "even when high income is allowed, there is no true power in its ultimate sense—meaning to support, protect and defend the lives of one's self, one's wife, and one's children." Dr. Welsing remains adamant that a class analysis of capitalism is not relevant to Black people, as most afrocentrists claim, because they are oppressed as a race.

Dr. Welsing, like many afrocentrists, puts forward a conception of revolution that is doomed to fail. However, it has already been successful in provoking the politics of reaction, though not on the scale of her eurocentric predecessors. Under the guise of unity she continues the alienation of Black homosexuals as acting white and/or acting abnormal. Under an American system of white supremacy and capitalism, she attempts to put forward an Africa-centered agenda for Black revolution that is woefully ignorant of the political economy that destroys both Africans and Americans and, for that matter, the diversity of the culture of the diaspora. No one should hesitate from pulling out all the stops to oppose such retrogressive ideas, even at the risk of being proclaimed an "Uncle Tom" or a race traitor.★

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democratic model in which the goal is to encourage the maximum amount of participation in federation activities by members. It is also a structure that is suitable for the present size of Love and Rage, with a bit of room to grow into as well.

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If you would like information about becoming a member of Love and Rage, please write to the Federation Office. If you are interested in the organization's internal debates, you can send a \$25 communications fee and receive a year's subscription to the *Federation Bulletin*. (Make checks payable to Love and Rage.)

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Although Marx and Engels never put forward a unified presentation of the theory of the state, their conception of the state is a fundamental aspect of their outlook, and of what has since come to be called Marxism. In fact, theories of the state constitute critical facets of all totalitarian credos, not just the Marxian. After all, a given ideology may be overwhelmingly totalitarian in underlying logic, but if it lacks a focus on using the state as the means of transforming society—that is, of imposing its ideas—its totalitarianism will remain implicit. It is the same with Marxism. While Marxism contains many propositions that imply totalitarianism, it is Marx and Engels' view of the state that renders their theory totalitarian in practice. This is most evident in their argument that the state, in the form of

3. The state is part of the "superstructure" of society. Marx and Engels analyzed human society as divided into a material base (or basis), and a superstructure that rests on it. The base is made up of the instruments of production (machines, tools, raw materials), the social classes, chiefly the exploiting and laboring classes, of the particular society, and the relations between these classes. The superstructure consists of political and cultural institutions, including the state, churches, schools, etc., as well as corresponding ideational realms: politics, religion, science, art, etc. The state is a major, if not the major, element of this superstructure.

4. The nature of the material base of a given society, or what Marx and Engels called its "mode of production," determines the nature of the superstructure. By extension,

"The highest form of the state, the democratic republic... officially knows nothing any more of property distinctions. In it wealth exercises its power indirectly, but all the more surely. On the one hand, in the form of direct corruption of officials... on the other hand, in the form of an alliance between government and Stock Exchange...and lastly, the possessing class rules directly through the medium of universal suffrage. As long as the oppressed class, in our case, therefore, the proletariat, is not yet ripe to emancipate itself, it will in its majority regard the existing order of society as the only possible one and, politically, will form the tail of the capitalist class, its extreme Left wing." (Engels, *Origin*, pp. 285-6.)

8. "(T)he executive of the modern state is essentially a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie." (Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, International Publishers, 1948, p. 11.)

9. As capitalism develops and the effects of its periodic crises make themselves felt, the state is compelled to take

The Marxist Theory of the State

BY RON TABOR

the dictatorship of the proletariat, is the chief weapon in the struggle to establish communism.

Unfortunately, the totalitarian nature of the Marxist view of the state is not so easily discerned. A glance at Marxist theory, and the practice of Marxist organizations, will reveal what appears to be a paradox. On the one hand, Marx and Engels and their followers claim to be vigorous opponents of the state, and insist that one of their most fundamental goals is the abolition of that institution. On the other hand, the vast majority of Marxist organizations have been, and continue to be, militant advocates of the drastic extension of the role of the state in society. When they've come to power through revolutions or military conquest, Marxists have created societies that have been almost totally dominated by states. Indeed, these states' power has been among the greatest in history. Even the wing of the Marxist movement that no longer aims at revolution, the social-democratic, promotes the systemic expansion of the role of the state in capitalist society.

The key to this apparent paradox is the conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat: a state that is supposed to be the vehicle of abolishing the state. We intend to discuss the dictatorship of the proletariat in the next article, but to understand this idea, it is necessary to be aware of the broader Marxist theory of the state of which it forms a part.

Although Marx and Engels did not leave us with a single, elaborated presentation of their analysis of the state, they did have a coherent theory of it, and it is worth outlining. At the risk of omission and simplification, I would list its major points as follows:

1. The "material basis" of the state is "relative scarcity." Relative scarcity is a condition in which the productivity of labor enables a group of people to produce a surplus, that is, an amount of goods—food, clothes, tools—that is more than enough to enable them to survive, yet not enough to allow everyone to live in true abundance. When productivity reaches such a point, society divides into classes: (a) the vast majority, who spend most of their time working, while receiving an amount of goods (or monetary equivalent) that barely enables them to live; and (b) a tiny minority who exploit the majority—that is, appropriate surplus and live in luxury without performing productive labor. The division of society into classes in turn gives rise to the state.

"(The state) is a product of society at a certain stage of development; it is the admission that this society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction with itself, that it is cleft into irreconcilable antagonisms which it is powerless to dispel. But in order that these antagonisms, classes with conflicting economic interests, might not consume themselves and society in sterile struggle, a power seemingly standing above society became necessary for the purpose of moderating the conflict, of keeping it within the bounds of "order"; and this power, arisen out of society but placing itself above it, and increasingly alienating itself from it, is the state." (Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, p. 280.)

2. In general, the state is controlled by the economically dominant class, enabling it to maintain its control over the exploited classes.

"As the state arose from the need to hold class antagonisms in check, but as it arose, at the same time, in the midst of these classes, it is, as a rule, the state of the most powerful, economically dominant class, which, through the medium of the state, becomes also the politically dominant class, and thus acquires new means of holding down and exploiting the oppressed class. Thus, the state of antiquity was above all the state of slave owners for the purpose of holding down the slaves, as the feudal state was the organ of the nobility for holding down the peasant serfs and bondsmen, and the modern representative state is an instrument of exploitation of wage labour by capital." (Engels, *Origin*, p. 283.)



Marx, his daughters, and Engels: a picture of middle-class respectability.

the development of the base determines the evolution of the state.

"I was led by my studies to the conclusion that legal relations as well as forms of the state...are rooted in the material conditions of life...in the social production which men carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of the material powers of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society—the real foundation, on which rise legal and political superstructures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political, and spiritual processes of life." (Karl Marx, *Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Feuer, p. 43.)

5. Although the state is usually the instrument of the economically dominant class, sometimes conflicting classes balance each other such that the state becomes somewhat independent.

"By way of exception, however, periods occur in which the warring classes balance each other so nearly that the state power, as ostensible mediator, acquires, for the moment, a certain degree of independence of both. Such was the absolute monarchy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which held the balance between the nobility and the class of burghers; such was the Bonapartism of the First, and still more of the Second French Empire, which played off the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie against the proletariat." (Engels, *Origin*, pp. 283-4.)

6. In most states in history, rights were allotted according to wealth.

"In most of the historical states, the rights of citizens are... apportioned according to their wealth, thus directly expressing the fact that the state is an organization of the possessing class for its protection against the non-possessing class." (Engels, *Origin*, p. 284.)

7. The highest form of the state is the democratic republic, in which the capitalist class exercises its power indirectly.

over and manage ever greater portions of the economy. In effect, the capitalist state expropriates the capitalists. By itself, this does not do away with capitalism, but sets the stage for this through the seizure of state power and the means of production by the working class.

"... (T)he official representative of capitalist society—the state—will ultimately have to undertake the direction of production... All the social functions of the capitalists are now produced by salaried employees... At first the capitalist mode of production forces out the workers. Now it forces out the capitalists..." (Engels, "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific", Feuer, pp. 102-103.)

(From this point, I'll sketch Marx and Engels' views without citations, since this aspect of their theory will be the theme of the next installment.)

10. The chief strategic task of the working class in the proletarian revolution is to seize state power, to raise itself to the position of ruling class.

11. The working class smashes the capitalist state and builds its own, the dictatorship of the proletariat, in its place.

12. The dictatorship of the proletariat is not a state in the proper sense of the term. It is the proletariat organized as the ruling class. Unlike other states in history, whose role was to enable minorities to suppress majorities, the dictatorship of the proletariat is the instrument of the vast majority to suppress the tiny exploiting minority; its establishment represents victory in the battle for democracy.

13. The main tasks of the dictatorship are to expropriate the capitalists (those whose property has not already been nationalized), suppress capitalist resistance, and develop the nationalized means of production as rapidly as possible in order to overcome relative scarcity and shorten the work-day, thus allowing all workers to participate in the affairs of society.

14. As these tasks are fulfilled, the state will wither away.

Before we enter into a critique of this theory, it is worth noting that, compared to the other theories of the state that were dominant at the time, Marx and Engels' analysis was quite radical. Almost all contemporary theorists of the state considered it to be the embodiment of an ideal (e.g., God or Reason) and, as this suggests, did not contend that the state would or should be eliminated. (We are omitting those writing in the libertarian tradition.)

Seen against these views, the Marxist theory—particularly the analysis of the historical origin and economic basis of the state, the contention that the state is an instrument of an exploitative elite, and the idea that the state will at some point no longer be necessary—looks progressive. Yet, despite its apparently radical nature and plausibility, the Marxist theory of the state significantly distorts reality. Most important, it contains implications whose logic, when put into practice, points toward the establishment of totalitarian societies. While a discussion of all the problematical aspects of the Marxist theory is beyond the scope of this article, it is worth looking at four of them.

I. RELATIVE SCARCITY

I believe that relative scarcity is one of the factors behind the emergence and continued existence of states in human society. But it is not the only one. Relative scarcity only makes the rise of the state possible; it doesn't by

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itself guarantee that it will occur. I think an additional piece of the answer has to be sought in the nature of human beings.

While relative scarcity makes possible the rise of the state, the state itself represents an embodiment, or reflection, of a facet of human personality and behavior. At the risk of simplification, I think it is fair to say that human beings have two basic aspects of their personalities and behavior. On the one hand, people are social and cooperative; they live in groups and cooperate to survive and reproduce. This sociability is accompanied by emotions and attitudes—love, a sense of solidarity and community—through which it is expressed. On the other hand, people are competitive, aggressive and hierarchical. One group fights against, competes with and tries to dominate others; even within a group, individuals vie for domination and status. This is most apparent in class societies, but even under the most “primitive” conditions, there are elements of competition, domination and subordination, leaving aside outright warfare between different groups.

These two facets can only be distinguished analytically. In reality, they are thoroughly intermeshed. In the most hierarchical situations, there is cooperation; while in the most cooperative circumstances, there are elements of competition and domination. The question is, which aspect dominates.

Under capitalism and other forms of class society, the competitive/hierarchical aspects of human behavior dominate the cooperative facets without eliminating them. In cooperative settings, non-hierarchical behavior does not do away with competition. A non-authoritarian society, among other things, is one in which people choose to make the cooperative, non-hierarchical side of their behavior predominate.

One of the problems with the Marxist notion that relative scarcity, by itself, is the material basis of the state, is that it tends to absolve the human species of its responsibility for that institution: in this view, the state arises, in a sense, outside human beings, through an external historical process, the development of relative scarcity.

By the same logic, the theory simplifies and distorts the process through which the state can be eliminated. It implies that if relative scarcity is overcome, this will lead to the elimination of the state, without an active dismantling of the state and without conscious efforts on the part of human beings to change their behavior. The chief task of the revolution then becomes fomenting economic growth (through the state), which will then automatically lead to changes in human behavior and the ultimate elimination of the state.

This is in fact how most Marxists who have seized state power have interpreted the Marxian program. Moreover, so determined have they been to increase economic growth that they have adopted the most brutal, authoritarian methods to do so.

When this is coupled to the idea that the state, in the form of the proletarian dictatorship, is the chief vehicle to carry out the socialist transformation, it becomes obvious why the state in Marxist-led societies has been turned into a gigantic machine whose goal is to foment economic development. The logic of this conception is not to abolish the state, but to defend and strengthen it.

In contrast, anarchists do not assume that the elimination of relative scarcity will automatically lead to the end of the state. They recognize that an anti-authoritarian revolution must entail both specific measures to dismantle the state as well as systemic efforts on the part of human beings to overcome or reduce those aspects of their behavior that gave rise to the state and reinforce it. In other words, anti-authoritarians advocate a mental, or spiritual, revolution that parallels and infuses the

economic and political one.

II. THE STATE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF THE RULING CLASS

The idea that the state is an instrument of a ruling class to maintain its control over the exploited classes is similarly problematical. Taken in its most basic sense, anarchists can well agree with it, but as a serious analysis of the state, it is significantly flawed.

Among other things, the notion implies the separation of the ruling class from the state: there's the ruling class on the one hand, the state, which it controls, on the other. In contrast, anarchists see the state as an essential element of the structure of class society, a kind of skeleton around which ruling class and society are organized. Ruling class and state (and a web of hierarchies) are thoroughly intertwined. What we call the state and what we call the ruling class are abstractions which can only be separated in thought. In reality, they are one more-or-less unified structure that dominates society. The state (with its related political processes) is the chief vehicle through which the different sections of the capitalist class communicate with each other, argue over, and come to agreement about their interests.

The problems with the idea that the state is an instrument of the ruling class are particularly apparent in Engels' discussion of the democratic republic. Here, he was at pains to demonstrate how the capitalists control the state when the workers can vote, speak out, and organize. As we've seen, he argued that the capitalists control the state indirectly, through the corruption of political officials and by the alliance of the government with the stock exchange (whatever that means.)

The closest Engels comes to a convincing explanation is the assertion that, in democratic republics, capitalist rule is assured by the workers' inability to conceive of an alternative.

But if we recognize that the state is a central component of both capitalist economy and society as a whole, the question Engels grappled with ceases to be a problem. The capitalist state is a capitalist institution: its assumptions, structure, procedures, and everything else about it imply, reinforce, and reproduce capitalist relations. The capitalist state doesn't need to be controlled, directly or indirectly, by the capitalist class because the state is at the crux of the entire system. Anyone who is elected to office or otherwise participates in the state must conform to its assumptions.

In addition to its flaws as an analytical proposition, the Marxist view that the state is an instrument of the ruling class implies that the state can be taken over by the working class and used for its own purposes. True enough, Marx and Engels insist in many places that “the proletariat cannot simply take over the existing state machine.”

But this insistence does not flow logically from the theory; in fact, the alternative assumption, that the state CAN be taken over by the workers, is a more reasonable deduction. For if the state is an INSTRUMENT of the capitalist class rather than an intrinsic part of the class structure, it is at least conceivable that it could be seized by the workers and used to pursue their goals. Indeed, this is how the reformist interpreters of Marxism have argued, and in light of this theory, the emergence of reformism within the Marxist movement was not an aberration, but virtually inevitable.

If we recognize the state as a central component of capitalism, we can see why using it to overthrow capitalism and eliminate classes is problematical. Because of its origins, structure, and function, the modern state,



“What do you mean you ‘thought you would get to work shorter hours after the Revolution’?!”

capitalist or “proletarian,” reinforces capitalist property relations and all other hierarchies that define the system. Even if such an apparatus is fully staffed by committed revolutionaries, these people will eventually be forced to conform their behavior to the needs of the state or be forced out or rendered powerless. In short, to use the state means to reproduce capitalism.

One implication of the idea that the state is an instrument of the ruling class is the idea that the state is passive, that it has few interests and little power or dynamic apart from the conscious volition of the ruling class. But even a cursory look at history or contemporary reality suggests that this isn't the case.

The state: (1) tends to perpetuate itself; (2) works to increase its power vis-a-vis the rest of society, including the ruling class; (3) often acts ahead of the conscious decisions of the ruling class, stepping in where action is necessary but before the ruling class can agree on a policy; and (4) occasionally dominates the majority of the ruling class, as in fascist and other types of dictatorships.

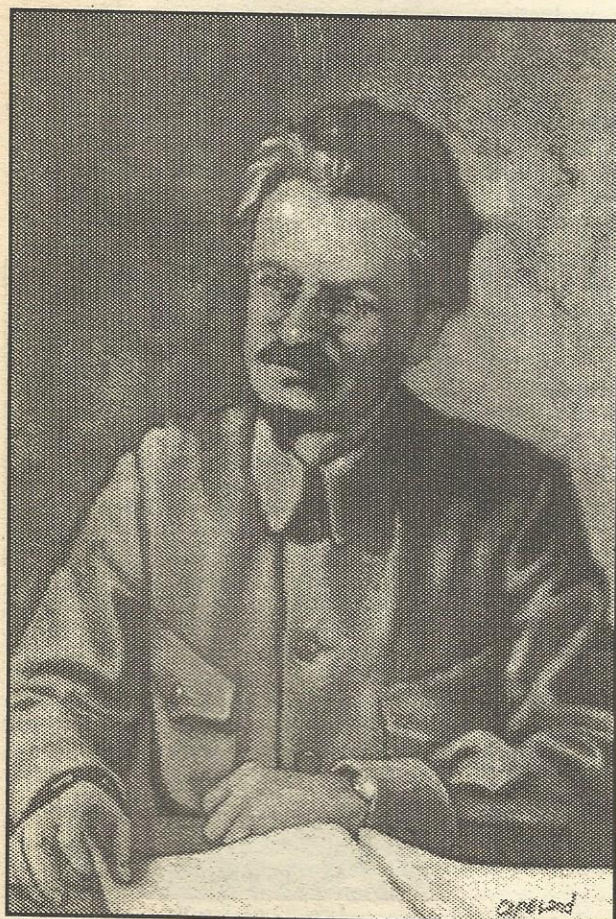
Like the other aspects of Marxist theory we've discussed, this view of the state has notable consequences when the Marxist program is put into practice. Because they believe the state has no internal dynamic apart from the class that controls it, Marxists construct an extremely powerful state, supposedly controlled by the proletariat (or by people who represent it), and then assume that when its tasks are completed it will disappear of its own accord. So certain are they of their theory that they smash all who oppose them, and fail to set up safeguards against the possible abuses of such an apparatus.

Another corollary of the idea that the state is an instrument of the ruling class is the notion that the essence of the state resides in its explicitly repressive functions. Marx, for example, used the term “dictatorship of the bourgeoisie” as a synonym for the capitalist state. While this may have been a useful corrective to the idea that the state is an embodiment of the “general interest” or “historical reason,” it distorts reality. Specifically, the theory downplays the less obvious ways the state maintains class society. As we know, state-run education inculcates ideas that justify the system. The structures of bourgeois democracy co-opt struggles and reinforce the belief in the justice and permanence of the system. Lastly, the state's all-pervading presence creates modes of behavior and mental habits that sustain class society.

III. THE STATE AS AN ELEMENT OF THE SUPERSTRUCTURE

The two aspects of the Marxist theory of the state that we have been discussing flow from the more fundamental conception of base and superstructure. It is tempting to discuss this concept, particularly the notion that the state is part of the superstructure of society, in some detail. But since the topic cannot be easily broached in a few paragraphs and since it will be covered in a later article in this series, I will limit myself to three points.

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Leon “It's one of those darn Kronstadt sailors, and he has an ice-axe!” Trotsky



(Continued from page 15)

A. If it is true, as Marxist theory contends, that the state is essential to maintaining the rule of an exploiting class, doesn't this mean that the state is ESSENTIAL to the very existence of any and all exploitive modes of production? And if this is so, what does it mean to consider the state part of the superstructure of society, which, by definition, is a SECONDARY, derivative phenomenon? If the state is truly essential to exploitive modes of production, it should be considered part of the base of society, or at least part of both base and superstructure, not just the superstructure.

B. Whatever plausibility the view that the state is part of the superstructure may have seems limited to traditional, "free market," capitalism. The entire conception of base and superstructure entails a separation of economics and politics that is of very dubious validity. Indeed, it is only under capitalism that the notion of economics, as distinct from politics or other aspects of social life, has any meaning. In all other forms of class society, economics and politics—in fact, economic, political, gender, racial and other forms of hierarchy—have been obviously intertwined.

Under feudalism, for example, political power was inextricably bound up with economic power. The king granted, say, a duke the use of a tract of land in exchange for swearing loyalty and promising to join him on the battlefield with a given number of knights should he be threatened. The duke would make comparable arrangements with lesser nobles, who would do the same with yet lesser members of the nobility. At the bottom were serfs, land-bound peasants who worked the nobles' land or paid rent in exchange for the right to farm tiny plots.

Where in this setup is the distinction economic and political power? There isn't any. In fact, it is almost impossible to discern the outlines of the state. Given this, where is the dividing line between economic base, which includes the ruling class, and the superstructure, which includes the state? The entire concept of base and superstructure, it seems to me, breaks down here.

C. The concepts of base and superstructure have tended to blind Marxists to certain aspects of capitalist reality. In Marxist theory, social classes are defined primarily in economic terms, specifically their relationship to the means of production and the nature of the means of production themselves. Under feudalism, the ruling class owned or controlled the chief means of production, the land; the exploited class was bound to the land, etc. Under capitalism, the capitalist class is defined as the owner of capital, through which it exploits the working class. The workers are defined as a class that has been separated from the means of production and must sell its labor-power to the capitalists to survive.

One of the problems with this approach is that it has trouble analyzing social strata that can't be defined solely by their relation to the means of production. We refer here specifically to intellectuals, professionals, corporate managers and state functionaries. Except for the wealthiest layers, who manage large corporations and/or own large amounts of stock, these people are not part of the bourgeoisie. But they are also not proletarians or part of the petty bourgeoisie, as are small store-owners or businesspersons. Moreover, even where Marxists have fit these strata into a Marxist framework, the logic of Marxist theory is to deny that they can play an independent role.

Yet it has been the huge growth of these sectors that has been a major factor behind the economic, social and political stability the capitalist system has had, greatly expanding the size of the market, offering



Lenin and Stalin, chillin' on the veranda.

the workers an apparent way out of their class, and providing a social and political buffer between proletariat and bourgeoisie.

Moreover, this phenomenon has played a crucial role in the evolution of Marxism itself. We are referring to the emergence of Communism. In this development, sections of those very strata that Marx virtually overlooked, and which he denied could play an independent social role, built a new form of exploitive society and fashioned themselves into a new ruling class. This class, which I will call the "state class," exploits the working class, not through its direct ownership of the means of production, but through its control of the state, which owns the means of production.

For a theory that claims that it and only it represents the true, scientific understanding of history, this failure is particularly damning.



Mao Zedong and some comrades, about to paint Beijing red.

IV. THE TENDENCY OF THE CAPITALIST STATE TO EXPROPRIATE THE CAPITALISTS

As we saw above, Engels believed that the development of capitalism, particularly the effects of its crises, would force the capitalist state to take over ever more sectors of the economy, in effect, expropriating the capitalists in the interests of defending the system as a whole.

As is the case with so much of Marxist theory, there is some truth in this idea. The capitalist state has clearly been forced to intervene in the economy in the interests of stabilizing the system. Yet, aside from the former and current Communist countries and some Third-World nations, nowhere has the state carried out near the amount of nationalization that Engels described. Even in those European countries in which the state manages most of the public utilities, as well as large "welfare" programs, the bourgeoisie has been far from expropriated.

Engels' thinking on this question is a reflection of a broader problem with Marxist theory. This is a tendency to identify certain trends within economic, social and historical reality, to isolate them from other factors, and to assume that they will be carried out to their logical conclusions. Marx and Engels assumed, for example, that the dynamics of capitalism would lead to the polarization of society between an ever larger mass of impoverished workers and an increasingly tiny class of capitalists, as the middle sectors of society and ruined capitalists are thrown into the ranks of the proletariat.

Yet many of the trends within capitalist society that Marx and Engels described, the so-called capitalist "laws of motion," have been partially or completely offset by countervailing tendencies. Thus, the polarization between working class and capitalist class has been offset by the growth of the very middle sectors Marx and Engels believed would be eliminated.

The theoretical penchant of Marx and Engels that we have been discussing can be described as a tendency to elaborate a model of, say, social reality, and then to proceed as if this model actually determined the development of that reality, in other words, a tendency to believe that the model is more fundamental, more "real," than the reality it is meant to explain. This is an example of the underlying Idealist nature of Marxist theory that we have discussed elsewhere.

If this problem—both the general theoretical tendency and the specific prediction that the capitalist state would, over time, expropriate the capitalists—were limited to the realm of ideas, it would be of little interest. But it has had significant consequences in the material world.

For one thing, it has led the vast majority of Marxists to support the intervention of the capitalist state in the economy, including and especially the nationalization of industries, and to view such intervention as historically progressive.

One reason for this is that for Marxists, a major problem with capitalism is its chaotic character, the fact that it operates through the market and generates periodic crises. To Marx and Engels, the opposite of, and answer to, this "anarchy of production" was what they called planning, the direct, conscious ordering of production and other economic activities, even (or especially) when carried out in a hierarchical manner. Thus, they considered the formation of monopolies and trusts, themselves the result of capitalist crises, to be steps away from the free market and toward planning:

"In the trusts freedom of competition changes into its very opposite—into monopoly; and the production without any definite plan of capitalistic society capitulates to the production upon a definite plan of the invading socialist society." (Engels, "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific", in Feuer, p. 102.)

Thus, despite their claims to be opponents of the capitalist state and advocates of the abolition of the state altogether, Marxists ACT on the belief that the capitalist state represents an element of planning and justice, a kind of socialist principle, within capitalist society.

THE CONTRADICTIONS OF THE STATE

Having discussed certain facets of the Marxist theory of the state, we can now show how this theory leads to the Marxist concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, through an analysis of what Marxists would call the "contradictions of the capitalist state."

In the Marxist world view, all reality, "material" and "ideal," natural and social, is in motion; it is always changing and evol-

ing. Moreover, this change does not occur in a linear, mechanical fashion, but through a series of conflicts, or contradictions. In fact, these contradictions are embedded in—the actual substructure of—the reality we see.

Thus, capitalism is based on (embodies) the contradiction between Capital and Labor. Labor represents human beings (the working class), who own nothing but their "labor-power," their ability to work. Capital represents "dead labor," products of labor (owned by the capitalists) that dominate and exploit living labor. Capitalism develops through the conflict between workers and capitalists, which ultimately leads to the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a classless society.

The capitalist state participates in this conflict and has its own internal contradictions. Although Marx and Engels did not produce a unified description of them, it is possible to deduce one from what we have discussed.

The chief contradiction of the capitalist state is between its role as an instrument of the capitalist class and its tendency to become increasingly independent of that class. As we have seen, the chief role of the capitalist state is to maintain the capitalists as the ruling class and keep the working class in a state of subjection.

However, as capitalism develops, the working class gets larger and the class struggle gets more intense. At a certain point, the working class gets large enough, organized enough, and conscious enough to pose a threat to the system. At this point, the state becomes larger, more powerful, and consumes ever more resources. At times, the class struggle becomes so intense that the state becomes somewhat independent of the capitalist class, balancing, in Marx and Engels' expression, between the warring classes, a phenomenon they called Bonapartism.

The tendency of the state to increase its intervention in the economy parallels this political development. Over time, the state expropriates individual capitalists in the interests of defending capitalism as a whole. The logical outcome of this process is the expropriation of the capitalist class by the state. Thus, the state, an instrument of the capitalists to maintain their own rule, destroys the capitalists themselves. This process both proves the social obsolescence of the capitalists and creates the technical conditions for the overthrow of capitalism and its replacement by communism.

This contradiction has its reflection in the ideological realm. This is between the state's claim to represent the interests of all society and its actual function as defender of the rule of an elite. As it takes over increasing sectors of the economy, the state's new role poses the demand that it should truly act in the interests of all members of society, not just the capitalists. Since it can't, it raises the need to overthrow it and replace it with a state that will.

That state is, in Marxist theory, the dictatorship of the proletariat, which both resolves and abolishes the contradictions of the capitalist state and the system as a whole. How it is supposed to do this and why it doesn't will be the topic of our next installment.★



Fidel "Don't show the North American delegation all those queers in the mental hospital" Castro



Photo by João Roberto Ripper

The Guarani-Kaiowá community of Paraguassu taking back their land.

The Guarani Say: Death Before Eviction

TRANSLATED BY TODD PRANE

Two hundred and fifty Guarani-Kaiowá indigenous people in Jaguapiré, Brazil have threatened to kill themselves in a collective suicide if they are obligated to abandon their legally recognized territory. Ranchers from the area, who have invaded the Guarani territories and have forced the inhabitants to abandon them, are waiting for a decision from the state court in an attempt to achieve the definitive expulsion of the indigenous people. During the month of May, Marta Silva Vito Guarani, president of the Kaguatoca Association for Displaced Indians, traveled to the United States for Amazon Week V to let the international community know about the dramatic situation that the Guarani people find themselves in.

"How much time will we have to wait before Brazilian justice recognizes our rights to our land?" was the question asked by Marta Vito Guarani during her press conference in San Francisco. More than 11,000 indigenous people, including the Guarani-Kaiowá, Nandeva and M'bya, have abandoned their land in the state of Mato Grosso do Sul due to the invasion of their lands by ranchers supported by the local government. The indigenous territories in the state have been reduced to half their previous size during the last decade, and they are currently less than 25,000 hectares (62,500 acres) in total.

According to Marta Vito, "The cattle ranchers always win in the courts, while they violate the rights of Indians on the land. We are like the plants: We cannot live without our earth, without our land. More than 7,000 Indians are working in the coal mines, and in the sugar-cane processing plants. They are living in slavery. This is the integration that white society offers us. But we are Indians, the original owners of this land, and we cannot accept this humiliating and inhuman situation."

EXPULSION AND SUICIDE

"We are the poorest and the most abandoned people in Brazil. In their desperation, the Guarani, especially youths, have resorted to suicide." Indigenous organizations confirm that close to 300 indigenous people have killed themselves in the past decade. The Brazilian government has registered 111 cases between 1986 and 1993.

The community of Posto Indígena Durados, where Marta is from, has had the highest rate of suicides in the country.

In 1992, after years of struggle, the Brazilian Ministry of Justice declared 2,089 hectares (5,422 acres) as the indigenous

area of Jaguapiré, in the state of Mato Grosso do Sul, to be the permanent possession of the Guarani-Kaiowá. In spite of the legal recognition of the land, and even though it is one of the areas most densely populated by indigenous people in Brazil, the Guarani-Kaiowá have had to subsist on small pieces of land, and submit themselves to the most brutal social and economic conditions. The large region of jungle and savanna that was once used by the Guarani for hunting, fishing, and agriculture, has been reduced to pastures for cattle, generally subsidized by the state.

Ownership of land in the state of Mato Grosso do Sul is the most concentrated in the country, with 1% of the population owning more than 70% of the land.

During the last few years, two cattle ranchers, who invaded most of the Guarani lands, have forced them, through threats and intimidation, to abandon their land. Moreover, they have deforested the majority of the land to convert it to pasture. At the end of last year, these same two cattle ranchers made a formal petition to judge Jean Marcos Ferreira to evict the Guarani. The petition was accepted by the judge. The Nucleus of Indigenous Rights (NDI), a non-governmental organization that promotes human rights for the indigenous people of Brazil, FUNAI (the Brazilian Indian Agency), and the federal district attorney's office all appealed the judge's decision against the Guarani people. The case was then transferred to the first section of the federal appeals court in São Paulo, and awaits the decision of Judge Pedro Rotta.

If the eviction is upheld, 250 Guarani people have threatened to commit collective suicide, a path that they have chosen to confront the continued invasions of their land.

Economic activities like cattle ranching have depleted the natural resources that the Guarani depend upon. The destruction of their way of life has led young and old alike to feel humiliated and discouraged to the point of deepest depression.

The Guarani are divided into three groups—the Nandeva, Kaiowá and M'bya—and live in the south of Brazil, from the state of Espírito Santo to Rio Grande do Sul. The majority of them live in the state of Mato Grosso do Sul.

The pressure and colonization of Guarani lands has intensified due to the fact that they are located in the area of the Paraná-Paraguay government project to connect Bolivia and Paraguay to the Atlantic. This project would flood many indigenous territories and destroy the wetlands and savanna.

Although the case of Jaguapiré is one of the most serious, another 11 Guarani com-

munities have also been threatened or evicted. According to the Indigenous Missionary Council (CIMI), another Guarani community, located in Takuaraty in Mato Grosso do Sul, has just recovered its land after being evicted six times. After that land was recovered, about 300 Guarani-Kaiowá burned a bridge that allowed access to the land. They were also accused by ranchers of having burned down a house and a school. According to CIMI, however, these acts were perpetrated by a non-indigenous settler in an attempt to provoke military action against the Guarani of Takuaraty. Even though the military police occupying the area have asserted that their position is neutral, they have acted against the indigenous population.

RESISTANCE AND REPRESSION

The Kaguatoca Association for Displaced Indians has united all of the indigenous groups of the state to reclaim land for the dispossessed and to prevent future evictions. Eleven thousand have been evicted in Mato Grosso do Sul, 9,000 of whom are Guarani. Marta Vito Guarani founded the association after the assassination of her uncle, Marçal Tupã de Souza, a well-known indigenous leader and one of the hundreds of leaders assassinated for their resistance to the invasions. "In Brazil," Marta said, "the killing of Native people doesn't surprise anyone: not politicians, not the government and not the civilian population." Even though many assassinations have been investigated, none have been resolved.

The Guarani were able to resist the invasions until the beginning of this century. Now new pressures make this resistance even more difficult. "For the Guarani, the basis of their resistance is their religion. But today, many Protestant churches come to our communities with the same discourse that the Jesuits came with during the 'discovery' of Brazil. They are killing our culture. Without a cultural identity, our people wander the streets of the cities, drinking, panhandling, being mocked by white society."

Twenty-one Guarani-Kaiowá communities that make up the Atyguassú, a federation of Guarani communities that brings together traditional elders (religious leaders) and younger community-based leaders, that the Kaguatoca Association is a member of, were to participate, at the end of June, in an assembly that would represent all of the indigenous peoples of the state of Mato Grosso. They hope that this large coalition will operate more effectively to lobby for territorial rights.

POSITIVE SIGNS

In an unprecedented decision, the supreme court of São Paulo rejected the decision of the local court in favor of the ranch company, Sattin, S.A., which sought to relocate the Guarani of Sete Cerros. Moreover, the court accepted the petition by the Nucleus for Indigenous Rights to prohibit a judge from Mato Grosso do Sul from participating in cases related to the Guarani in the future, since all of her decisions have been in favor of the ranchers' interests, and have resulted in thousands of displaced Indians.

In spite of the international pressure that Brazil faces, and the condemnation of the violation of human rights that is being committed there, nothing has been done to demarcate indigenous territories nor to prevent the suicides and violence from continuing. Indigenous territories were supposed to have been demarcated by Oct. 5, 1993. This never happened. According to official sources, four Guarani committed suicide at the end of 1993, and two more cases occurred in the beginning of 1994.

In a letter recently sent to FUNAI, the community of Jaguapiré confirmed that they have "decided to die before abandoning Jaguapiré," and it is possible that if urgent attention is not directed to the cases, what is now a threat could become a regrettable fact.

This case has been in limbo since January. With media attention now turned toward the new Brazilian president, it is feared that Judge Pedro Rotta may order the eviction of the Guarani. It is crucial that pressure be kept on Rotta to rule in favor of the Guarani.

Send letters to:

Exmo. Sr.
Dr. Pedro Rotta
Tribunal Regional Federal da 3ª Região
Rua Libero Badaró, no. 39 Centro
01009-000 São Paulo, SP
Brazil

For more information, write:
Amanaka'a Amazon Network
584 Broadway #814
NY, NY 10012

or call:
(212) 925-5299

[Sources for the original Amor y Rabia article include information from the Rainforest Action Network and Marta Vito Guarani originally published in Abya Yala, the magazine of SAIIC. Thanks to Amanaka'a for additional information used in this article.]

US Elections

(Continued from page 2)

the Democratic Party. Bill Clinton's ascendancy represented that defeat. Despite what Rush Limbaugh says, Bill Clinton is no liberal. Clinton has accepted the basic features of the new world order: free trade, lower wages, more prisons, more cops, more executions. Two things distinguished Bill Clinton from George Bush: opposition to certain elements of the social agenda of the Christian Right (on abortion, gay rights, etc.), and his commitment to a higher level of government support for key US industries in a more competitive international market, or what has been called an "industrial policy." These sorts of differences were not going to break the alliance of forces that had been served so well by 12 years of Republican presidential rule. What broke that alliance (temporarily) was probably the Los Angeles rebellion. The Los Angeles rebellion was the largest urban uprising in US history, and it served notice that millions of people were no longer willing to quietly accept the disintegration of their communities under a reign of police terror. It was in this context that Bill Clinton, by virtue of not being George Bush, could become the representative of a kinder, gentler new world order that might be able to pacify the unruly "rainbow coalition" that burnt down Los Angeles.

THE RISE OF THE CHRISTIAN RIGHT

The history of the Christian Right has been told better elsewhere than is possible here. What makes this election particularly frightening to so many people is the prominence of the Christian Right among the victors. The Christian Right was deliberately built up from practically nothing by the right-wing of capital as a mass counterweight to the people's movements of the late '60s and early '70s. Its social agenda was used as a battering ram against the widespread popular support that existed for those movements. But as the Christian Right has grown, it has become increasingly self-directed, and has begun to spawn what can only be regarded as a theocratic fascist movement. It is a monster that can act independently of its creator. An example of this was the 1992 Republican National Convention, where the hatefulness of the Christian Right was on display to the whole country, no doubt much to the distress of the section of the corporate elite that was backing Bush. Another example of where the Christian Right has shown its capacity for independent action has been Operation Rescue and similar groups, which have openly embraced illegality and an open contempt for the norms of capitalist "democracy." Already there is overlap between sections of the Christian Right and the racist right of the Klan, nazis, and Christian Identity. Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition, which is focused on winning local electoral contests, is in effect building a party within the Republican Party that can force the adoption of its agenda simply by flexing its muscle.

The Mexican Army Prepares for Democracy

(Continued from page 5)

(especially after the death of Colosio), and those who change sides keep up to date on the order of the day. Meanwhile, popular discontent, generalized resistance, the takeovers of town halls, municipal presidencies, police stations, etc., bank expropriations, and kidnappings are increasing. All of this, without a doubt, affects the ruling classes, who, in the face of this insecurity, decide to take all of their dividends out of the country. Foreign investment slows, and the stock market doesn't recover from its up-and-down cycle. In the face of this situation, Salinas sees his business—that is, his development project, NAFTA—threatened, and to save it he uses dollars from the national reserves and stops the rise of interest rates. In this way, to guarantee "national security," he creates a new monster: the Coordinación de Seguridad Pública de la Nación (Coordination of Public Security of the Nation—CSPN), and appoints Arsenio Farell to head it, who has until now served as the Secretary of Preventative Social Work, leaving in his wake the almost complete destruction of the independent workers movement.

Salinas's new creation manifests itself, once again, within the personal style that has characterized his presidency: the IRON FIST, violating the Constitution anew, and

It would be a mistake to think that the Christian Right are simply pawns of the corporate elite. Similarly, it is a mistake to think that the only form that fascism can take in the US is that of open white supremacy. The maintenance of white supremacy is a crucial part of the appeal of fascism, but it is not its only appeal. It is not possible to anticipate all the variations on the fascist theme that are possible. The masses of white middle and working class people who must be the base of any fascist movement are subject to many anxieties that can be played on, as has been demonstrated by the various anti-queer ballot initiatives in various states.

DISAFFECTION ON THE LEFT AND RIGHT

Bill Clinton's campaign was also aided by the recession that we have since been told is over. This recession was really only the latest episode in the ongoing situation—tragedy of global capitalist restructuring that has been running since the early '70s. This recession threw hundreds of thousands of people out of work. (Those no longer looking for work or who have accepted lower-paying or part-time work are no longer counted as unemployed—hence "the recovery.") Particularly hard-hit by the recession, in addition to communities of color, were the children of the white "middle class" working in the new service and information industries. After 12 years of Republican promises that welfare cuts and family values would deliver a better life, the recession split the white suburban vote enough for Clinton to win.

The 1992 and 1994 elections were each an expression, in different ways, of a deep disaffection from the existing order. In 1992 that disaffection found two outlets—Bill Clinton and Ross Perot. Bill Clinton won the election with a combination of white suburban voters who wanted to throw Bush out but were not ready to cast their lot in with Texas's answer to Napoleon, and the traditional urban Democratic base. In 1994 the traditional urban Democratic base sat out the election and the white suburbanites united behind the demagoguery of Newt Gingrich and Pete Wilson.

A look at the breakdown of the 1994 vote is instructive. Almost without exception, the Democrats won majorities among the low- and middle-income voters, among non-white voters, among urbanites, among youth, among women, and among gays, lesbians and bisexuals—groups that, taken together, constitute an overwhelming majority of the potential voting populace. But because these groups are less likely to vote, the average voter was a straight, white, upper-middle class suburban male—and he voted accordingly.

THE WRONG LESSONS

Looking at these figures, many radical activists are likely to think that they point in an obvious direction. Our responsibility, they will argue (as they have in the past), is to register and mobilize this potential majority of voters to defeat the Republicans. Or, if they are more radical, they will argue

guaranteeing the "order" that preserves dictatorships. This "coordination" reminds us of Stalin's KGB, the Nazi Gestapo, in the bloody days of history, or, more recent, it evokes images of the Dina of Pinochet, the Dincote of his neoliberal colleague Fujimori, or the G-2 of Castro.

Even though the federal army, by means of their "highest leader," Secretary of National Defense Antonio Riviello Bazán, indicated to the press that they will not be involved in the decisions of the Coordination of National Security, it is well-known that [now ex-] President Salinas intends to group all of the repressive bodies (judicial police, federal police, the army, etc.) into this coordination in order to get "a better job done": Repression.

The latest news of the coordination is that it is involved in a plan to "counteract violence in the country" by means of "surveillance of the highways." They will have at their disposal the highest level of technology, using sophisticated helicopters connected via satellite. They will also be well outfitted with armaments.

(1) *La Jornada*, Monday, May 16, 1994.

(2) *Newsweekly Proceso*, No. 913/May 2, 1994. "They are already practicing with anti-insurgency vehicles in Military Camp Number One."

that since the Democrats are obviously not interested in representing the interests of these various groups, we need to build a third party that will mobilize them and give them leverage in the electoral process. These solutions will not work because they don't address the larger social processes that have brought us to where we are.

GET OUT THE VOTE?

The 1994 elections were the first time in a decade that Jesse Jackson has not waged a large-scale voter registration and mobilization drive. In a great many races, a higher turn-out among Black voters would have given the Democratic candidate a victory. Quite conceivably, the Democrats could have retained control of the House of Representatives, if not the Senate. But what would have been the results for the Black community? Would GATT go down to defeat? Would the cops stop terrorizing the Black community? Would we have won guaranteed health care? Would the courts stop packing the prisons with young, Black bodies? From the point of view of much of the Black community, the difference between the Democrats and the Republicans is a matter of the speed at which the situation will go from bad to worse. There is no dignity in knocking on doors and urging people to vote for being shoved into a meat grinder at a slower speed. After 10 years, Jesse Jackson has exhausted much of his insurgent credibility on such efforts, and wisely chose not to squander what remains. It is the responsibility of political activists to propose a plan of action that stops the meat grinder.

BUILD AN ELECTORAL ALTERNATIVE?

One plan of action that many are likely to propose is to build a third party that will fight for the interests of the oppressed in this society. There are already several efforts underway in this direction. There is the vaguely defined New Party, there are the Greens, who have been waging local electoral efforts with varying degrees of success, there are the Labor Party Advocates, who are fighting for the unions to establish a third party. There are different ideas about how such an effort will lead to real change. Some people believe that such a party might be able to drag the Democrats to the left by denying them the margin of victory. Others believe that it is possible that such a party might capture the majority of Democrats, unite them with the currently disenfranchised, replacing the Democratic Party, and actually winning and becoming the governing party. Both of these could be called strategies of realignment—by creating a third party we can force the realignment of politics in the US.

THE FIRE LAST TIME

The last time this actually happened was 1860, when the Republican Party, with the support of the movement to abolish slavery, rose to power and the country was propelled into civil war. The Republicans were successful because they united the new class of industrial capitalists in the North, the landless poor who wanted to see the West opened up to small farmers instead of slave plantations, and the abolitionists who stood for the radical possibility of a new society.

None of the current proposals for a third party represent anything like such a dynamic alliance. Rather they represent bitter elements in the old and no-longer-new social movement bureaucracies who have been discarded by the Democrats as they have revealed their irrelevance to the politics of the new world order. For a third party to succeed it must have a vision of a new society that it is able to convince people is worth fighting for, and it must represent new forces within society that have been excluded from power and who are determined to reorganize society. That is to say that before there can be such a party there must be a movement. If such a movement exists, it may or may not set out to form a third party. (The creation of the Republican Party can be seen as an effort by Northern capital to prevent the more militant abolitionists from attempting to ignite a slave insurrection.) But to try to build such a party without a movement is like buying a computer with a fancy monitor and printer but no processor, hard drive or RAM. It might look nice, but it won't do shit.

The Los Angeles rebellion suggests that we are not so far off from 1860. There are contradictions in US society that are potentially as explosive as those that set

off the Civil War. But if radical activists want to tap those contradictions, we should not squander our paltry resources trying to build a third party when there is no movement.

A MOVEMENT OF AUTONOMOUS RESISTANCE

For all intents and purposes, there is no left in the US. There is a very thin layer of radical activists, the great majority of whom are demoralized often to the point of inactivity, that supports a handful of weak projects and a couple of dozen tiny sects. There is a larger collection of people associated with the various social movements and the struggles of particular communities. Demoralization among this group is also high. If all these people could be energized to do so, they might have some sort of marginal impact on the next set of elections, knocking on doors for liberal Democrats. Our energies are much better spent trying to find ways to ignite and participate in struggles of resistance to the agenda of the ruling elite. There is the potential for such struggles everywhere. Each attack on the poor in the form of cutbacks, layoffs, or police repression needs to be met with defiance.

In Feb., 1960, four Black students went into Woolworth's in Greensboro, N.C., sat down at the counter, and asked to be served. At some point an action will be taken that seems to express particularly clearly not just our contempt for the existing system but the possibility of a better world. We can try to guess in advance what that action will be, but we will know it by how it captures the imaginations of those who were until that moment hopeless. We must seize on that action, repeat it a thousand times in every community, and elaborate it into a movement.

While we are doing this, while we are waiting for the spark that sets off the explosion, we need to be educating ourselves. We need to be studying what is happening right now in the world we live in, and studying the history of previous struggles. We need to be attempting to identify where we see the weak points in this system. All this so that when the spark comes, we can identify it. We need to be organizing ourselves. We need to be putting in place the structures of communications, of decision-making, and of coordination that will enable us to act decisively when the opportunity arrives.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY AND THE NEXT LEFT

When the four students in Greensboro asked for a cup of coffee, they did so less than a year after the collapse of the US-sponsored Batista regime in Cuba, and at a moment when Africa was in the midst of a dramatic process of decolonization. The sit-in movement they sparked developed into a broader movement for Black liberation, and inspired a number of other movements of the 1960s, but it did so in the context of the international struggles—in Algeria, in Viet Nam, in Latin America—of that period. If there is a single feature that defines the new world order, that defines capitalist restructuring, it is that it is a global process. No movement can hope to challenge the new world order if it confines itself within the borders of a single nation-state. Any effective movement must be international in scope. This presents new questions for radical activists that we will have to answer. But the crucial thing is that we must begin the process of building the international movement by laying the foundations of international solidarity today. Every time a strike or a food riot rocks the capital of another country, we need to get into the streets to say we are with those who are defying the new world order everywhere. We need to engage in such actions not only to support movements elsewhere, but to make them examples of what we might do here.

The situation that confronts us is that of building a new radical movement attuned to the new realities, the next left. How we respond to the elections is an indication of whether or not we have the vision to see the possibilities that these new realities create. The elections have plunged many into despair. But they have also pushed many people to the breaking point, to the point where they ask "if not me, who? if not now, when?" We must be ready to seize on the opportunities to transform such individual sparks of resistance into a firestorm that will burn away the rotten structures of the old world and clear the ground for the creation of the new.★

IGNATIEV RESPONDS TO THE PG

To the Editors:

In an article in the November/December 1994 issue of *Love and Rage*, I wrote that white people are those who enjoy the privileges of the white skin, among which are "expecting, if they are female, that the state will protect them from strangers." In a note appended to my article, the editorial board wrote that the women on it "strongly disagree" with my statement, which "runs contrary to the newspaper's commitment to recognizing the way in which state power is used to uphold patriarchy."

It is true that the state upholds the patriarchy, but like every other form of domination, the patriarchy is decisively shaped by white supremacy. In this society, the black woman is public property, the white woman is private property. The state protects the white woman from strangers (not from her husband, father, uncles and brothers), not because it cares for her as a person but because she is the property of a white man, and the job of the state is to protect private property. The state does not protect the black woman from strangers because it does not respect the property rights of the black man. Of course it does not completely protect the white man's woman, any more than it protects his car or his stereo; but it tries, and statistics show that the safest thing to be in this country is a white woman.

Those who disagreed with my statement offered as evidence their own experience of being harassed by police or physically abused in the presence of police who turned the other way. I don't question their accounts; indeed they prove my point: they come from women who show in their dress and manner that they have chosen not to be the property of any man, and therefore have placed themselves beyond the shield of whiteness.

That is a very un-white thing to do and I should think that as anarchists the women on the editorial board would consider it a badge of honor that they are not entirely part of the white race (an oppressive social formation). Instead, they insist on identifying themselves as "white women." Well, they can't have it both ways: either they act like white women ("ladies") and subject themselves to the degrading protection of the patriarchal state that despises them, or they renounce that particular white-skin privilege. If they renounce it, they must recognize that in doing so they are taking a big step toward becoming something other than white, and can expect to be fair game for every pig in and out of uniform who wants to assert his masculine right over public property. Surely, they don't think they can take part in revolutionary politics while continuing to be white, or that they can cease to be white without paying the price.

Noel Ignatiev, co-editor *Race Traitor*
PO Box 603
Cambridge, MA 02140-0005
October 30, 1994

SOLIDARITY, NOT SECTARIANISM

To the *Compañeras/os* in the North American Anti-Authoritarian Zapatista Solidarity Community:

This letter concerns misunderstandings that have come up around material aid sent to the EZLN by members of anti-authoritarian circles in the US and México with varied political backgrounds. A successful, broad campaign has been carried out. Unfortunately, due to general misunderstandings which have not been clarified, rumors have circulated regarding the fate of aid sent to the EZLN. It has been said that some of the aid sent to the EZLN was appropriated by members of Amor y Rabia (Love and Rage) in México. It has also been rumored that the aid which the EZLN received was misrepresented as being entirely from Love and Rage.

These rumors are not true. Aid specifically earmarked for the EZLN did indeed reach them and the sources of the aid were identified accurately. There were mistakes made as well as misunderstandings in the process that led to the confusion. A big part of the problem was a lack of trust amongst anti-authoritarians with different focuses and opinions. The group of people participating in this project represented different tendencies within the anti-authoritarian movement. This was part of its success initially (many people were involved in the effort), but later may have been the cause of some of the division and suspicion.

It is unfortunate and ironic that the anarchist/anti-authoritarian movement, with few existing structures and inexperienced in this kind of work, conducted a fairly successful solidarity project but is now discrediting itself with rumors, suspicion and sectarianism.

One of the saddest things about what has happened is that many of us seem to have lost sight of what we are struggling for. We would like to see a renewed effort to support the EZLN's struggle. We wrote this letter to clear up the rumors that are circulating and reopen public forums of discussion so that we can continue the work we have already laid the groundwork for.

The Struggle Continues!

Love and Rage Mexican Solidarity Working Group/New York City

Nightcrawlers Anarchist Black Cross

LEARNING FROM PAST MISTAKES

Dear *Love and Rage*,

I was very happy to see the article on Refugio del Rio Grande in your last issue. I have known one of the long time workers at the camp, Pio Celestino for many years (we met in jail in South Carolina back in '78). It is my view that such things as the camp are important to support because we

anarchists should be directly involved in the struggles of the people. Modern anarchists, unfortunately, seem to isolate themselves from the world. Which brings me to all the new ABC stuff. I am happy to see an ABC network forming and the involvement of people of color is a step in the right direction. But I already see this new network repeating one of the major mistakes from the past. Of all the forms of struggle, prisoner support work, by its very nature, must reach out to those who will support that struggle. Now I have not talked to others who have been involved in prison struggles to find out why they are not involved, so I can only speak for myself. When I am trying to get the word out on a case or prison struggle, I try to get stuff out to every possible supporter, this is called outreach. When the first letter went out about the idea of a new ABC network I wrote back saying that I supported the idea. In the paper that I work on, *Bayou La Rose*, I plugged the ABC conference. The first list of prisoner support groups that came out the *Bayou* was listed. Now it seems that I have been excluded. The only stuff I have seen for awhile has been printed in other papers. I read in one paper that the new ERN [Emergency Response Network] was activated on two cases, had they sent me information on those two cases it would have been printed in the last issue of the *Bayou*. It is my hope that my exclusion has more to do with the fact that I get way behind in my letter writing and I don't go to many conferences than any dogmatic factionalism. The fact is that most of my time and money goes into the cases I am working on and putting out *Bayou La Rose*. The point being is if one is serious about doing prisoner support work then you must learn to do outreach and connect with those who are also doing the same type of work. Anything less is just wasting time. The reality is that there ain't a lot of people involved in doing real prisoner support work, and if those who are involved in this work cannot unite without excluding people, how can a real solidarity movement ever be built? As an anarchist I have been involved in prisoner support work since back in the '60s, and I have seen this same mistake being made time after time. The new ABC network can go a long way in helping developing a solidarity movement, but only if it can overcome the tendency of isolationism.

In Solidarity,
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COMRADE IN POLAND

Gdansk, Poland
19 November 1994
¡Hola Compas!

There's a really lively anarchist movement here in Gdansk. In the 3 days since I

made contact with them, I've been to 2 meetings: one, of approximately 25 people was to plan a demonstration against new taxes going into effect next week; the other, of about 15, was for this magazine they publish, *Mat' Pariadka*. [...] They will be doing an English-language "Best of the last 2 years" of the magazine.

Most of the people in the group are young—early 20s or less—and pretty punk, but there are a small core who have been active since the communist days and the "heroic" period of Solidarnosc. (Incidental aside—I visited the Solidarnosc monument outside the ex-Lenin Shipyards, which is very impressive, and just a stone's throw away was a big billboard advertising the Solidarnosc-Chase Bank! Unfortunately, I didn't have a stone handy.) Last night I watched a video of some of their recent actions. One was on May Day, where they sat down and blocked a major intersection, and as they were being hauled off by the police there were lots of shouts of "Gestapo" from passersby. Another was a march they led into the city hall, disrupting the meeting, in protest of the water service being sold off to a private (French) firm, which included hundreds of "regular" people, many of them pensioners. November 9, which is sort of equivalent to July 4, they had a large anti-nationalism demonstration. All in all it's very impressive. (I just realized that I forgot to say that they're part of the FA (Federacja Anarchistyczna—Polish Anarchist Federation.)) Everywhere I go around here I see lots of circle A's and other anarchist graffiti, but also quite a bit from fascists as well. While not as bad as Germany and some other places (like the US?), there is a serious and dangerous fascist movement. Last week a punk in Szczecin was killed by nazis. [...]

As for the rest of my trip before this, my previous stop was in Berlin where I participated in a couple of demos: one large, fairly ordinary one commemorating Pogromnacht (Nov. 9); the other a full-fledged Autonome deal over the re-opening of a bridge in Kruezberg. Fun, but I never had much serious political contact there, so not much to say. Before that was Amsterdam, where I was in contact with the squatter/anarchist scene. It's quite large and active, but with the still-high level of social benefits and low level of repression seems awful privileged. Example: I went along on the opening of a new squat, broad daylight Sunday afternoon. Some neighbor informs the owner who calls the police who arrive as we're inside smoking a huge spliff, which I instantly and needlessly try to hide. They take information from people—and scold the owner for keeping a flat empty and go away.

London—[...] Think of the '89 SF gathering, only worse.

Con Amor y Rabia,
Bruce

LETTERS



The German and Dutch delegation of the international art group Neue Anstaendigkeit (New Decency) protesting in Washington, DC against the German ruling class.