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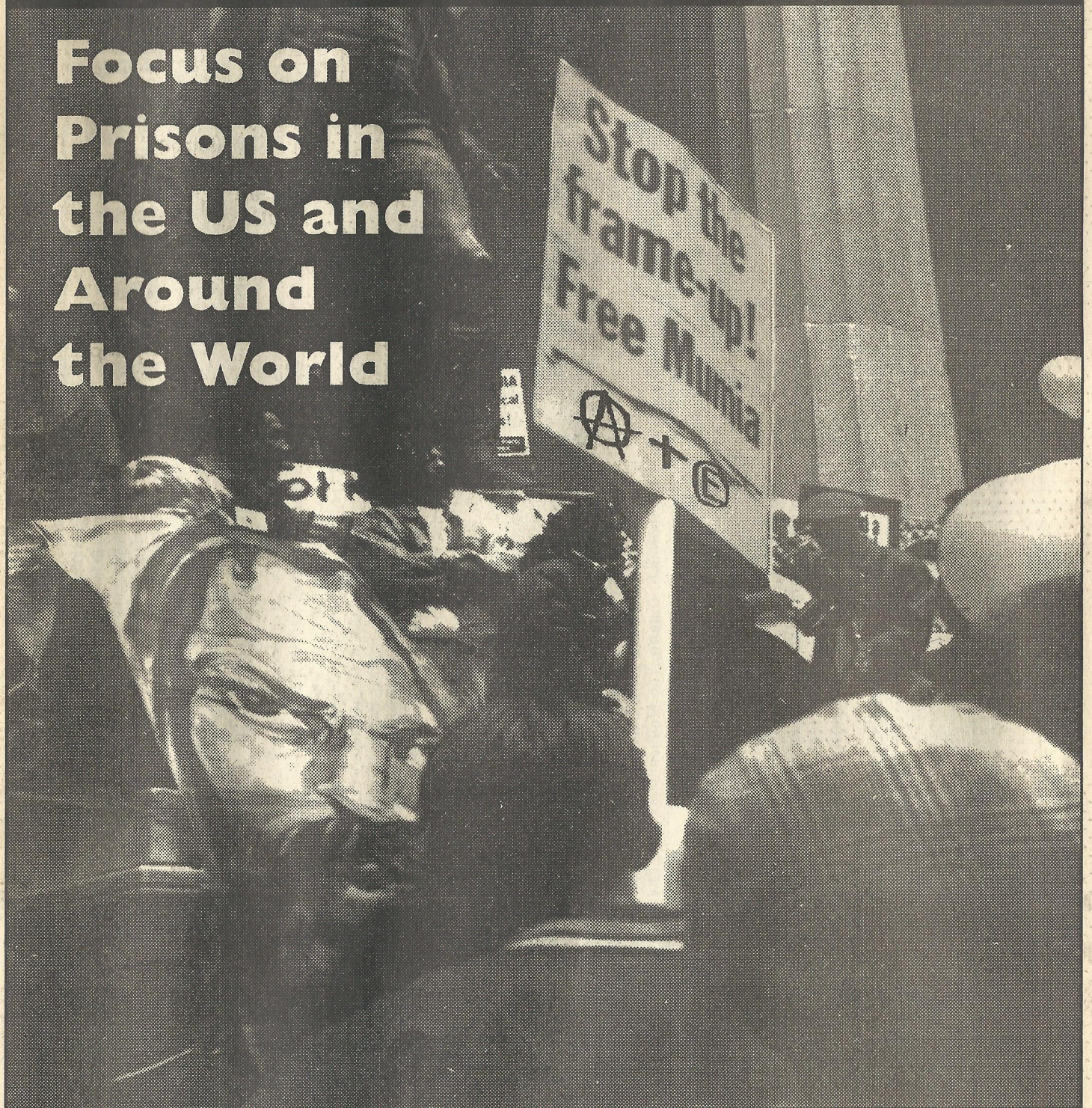
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LOVE & RAGE

REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHIST NEWSPAPER

Focus on Prisons in the US and Around the World



Volume 8, Number 1

Jan / Feb 1997

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Pittsburgh Protests Police Brutality

BY DUFF MCINTOSH

On November 16, 1996 two thousand people marched in Pittsburgh to protest the acquittal of a Brentwood, Pennsylvania cop, John Vojtas, who was charged with in the death of Jonny Gammage. Gammage, a 31-year-old African-American, was the cousin and business partner of Pittsburgh Steelers football player Ray Seals. He was killed while being subdued by five cops on October 12, 1995 in suburban Pittsburgh. The case has become a focal point in fights against police brutality and racism in the US.

Gammage was stopped in Overbrook, PA by Lt. Mullholland on Route 51 for a routine traffic violation. Gammage drove a Jaguar with expired Florida plates and his cousin's registration. The cop said he saw him braking, driving erratically, and thought his behavior was suspicious. Mullholland was joined by officers John Vojtas, Michael Albert, Shawn Patterson and Sgt. Keith Henderson. Vojtas



Jonny Gammage: Before...

said Gammage got out of the car with a date book and a cellular phone and attacked him. A brawl ensued. Vojtas claimed that Gammage bit his thumb in the fight. An autopsy showed that Gammage was brutally beaten around the head and groin, and that he suffocated from pressure on his back and neck while lying on the ground with cops on top of him. On November 3, 1995 a coroner's jury unanimously found cause to charge all five cops with criminal homicide. But on November 27 District Attorney Bob Colville ignored the jury and charged three cops with only third degree murder, official oppression and involuntary manslaughter. Then on December 28, Judge James R. McGregor ordered the three to stand trial for only involuntary manslaughter, the lowest form of homicide.

CONFERENCE

On February 10, 1996 a conference on the Gammage case and police brutality was held at Carnegie Mellon University, put on by the Campus Coalition for Peace and Justice. Participants came from Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Philadelphia, Syracuse, West Virginia, and Georgia, and included community activists, radical and liberal groups: the American Civil Liberties Union, Million Man March Committee, Coalition of African Americans for Justice, Alliance for Progressive Action, MOVE, National Coalition on Police Accountability, Libertarian Party, Amnesty International, National Lawyers Guild, Western Pennsylvania Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal,

Pittsburgh Coalition Against Police Abuse, CRY OUT!/ACT UP, CMU Women's Center, Campaign for a New Tomorrow, Socialist Workers Party, NAACP, International Socialists, and others. Speakers included Mrs. Narves Gammage (Jonny's mother); Sala Udin, African American City Councilperson; Khalid Raheem of the Million Man March



...and After

Atlanta. Essentially, he was talking anarchism without saying the 'A' word. This writer saw maybe half the crowd

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General Strike Stalls Toronto

BY MATTHEW

On October 25 a general strike practically brought Toronto to a halt. The strike, which took months of preparation, was called by the Ontario Federation of Labour and other community activist groups to protest the draconian measures passed by the governing Conservative Party led by Premier Mike Harris. This government has been in power for a little over a year, and has led the most vicious capitalist assault that this province has seen in decades. Many of the small gains that the working class, women and people of color have made over the years through constant struggle have been erased overnight. Health care, public education, welfare, union rights, and employment equity have been drastically reduced, if not eliminated altogether as in the case of employment equity. The groups affected by these government cuts began to organize "Days of Protest" in various cities. Starting in London, Ontario, the Days of Protest gained in numbers through the winter of last year in Hamilton when over 120,000 people took to the streets to protest the cuts.

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Toronto ARA's anti-racist youth action block at the 200,000-strong labor and community march.

Told Ya So! The CIA Deals Crack

BY CHRISTOPHER DAY

In late August, "Dark Alliance," a three-part series written by Gary Webb ran in the Pulitzer Prize-winning San Jose Mercury News, detailing the CIA's involvement in cocaine trafficking. The articles sent shock waves through the Black community and confirmed what the left has been saying since the 1980s. While the CIA's hand in the cocaine trade has been widely alleged since the Iran-Contra scandal, details have been scarce and, until recently, it has been difficult to establish the extent of the CIA's role.

Webb's articles meticulously document the pivotal involvement of the right-wing

Nicaraguan Contras and their CIA sponsors not only in cocaine smuggling in general, but in initiating the crack epidemic that began in the early 80s in Los Angeles. The idea that the crack trade was developed by the government as a weapon against the Black community has frequently been dismissed as a paranoid conspiracy theory. Webb's articles suggest otherwise.

The Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA), the House Intelligence Committee, and the CIA's inspector general all announced they were initiating investigations into the allegations in the Mercury News series. Given the profound implications of the story there is

widespread concern that these investigations will be superficial, or that a cover-up will take place. While the scandal's main events took place during the Reagan and Bush administrations, President Clinton is implicated because of his apparent knowledge as Governor of Arkansas of the use of an airfield in Mena, Arkansas for CIA/Contra cocaine shipments.

THE BASIC PLOT

Gary Webb's series clearly demonstrates—through US and Nicaraguan court records, FBI documents, recorded testimony and other sources—the ongoing involvement of the CIA and its employees in large-scale smuggling of cocaine into the US. It also shows the deliberate development of a nation-wide distribution network based primarily in Black communities, that relied on the Los Angeles-based Crips and Bloods gangs to sell cheap cocaine in the form of crack.

The story centers on three key individuals. Juan Norwin Menses was a Nicaraguan cocaine smuggler who arranged for the regular and expanding supply of cheap cocaine to Oscar Danilo Bandon, another Nicaraguan, who in turn supplied Ricky

"Freeway Rick" Ross, a young dealer with connections to the Crips and Bloods. Menses and Bandon were affiliated with the Nicaraguan Democratic Front (FDN), a CIA-initiated guerrilla organization dedicated to overthrowing Nicaragua's Sandinista Revolution. Congress had prohibited spending US tax dollars on these "Contras," and the money that the Reagan administration illegally channeled to them was insufficient for their military needs. So, Enrique Bermudes, the CIA agent in charge of the FDN, directed Bandon to start selling coke to raise money for the Contras.

But the coke market, which at the time catered largely to the rich, was saturated. Bandon's first innovation was to dramatically undersell the competition and thereby gain control over the market. Bandon was able to sell his coke cheap because his connection had eliminated one of the major costs involved in drug trafficking—the risk of apprehension. His coke was imported using US military airfields or planes of the Salvadoran air force—in either case under the protection of the CIA. Law enforcement from the local level up to the DEA was con-

(Continued to page 16)



Reagan and Nicaraguan Contra leaders smiled together as their crack was infiltrating Los Angeles.

What is Love & Rage?

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 political projects together. *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 supports and initiates 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.

The Federation is not a closed circle of friends. You can join Love and Rage and participate fully in the decision-making process. If you are in general agreement with the stated politics of the Federation and are interested in getting involved, contact the Federation Office or your local contact. Even if you do not wish to be a member of the Federation you may participate in Love and Rage projects. Please contact us.

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The articles we print do not necessarily represent the opinions of the Federation or of any member of the Federation, unless specifically marked. Sometimes we print articles we don't agree with, because we believe that they are interesting, provocative, or raise important issues for the revolutionary movement. Some articles represent one view among many views held by Love & Rage members on a topic.

Submit to Love & Rage

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 email address so we 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 (yeah, it's a long process). 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.

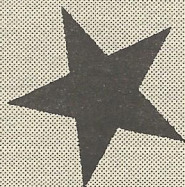


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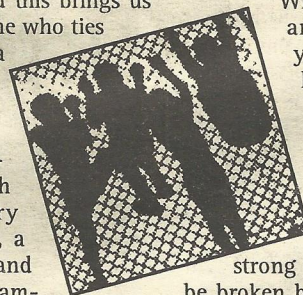
Flying the El Salvadoran Flag at the October 12 March on Washington for Immigrants and the Poor

Photo By Laura

Themes In This Issue

This issue of *Love & Rage* has two themes: prisons and death. In the last few months the movement has lost well-known revolutionary activists such as Robert Williams and Mario Savio, and revolutionary activists who aren't famous but form the backbone of the movement, like Eric Phaff from Minneapolis Anti-Racist Action. There is also coverage of Jonny Gammage, who died at the hands of Pittsburgh cop John Vojtas, who was acquitted in November on murder charges in the case. There is a tribute to the memory of Kuvasi Balagoon of the Black Panther Party and Black Liberation Army, who was also a revolutionary anarchist, and who died in a New York prison from AIDS in 1986. And finally there's a tribute to Ricardo Flores Magon, a prominent Mexican revolutionary (and an anarchist) who fled repression in

Mexico and was jailed in the US at Leavenworth prison. He died in Leavenworth (the same prison where many of today's political prisoners, such as Leonard Peltier, have been held) in 1922. And this brings us back to the present, to someone who ties all these people together in a potentially tragic but also potentially liberating way—Mumia Abu-Jamal. Mumia is not dead, but awaits a potentially gruesome fate on death row. He is a revolutionary activist, a political prisoner, a victim of police brutality, and the focus of a worldwide campaign demanding his freedom. Whether those of us in the movement succeed in this campaign will determine Mumia's relation to the rest of the people covered in this issue



of *Love & Rage*. Will he join the (too long) list of revolutionaries who have languished and died locked away in dungeons for lack of organization and support on the outside?

Will he be the subject of magazine articles and newspaper articles years from now recounting the list of beautiful, energetic, revolutionary people who the state has killed? That is up to us—to what we are able to accomplish in the streets. The link between prisons and death is so clear you can see it, so strong you can taste it—and it can only be broken by a mass movement of millions of people standing in the way and demanding freedom, demanding liberation, for political prisoners, for ourselves, for the world. That is our task, that is our journey. ★

GOVERNMENTS DON'T FALL BY THEMSELVES. THEY NEED YOUR HELP. JOIN THE FEDERATION.

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Building a Movement Against Prisons

Since the early 1970s the US prison population has grown at an incredible rate. The prison industry is booming and as recent Crime Bills and "Anti-Terrorist" legislation show, attitudes are hardening towards those labeled "criminal."

FIGHTING THE PRISON SYSTEM

Prisons have very little to do with crime. Their most important use is to contain and silence dissent, especially from people of color, and as a weapon in a genocidal attack on African-Americans. It is not a coincidence that the massive growth of prisons started in the aftermath of the Black urban uprisings and radical movements of the 1960s; prisons are a key part of the state's efforts to control potentially subversive populations. In fighting for a new, socially just society, we inevitably have to deal with prisons, because if we are effective in building the movement, prisons will inevitably be used to deal with us.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

In the US there are over 100 political prisoners—people imprisoned for their political actions or beliefs. Many of these prisoners are leaders of oppressed communities which could desperately use their organizing skills on the streets. But even while confined, they offer new ideas and direction to social justice movements on the outside. Their influence often unites the movement. For example, the struggle to free Mumia Abu-Jamal has brought together the left more than anything since the Gulf War. And political prisoners of varying ideologies (anarchists, communists, revolutionary nationalists) have united to support and build groups like the Anarchist Black Cross Federation. This unity on the inside encourages us to unite on the outside as well.

Most political prisoners fight for justice within the walls—for better prison conditions, better health care, the right to receive revolutionary literature, etc. Their strength, and the strength of all political prisoners, is truly heroic. The state recognizes that and singles them out for punishment even if they do nothing that breaks the prison rules. Political prisoners usually get stuck in the hole, in super-maximum security units, or in control units.

CAPITALISM & CRIME

'Crime' is a social construct. Not all things that are harmful to people (such as wars,

corporate greed, pollution, etc.) are considered crimes by the legal system. And some things the system makes illegal have no harmful effect on anyone (loitering, panhandling, public nudity, etc). The people in prison aren't just "criminals" by some objective standard; the state's definition of crime directly determines the make-up of prisons.

Capitalism continually disrupts peoples' lives in ways that force people to engage in illegal activities to survive. In the mass layoffs, elimination of industries, replacing

culties, and many family ties are severely strained or broken.

Oppressed communities in the US are subjected to these conditions on an enormous scale. Numbers vary from state to state but between 65 and 85 percent of the prisoners in the US are people of color. On any given day one out of four black males is in prison, on probation, on parole or in a juvenile facility. These figures exceed rates for South Africa during the apartheid years.

People of color in the inner city are



full-time with part-time jobs, you can see the roots of the desperation that lead to much crime. Prisons do not address the roots of crime in capitalism and in fact disguise its causes as individual rather than institutional.

WHAT PRISONS ACCOMPLISH

In addition to targeting individuals it finds threatening, the prison system holds entire populations subject. Those caught up in the system are surrounded with new levels of violence, and will have difficulty readjusting and finding jobs when they get out. Their families are left with financial diffi-

defined as criminals who need to be contained in their neighborhoods or locked up in prisons. Inner cities have been targeted and supplied with crack cocaine (and alcohol) similarly to how 18th-century settlers funneled alcohol to Native American peoples. Whether or not a specific "plan" for genocide exists, the various policies aimed at people of color, especially the Black community, can only be described as genocidal in their cumulative effect. Through the constant barrage of racist images in the media and politicians' racist grandstanding, we are being led to accept the mindset that allows people to look the other way as genocide is starting to happen.

SMASHING PRISONS & CREATING ALTERNATIVES

While the intent of prisons isn't to fight crime, and many crimes have their roots in poverty and racism, it is still true that inner-city communities are in serious crisis. Revolutionaries have a responsibility to be relevant to the problems people face today, and not just have a pie-in-the-sky revolutionary vision. As we fight against prisons, we must deal with the effects of anti-social crimes that are affecting people. We don't have all the answers, but we are committed to working with others to find alternative means of justice.

Any viable solution must take the issue of crime away from prisons and bring it into the communities that are torn apart by both anti-social crime and by prisons. As communities organize to deal with issues of justice, there will be a dramatic effect on crime in these communities. And even if we don't see a reduction of crime in the short term, the independent community institutions we help build will empower communities in the longer term. We already know that more prisons will not deter crime. The solution has to be found in strengthening the independent power of oppressed communities. Such solutions have revolutionary implications, as they directly conflict with the state's agenda of keeping these communities disorganized and disempowered.

Organizing against the criminal justice system, while at the same time building independent community institutions to deal with justice issues will take a lot of effort. This struggle will only achieve total success as part of a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. But we can begin today with the struggle against state and federal governments' attempts to build more prisons. By working against prisons we impair the state's ability to carry out their offensive against oppressed communities. And by actively working to come up with alternative forms of justice, we will be playing an active role in transforming our society.

The basis of the revolution we are fighting for is people having control over their own communities and the decisions that affect their lives. Taking control over issues of justice and dealing with anti-social behavior in our communities is one of the most difficult yet most important elements of revolutionary transformation.★

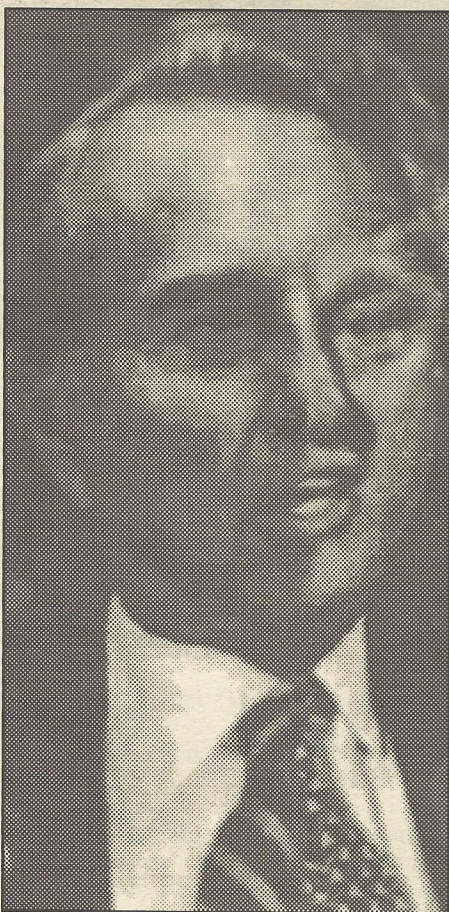
Elections 96: The Perils of Lesser Evilism

BY WAYNE PRICE

The recent depressing election made clear the weakness, or should I say impotence, of the broad left. By the 'broad left' I mean certain significant social forces which are implicitly in opposition to the established system but which are remarkably weak in political impact. This includes the unions, which are still the largest popular organizations besides the Catholic church, with millions of members, organizational muscle and money. Then there is the African-American community, which once shook the whole US. There are the Hispanic communities, which have been increasingly mobilized by anti-immigrant/English-only attacks. There is the feminist movement. And there are a number of liberal movements and organizations, mostly composed of white, middle-class people with good values, such as the environmentalists or the peace advocates.

Although slandered as 'special interests' by the right (as though they were the same as sugar beet manufacturers), they represent the interests of big majorities: workers, women, people who need to breathe clean air. Much of their program is still popular even in these retrograde times, such as support for education funding, environmental protection, social services such as Medicare and Medicaid, and opposition to discrimination and bigotry.

My question is not why these forces fail to dominate society, but why they are unable to even present a significant pole of attraction. By contrast, the organized right sets the tone of the political debate. They choose the main issues and determine what is generally regarded as reasonable and respectable. The right was forced to play



Enie, Meenie...

down their most vile positions (decent 'soccer moms' are turned off by crusades against Gays), but all 'moderate' Democrats and Republicans agree that social services must be cut, military spending increased,



cultural censorship expanded, immigration limited, and affirmative action decreased. This is called 'smaller government' (!) and it is the acceptance of the right's program. They joke that we now have two

Republican parties. Attempts at liberal-baiting the Democrats failed, partly because almost no Democratic candidates were liberals. The liberals, the broad left, has been left out of the consensus.

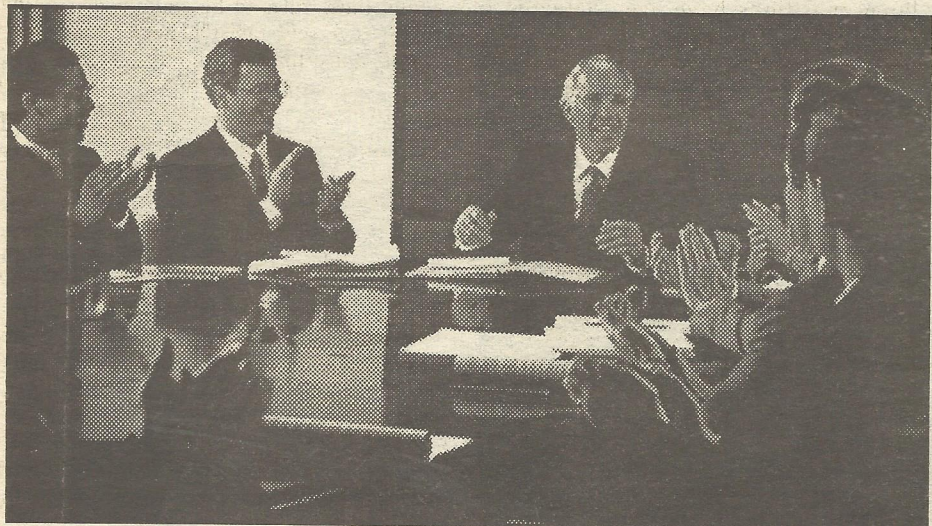
Unfortunately the broad left is too respectable. Its members play by the rules even though the rules are stacked against them. It was by breaking the rules, however, that the greatest popular gains were won. African-Americans won the end of legal Jim Crow and the expansion of social services by mass 'civil disobedience' (law breaking) in the South and by urban rebellions ('riots') in the North. The labor unions were established through sit-in strikes which occupied factories (now illegal and never done) and mass fights with scabs and police. The early women's suffragists were regarded as terrorists. The Gay Liberation movement began with a Christopher Street battle between cops and 'disreputable' drag queens. The struggle against the VietNam War included huge demonstrations, campus strikes, and a virtual mutiny in the army. And so on.

DEMOCRATS STINK

But today the various left forces are oh-so respectable. The bureaucrats in the unions, even those with some semblance of democracy, live a lifestyle far above that of their members. The same is true of officials of the NAACP and similar Black organizations as well as African-American clergy, lawyers, and politicians. Other movements are also dominated by lawyers and bureaucrats with ties to the establishment. These

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Privatization of Welfare: Poverty Pimping, Ltd.



BY LAURA SCHERE

Corporate execs applaud welfare takeover

Clinton's welfare bill brings home to roost the neoliberal economic policies the US has exported and enforced—via the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and free trade agreements—around the world. Cutting public programs to clear the path for what capitalist ideologues believe to be the magical 'invisible hand' of capitalist competition, the welfare bill reveals the simple move behind 'free market' reform: taking from the poor to give to the very, very rich. The same act that will drastically narrow the choices and threaten the survival of millions of poor people, also allows huge corporations to profit from these peoples' pain. In an overlooked wrinkle of the bill, Clinton gave the

go-ahead for states to contract out to private companies not only to provide welfare services but, for the first time, to determine the eligibility and benefits of recipients. In so doing Clinton opened up a new, multibillion dollar market. Poverty pimping has suddenly become BIG business.

Huge information technology firms like Ross Perot's Electronic Data Systems (EDS), a \$12.4 billion info-tech company that made many of its millions computerizing Medicaid billing and welfare eligibility 20 years ago, have been providing management systems to welfare departments (with the help of federal subsidies) for some time now. The magnetic striped cards replacing food stamps are a very visible (and scary)

sign of these companies' activities. (Expect more innovations in this realm as infotech and military contractors develop another requirement hidden in the new bill, a national computer registry of US citizens). Before the new welfare bill, the only competition for 'small' job-brokering businesses like America Works (with \$7 million in contracts in New York City, Albany and Indianapolis); Maximus (\$17 million total contracts in Boston, two California counties and Fairfax, Va.); and Curtis & Associates (\$9.2 million in 11 states including California, New Jersey, Indiana, Vermont and Wisconsin) were church groups, Goodwill Industries and the like. Clinton's bill busted the market wide open and corporate giants rushed to the scene. Now joining EDS in the feeding frenzy are a 'non-military' division of \$30 billion weapons manufacturer Lockheed Martin, and Andersen Consulting, \$4.2 billion sister company to Arthur Andersen, the accounting firm.

To state and county officials facing financial penalties and capped welfare budgets if they don't meet federal requirements to move aid recipients off the welfare rolls and into jobs, the fixed-price offers of private companies are tempting. And the huge companies are actually able to indemnify the states, i.e. cover their asses and be financially responsible if they fall back on their promises. With the requirements of this bill, profits have officially replaced the interests of the poor as the primary determination of welfare policy. And with the duty to maximize shareholder profits, the corporations involved will go to any end to reduce rolls and deny aid.

Privatization is catching on quickest in Wisconsin where bidding for welfare contracts is proceeding on a county-by-county basis. But it's Texas, which leads the country in another growth industry—prisons, that's bulldozing this new path of privatization. Texas is currently considering bids from EDS, Lockheed and Andersen to take over \$563 million in welfare operations.

For fans of privatization, profit and competition are the best incentives to 'efficiently' accomplish any task. Turning over welfare services to private hands, the logic goes, will replace a sluggish bureaucracy

focused on measuring deprivation and issuing checks with a profit and competition-driven operation focused on the task of moving people from assistance to jobs. But even by such balance sheet-driven standards, these welfare deals don't measure up. Instead of entrepreneurial competition, this wave of privatization sets huge private bureaucracies against one another in a realm that no small business could even touch. What we're seeing is not a free marketer's dream, but yet another episode in the saga of corporate welfare.

Perhaps the most stomach-turning of the implications of privatization is known as "double dipping." Some of these corporations bidding for contracts already receive government subsidies, and they've been built by government contracts. Lockheed, for example, was bailed out by the federal government in the 1970s and 80s, has a backlog of almost \$50 billion in mostly defense department contracts and is lobbying for \$1.6 billion in subsidies for two mergers that would result in 30,000 layoffs.

So Lockheed is looking to be paid by the feds to cut jobs, and then to get additional government funds to find minimum wage jobs for the unemployed. The private prison industry promises the same. Why not fire your employees, pushing them into poverty and the realm of crime and drugs, contract out to a prison, or even open one of your own, and get the same work done for a pittance? Mega-corporations are poised to become employment agencies overseeing the transition of the workforce, perhaps even of their own employees, from unionized, living-wage employment to shitty, poverty-wage jobs without protections or security. Even beyond this, the possibilities for corruption are immense. Campaign contributions by big corporations no doubt flow freely as part of bidding wars for government contracts. Lockheed has a long history of such shady dealings in New York. In the 1980s, a Lockheed executive admitted bribing officials to get government contracts, and in 1993, they were forbidden to bid on New York City contracts for four years after an investigation found that Mayor David Dinkins had favored the company by

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Student General Strike In Quebec

BY NICOLAS PHÉBUS

After a three-week province-wide general strike, the student movement's militant tactics won it its first victory in years. Partially meeting two of the five demands put forward by the student movement, on Monday, November 18, Pauline Marois, Quebec Minister of Education, announced that her government will not unfreeze university tuition fees and will not permit an increase in CEGEP (College of Technical and Pre-university Education, a two year Canadian institution) administration fees.

It all started at the congress of the MDE (Movement for Educational Rights), a 12,000 member radical student union, where eight student unions agreed on a common battle plan to combat \$700 million in planned cuts to public education. The plan included a list of five demands (stop the cuts in education, eliminate an unjust university admissions measure, abolition of all administration fees in CEGEP, a reform in loans and bursaries, and a confirmation of the university tuition fees freeze) and an ultimatum calling for a general strike on October 23 if these demands were not met.

On October 16, two hundred students briefly occupied a government office in

Montreal to let the government know about their ultimatum; they got no response.

THE FIRST WEEK

On October 24, a thousand-strong demo in Montreal gave notice that the ultimatum was up and the general strike was launched. Five days later began the "economic summit," a masquerade where the union bureaucrats, the conservative student federations, some sections of the popular movement, the bosses and the government sit around a table and decide the future of Quebec (read: future cuts). On October 31 the eight CEGEPs on strike (and about twenty poised to do so) effectively forced the conservative student representatives to leave the negotiating table. Despite their departure and that of two major popular organizations, the summit was called a success. The government succeeded in forging a consensus with the union bureaucracy about its neo-liberal agenda of reducing the deficit.

THE SECOND WEEK

On November 2, a meeting was held in Sherbrooke to form a provincial strike

coordination committee. This meeting built the basis of a radically democratic structure to represent the strikers and coordinate their action. The students' isolation ended when one of the three teacher union federations announced their support for the strikers and their agreement with the students' demands. By the end of the week, all the teachers' federations joined in. Succeeding where generations of activists had failed, 400 students occupied the Montreal office of the Ministry of Education for 21 hours on November 5. They tried to force the Minister to negotiate with the strikers. After the occupation the students joined a few thousand demonstrators in front of the Deputy Minister's office in Longueuil.

The first action called by the strike coordination committee was a provincial demo in Quebec City on November 8. For the first time in history all four public CEGEPs in Quebec City were on strike at the same time. The demo ended in direct actions all over the city when students refused to disperse. The strike coordinating committee met and elected a delegation to negotiate with the government. Unlike official student representatives, the members of that committee were immediately recallable. That Friday, several student unions ended their strike, their members judging, like at Maisonneuve, that it was time for others to take the movement into their own hands.

THE THIRD WEEK

The number of CEGEPs joining the movement started to grow again. And several student unions which were among the first to go on strike, such as Vieux Montreal and Saint-Laurent, refused to go back to school. Unexpectedly, even the striking students at Maisonneuve who had stopped their strike on Friday voted to walk out for another three days! In some student unions the support for the strike even grew. That week also saw an escalation in direct action. That Monday in Montreal students occupied the office of the government executive committee for 100 hours! In Quebec City and in Montreal major roads were blocked to serve a Food Not Bombs meal. On Thursday the

strike coordination launched a province-wide day of occupation. One of these occupations lasted 120 hours, which made it, as far as I know, the longest student occupation ever in Quebec.

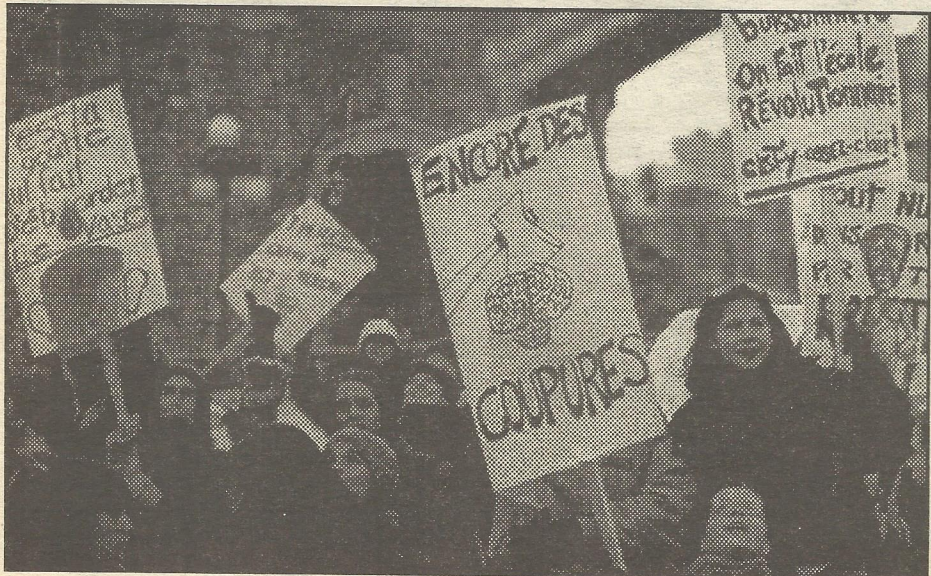
GHOSTS VISIT THE MINISTER

On Friday the Minister said that she would not recognize the strike coordination committee, announcing that she wouldn't negotiate with ghosts. The ghosts in question paid her party a visit that night. Four hundred students disrupted the celebrations commemorating the 20th anniversary of the first rise to power of the Parti Quebecois, battled with the cops and managed to arrange a meeting with another Minister for Monday. That night the students gave another ultimatum to the government: if nothing was done by November 20 they threatened to shut down Montreal. Representatives from almost all of Quebec's student unions held a press conference saying that on Nov. 20th they would ask their 200,000 members to join the strike during the Parti Quebecois congress, in order to force the government to freeze tuition fees. Regional demos were called all over Quebec.

THE GOVERNMENT BACKS DOWN

At the press conference, the Minister announced her intention to keep the university tuition fees and CEGEP administration fees frozen, at least until the next election. But she also announced that she would cut between \$600 and 700 million in education together with a series of regressive measures. Her press conference was intended to stop the strike. She did not succeed, but she did divide the movement. A few days after this press conference the strike was called off in about half of the CEGEPs and on one university campus. The rest of the movement was to end its strike a week later. But the movement was not defeated at all. On the 20th, two days after the Minister's press conference, more than ten thousand students demonstrated in Montreal together with a few thousand in

(Continued to page 17)



Students from Sainte-Foy at the regional demonstration on November 14.

California's Prop. 209 Passes But Racist Law Gets Temporarily Blocked in Court

By MICHELLE

Amidst a legion of protest following its ratification by California voters, a temporary restraining order was issued on November 27 barring Governor Pete Wilson and Attorney General Dan Lungren from enforcing the anti-affirmative action Proposition 209 until after hearings are held. In his ruling, Judge Thelton Henderson accepted the argument of the ACLU and civil rights coalition attorney who contended that the ballot measure violated the equal protection guarantees under the US Constitution. Proposition 209 passed in California on November 6 by a vote of 53.3% to 45.7%.

The debate over affirmative action and gender discrimination continued as lawsuits were filed to block the implementation of Prop. 209. At the same time, Governor Wilson issued an executive order directing state agencies to identify race and gender preference programs for elimination.

STUDENTS LEAD PROTESTS

Students throughout the state protested vigorously against the proposition, clashing with police in riot gear on more than one occasion. University of California campuses at Berkeley, Santa Cruz, Northridge, Hayward, Los Angeles, Riverside, and San Francisco State were all filled with tension as the proposition passed. In these state institutions the passage of Prop. 209 will likely lead to a drastic change in admissions policy leaving people of color and women out in the cold.

At UC Santa Cruz, however, proactive steps were taken even before the proposition passed. As nearly 700 students blocked the Student Services Building, an affirmative action coalition met inside to determine the fate of the university. The chancellor redirected \$1 million toward outreach programs and scholarships for people of color on the eve of election night. In addition, UC Santa Cruz students found victory in the expansion of the Ethnic Studies department, a gender studies course requirement, and an Asian/Pacific Islander student office. Additional funds to recruit Native students were also approved.

Students at UC Berkeley had a more difficult challenge. After many days and weeks

of organizing and protesting, the student takeover of Campanile Tower on November 6 culminated in a rude awakening by the police. At 6 a.m., the large group that slept outside the building was brutally arrested. As they attempted to barricade the building and protect those who maintained the occupation, they were beaten and dragged to waiting police vans. In the end, 23 students were arrested, and the protesters who remained free continued to rally on campus. In the beginning stages of the debate over Prop. 209, David Duke and civil rights leader Joe Hicks debated on September 26 at Cal. State Northridge to a packed crowd, while outside police on horseback and

many with riot gear held off over one thousand demonstrators. As Duke tried to leave, the two forces clashed and at least six demonstrators were arrested and some were injured.

209 LEADS A DANGEROUS TREND

The passage of this proposition signifies a dangerous trend. In most other states, similar propositions have been defeated in recent years. It is possible that some will now use the momentum of Prop. 209's passage to renew the attack on affirmative action nationwide. Dismantling of public outreach programs and preventing redress



Students at UC Berkely get a wake-up call from the friendly neighborhood riot squad.

of blatant discriminatory practices can destroy efforts for equality for women and people of color. In California, affirmative action programs were already required to meet strict standards. Essentially, they were required to: 1) provide equal opportunity for all citizens, 2) be fair with absolutely no quotas, 3) try race-neutral options first, 3) be flexible, 4) be transitional or of limited duration until the discrimination issues were resolved, and 5) be balanced so that the effect on nonbeneficiaries is sufficiently small and diffuse so as not to unduly burden their opportunities.

The proponents of this legislation still found these rules to be counter-discriminatory ("reversely racist"), even though they significantly limited the effect of any affirmative action program. While African American men with the same degree and job still earn 79 cents and women earn 71 cents for every white male dollar, it seems that to some, white men were still not protected enough by the state.

Since 1971, women in California have been protected from gender discrimination by the equivalent of an Equal Rights Amendment, making California's protections for women among the strongest in the nation. As a result, gender discrimination was only allowed in very narrow circumstances, when a "compelling government interest" could be demonstrated. This standard was rarely met. Proposition 209 reduced this tough standard to a much lower standard of "reasonable necessity."

Now women's paychecks and jobs are even more at risk. For example, an employer could now successfully argue that the costs associated with pregnancy and concerns over child care could justify not hiring or promoting women. This will result in women once again being excluded from non-traditional jobs.

Rallies, demonstrations, emergency meetings and massive organizing on the issue continue as the question of the proposition's legality remains. Proposition Chair Ward Connerly continues to raise money nationwide for the non-profit Pacific Legal Foundation to fight for Prop. 209.

The future of affirmative action in California is still up in the air, as both sides continue to fight for opposing visions of the future—a future that acknowledges and breaks with the history of US colonialism and racism and builds toward a multi-racial society, or a future filled with the white supremacy on which this society is built.★

Remembering Mario Savio

By MITCHEL COHEN

On November 6, 1996, one of the defining and truly great visionaries of the generation that rose up in the 1960s and shook the foundations of the machine that is Amerika passed from our lives. Mario Savio is dead.

The time: Autumn, 32 years ago. Place: University of California at Berkeley. For six years the university administration had been harassing students trying to set up literature tables at the wide entrance to the campus on Bancroft and Telegraph Avenue—tables which used to be right in the heart of the campus (on Dwinelle Plaza), until the administration pushed them off.

SETTING THE SCENE

It's hard today to appreciate the excitement and importance of what was about to happen, so accustomed have we become to the corporatization of the university and the numbing cynicism of everyday life. But in October, 1964, something happened. Hundreds of students were returning to campuses all over Amerika after spending the summer fighting against white supremacy in Mississippi, registering Black people to vote, sitting-in at lunch counters demanding service and facing police dogs and the Klan. Malcolm X was making the most powerful speeches of his life (he would live only a few more months) at the Audubon Ballroom in New York City, redefining the enemy, challenging the Vietnam War and calling for the formation of an international movement for human



Mario Savio being dragged away by the cops at a Berkeley protest

rights and against Amerika, whose chickens were most assuredly coming home to roost. And President Lyndon Johnson was expanding the war on Vietnam and about to begin the terrible massive carpet-bombing of the North.

The students carried the intensity of the civil rights movement back with them. James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner (murdered that June in Mississippi), and later Viola Liuzzo, were not martyrs to an abstract cause but the very embodiment of commitment to which many students aspired. Their fighting optimistic spirit was infectious. In Berkeley, they picketed Woolworths, and sat-in against racial discrimination at all sorts of local companies—including the Oakland Tribune, which was pressuring the university administration to ban the literature tables, from which the students gained new recruits to expand the picket lines. The liberal Kerr administration changed its tune: Free speech was one thing, but the literature tables now were said to "block the flow of traffic." The students pointed out that corporate and military recruiters were allowed to set up tables right on campus, and offered to put up money for an independent traffic flow investigation. The liberal faculty bemoaned the new militancy and called for "more negotiations" in "the spirit of compromise."

After six years of meetings, however, the time for negotiations was over. Cut now to Sproul Plaza, on the Berkeley campus. In a

daring step, a number of student groups—not only the various socialist groups, but CORE and SNCC, the Young Democrats, and even the Young Republicans, Students for Goldwater, and the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists—formed a United Front and set up tables. (How tame it sounds today!) The Administration took their names, and five of them—all from CORE and SNCC—were called before the Dean.

Well, 400 students showed up. They signed a complicity statement saying that they too, had sat at the tables and demanded equal treatment. The Dean canceled the negotiating meeting. So they stayed in Sproul Hall and began a sit-in. At midnight they received word that the five (plus three others) had been suspended.

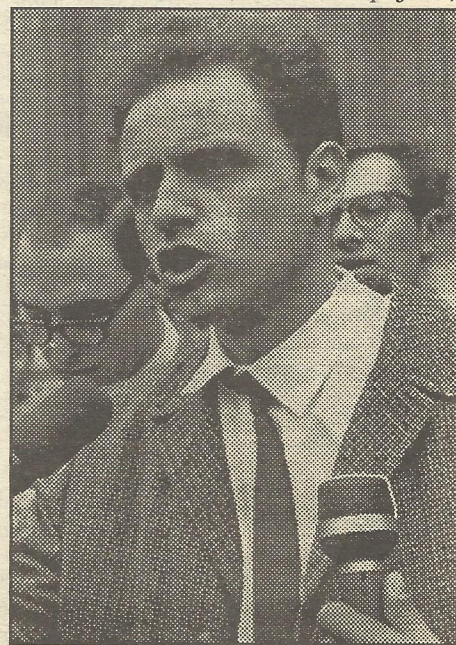
The next morning, the students brought their tables back out and set them up in front of the Administration building. Michael Rossman writes from the scene: "This time, there's a 'non-student' sitting at one of the tables. He's a member of one of the organizations, he graduated last year, in mathematics. And the University police come along and arrest him. He goes limp; what else can you do? And so four cops carry him to this police car that's sitting in the middle of the Plaza."

The arrested ex-student, Jack Weinberg (who later coined the phrase "Don't trust anyone over 30"), sat in the police car as the police surrounded the tables and attempted to isolate the "ringleaders". Within a few minutes hundreds of students surround the police car and won't let it move, demanding Weinberg's release. For the next 28 hours it's a standoff. The students turn the top of the police car into a stage. A bullhorn appears, and students clamber up on top of the police car to take their turn speaking to the growing crowd, which peaks at more than 3,000 strong. There is no censorship, no rules, no polic-

ing—anyone can speak and say whatever they want. Weinberg has to sit in the trapped police car the entire time. They bring him a beer can to piss in. The Free Speech Movement is born.

A 21-year-old undergraduate philosophy major from Queens takes his turn atop that police car. His name: Mario Savio, one of the suspended students. His speech, totally off the top of his head, is filled with philosophical references. What makes it so memorable? It goes way beyond impassioned calls for Weinberg's release and the right to set up a literature table. Instead, Savio offers one of the first coherent indictments of the prevailing liberal ideal of the university as an ivory tower. Clearly influenced

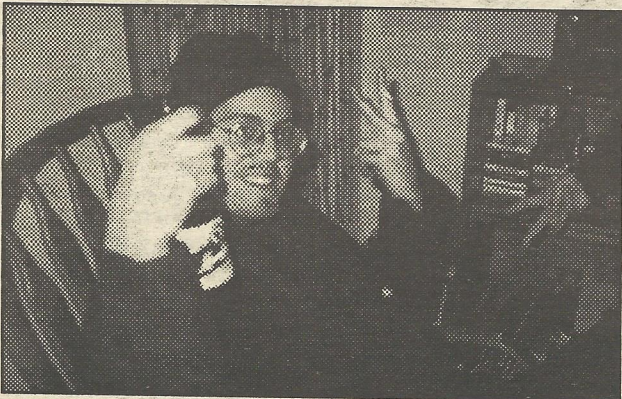
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Mario Savio talks to the press as a leader of the 1964 Free Speech Movement at UC-Berkeley

ARA EVERYWHERE

Anti-Racist ACTION Reports



Eric John Pfaff
(b. 2/2/74, d. 12/19/96)

BY DAVID NIGHT

Eric was a friend, comrade and passionate fighter against injustice. He held to the organizing principles of anarchism, pushed for revolutionary action in coalition meetings and in the streets; and he believed that revolutionary structures have to be built and constantly reexamined.

Eric was a constant presence in Twin Cities radical politics in recent years. Whether at the Emma Goldman

Community Center or Twin Cities Anarchist Federation meetings; defending abortion clinics or carrying a flaming torch into the streets at a demonstration to stop the execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal; Eric always inspired others with his intense sense of urgency and commitment.

Eric had a special love for questions of tactics, communications and strategy. Some years ago he worked as a member of the AIM (American Indian Movement) Patrol. He often joined the tactical team at demonstrations, and was never happier than when he outmaneuvered some racist skinheads or the Minneapolis Police.

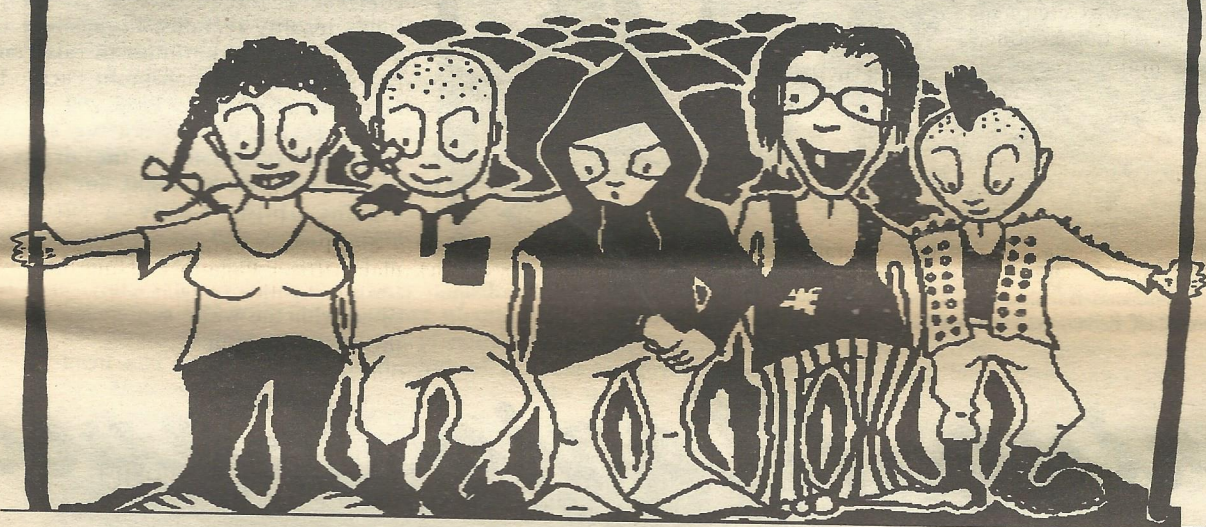
Eric was also a member of the Umbrella Collective that works on community-based autonomous projects and on building dialogue between white leftist groupings and radical currents in communities of color.

Eric's life was cut short by cancer, but it was full. The last time I saw him was at an annual anti-fascist march commemorating Kristallnacht on November 9. It was a real struggle for Eric to keep up with the march; by the end his breathing was shallow.

Afterwards we went out to a local Ethiopian restaurant and talked about the future, about tactics, about our lives. Then we walked out into the cold Minnesota night and said our goodbyes. Eric crossed the streets against the lights.

If you wish to give memorials, join the nearest revolutionary anarchist group near you, or start your own. That's what Eric would have wanted.★

ARA Keeps Rollin': Conference Report



BY KIERAN

Four hundred militant anti-racists (mainly youth) gathered in Columbus, Ohio on October 18-20 to attend workshops, decision-making meetings, concerts, and a demonstration at the annual conference of the Anti-Racist Action (ARA) Network. The conference reflected the explosive growth of the network: over a dozen local ARA groups sent contingents or representatives, and many more groups that formed over the past year were prevented from attending by lack of transportation or parental restrictions. ARA organizes against organized fascists like neo-nazis and the KKK as well as other forms of racism such as police brutality. The conference included workshops on Youth Liberation, Cop Watch, a history of anti-racist skinheads, ARA and the labor movement, and more. A workshop on sexism within the movement, organized by women from Minneapolis ARA and others, was a highlight of the conference for many. For the first time members of the network had an honest and direct conversation about the sexist bullshit that has disempowered and alienated women within ARA. Some men at the workshop responded defensively, and some tried to rise to the women's challenge. Overall the workshop had a very positive impact on the conference, got some issues on the table, built some sisterly solidarity and put the brothers on notice that things can't remain the same.

Another workshop launched a network-wide effort to disrupt and shut down Resistance Records and other neo-nazi ventures into the music scene. The first project of this crew will be to send a letter to every independent record store alerting them to the white power music scene and the role Resistance plays in recruiting and financing the racist right. Actions against stores and clubs tied to Resistance's network are now being discussed.

This year's conference set aside more time for Network decision-making in large open meetings or 'plenaries'. Despite a sometimes rocky process, small steps were taken towards building a democratic, decentralized structure that allows coordination between groups and recognizes the autonomy of each local ARA. While most people agreed that caucuses of oppressed groups (people of color, women, queers, high school students) had the right to organize within the network, there were uncertainties about how caucuses would fit into the decision-making structure. Another sticking point was whether consensus or majority rule would be used for making decisions. These questions and more will be

worked out through the ARA internal bulletin and a delegates meeting to be held in the near future.

The plenary also discussed a strategy proposal from a member of St. Louis ARA for a labor project focusing on a Jobs for Youth campaign and solidarity with striking workers. Although there seemed to be general agreement that economic struggles were important and that ARA should conceive of itself as having a working-class orientation, there was some disagreement about the role and importance of unions in the class struggle. A working 'crew' on labor issues came out of a workshop organized on the topic. They will exchange news, strategy ideas, and will try to develop this area of work.

Members of the A-Zone (an anarchist infoshop collective from Chicago), wrote a proposal encouraging the Network to consider institutional forms of white supremacy, including police brutality and gentrification, as a greater threat than organized fascists. Unfortunately, we ran out of time and were never able to discuss it.

A panel with representatives from six different ARAs showed the range of activism being taken on by the Network—from Minneapolis and Lansing ARA's work against the police, to Detroit ARA's campaign for jobs for city youth, to Ann Arbor ARA's struggling to free Mumia Abu-Jamal and other political prisoners. Toronto ARA continues to focus on Ernst Zundel, one of the world's biggest distributors of white supremacist and anti-Semitic literature, and Columbus ARA makes outreach into the youth music scenes a priority, bringing ARA information tables on tour with bands like Rage Against the Machine and the Mighty Mighty BossTones. Columbus' zine, *ARA News*, will soon have a print run of about 20,000. Besides meetings the conference also featured ska, jazz, and hardcore concerts, parties and a demonstration against police brutality. The demonstration was a response to a rash of police brutality against students partying after football games, and arrests and harassment of Columbus's new CopWatch patrol.

Up to 300 people joined the march down High Street to the area where past incidents have taken place. Over 40 cops in full riot gear shadowed the march and a police helicopter hovered above the demonstrators. One participant was arrested for trying to take to the street, another was unarrested, and several people were maced by the police. Much thanks to Columbus ARA and all those who helped make this year's ARA Network conference another success.★

TORONTO

The ARA Toronto crew came back from the Network gathering in Columbus ready to get busy. Big labour has been organizing mass demonstrations and one-day strikes in a string of cities in Ontario over the past few months, mobilizing dissent against the union-busting, pro-rich, racist and sexist agenda of this province's government. It was Toronto's turn, and ARA Toronto organized to bring the voices of angry, anti-racist youth into the week of protests.

The energy level was high on Friday, October 25—the day of the Toronto-wide general strike. Big unions brought their workers out into the street, highways were clear of commuters, schools were more than half empty, public transit workers refused to cross illegal picket-lines, and crowds of students and others roamed through the downtown streets.

ARA Toronto took advantage of the general mayhem, and contributed to it, by shutting down an internationally-known fascist business in town. For eight hours anti-fascists picketed Ernst Zundel's Samisdat Publishing, making business as usual impossible for Zundel and his nazi cronies, who hid behind the enormous tarp covering the building. We kept the energy flowing with hip-hop, reggae, punk—high volume tunes with the beat of resistance! We set up a barbecue on a supportive neighbour's lawn and handed out free kosher (and vegan) hot-dogs, while other neighbourhood folks encouraged us with coffee and drinks.

The next day ARA brought a youthful, anti-authoritarian contingent to the massive protest march (200,000 people). March organizers planned the demonstration as purely symbolic, to bring out as many people as possible and to show how "mainstream" the anti-cuts movement is. While many people in the community were dissatisfied with the march on that basis, none can deny that there is a huge social movement growing against the politics of impoverishment.

This was ARA Toronto's first effort to contribute, as a group, to the anti-poverty, anti-cuts movement in Ontario. We worked hard to make our participation as creative and empowering as possible.

A week later, we were reminded again in a very concrete way of the importance of maintaining pressure on nazi propagandists like Zundel. News came of another arson attack against Turkish people in Karlsruhe, Germany. To protest ongoing racist violence and to commemorate Kristallnacht (the 1938 riots against Jews in Germany and Austria) we held a small protest at the German Consulate on November 9.

HOUSTON

The Houston chapter of Anti-Racist Action has succeeded in its months-long campaign against an area record chain distributing Nazi rock at its locations. ARA greets the announcement by Soundwaves, whose stores have been carrying "music" from Resistance Records for four months, that Resistance Records materials would no longer be a part of the store. Houston ARA worked on several campaigns, including letter-writing and encouraging patrons to complain about the presence of Nazi rock in the store. ★

ARA Network Chapters

Atlanta ARA PO Box 5685 Atlanta, GA 30307	Louisville ARA PO Box 496/973 Louisville, KY 502-485-0410
Baltimore ARA PO Box 39156 Baltimore, MD 21212	Minneapolis ARA PO Box 80239 Minneapolis, MN 55408 612-649-4586
Chicago ARA c/o A-Zone 1573 N. Milwaukee #420 Chicago, IL 60622	Orlando ARA PO Box 720418 Orlando, FL 32872
Columbus ARA PO Box 82097 Columbus, OH 43202 614-424-9074	Pennsylvania ARA PO Box 407 Couders Port, PA 16915 814-274-2228
Detroit ARA PO Box 321211 Detroit, MI 48232 313-730-3555	Philadelphia ARA PO Box 31831 Philadelphia, PA 19104 215-569-2477 #8
Durham ARA Box 66022, 1355 Kingston Rd Pickering, ON L1V 6P7 CANADA	San Jose ARA 1658 E. Capital Expy. Suite #526 San Jose, CA 95121
Edmonton ARA #29, 10024-82 Avenue Edmonton, Alberta Canada T6E 1Z3	Toronto ARA P.O. Box 291, Station B Toronto, ON M5T 2T2 416- 631-8835
Harlem ARA PO Box 3388 New York, NY 10027 212-388-8503	Tulsa ARA Box 3212 Tulsa, OK 74101
Houston ARA PO Box 6537 Katy, TX 77456	For a complete listing of more than two dozen ARA groups contact Columbus ARA★

Police Brutality Exposed Nationwide

BY MATT CAPRI

Cops continue to murder Black and Latino men with impunity. Around the country, in large cities and small towns, death at the hands of the uniformed enforcers of white supremacy and capitalism is not uncommon. And with people mobilizing to fight back, even the capitalist press can't ignore it anymore. Here are a few recent accounts of police murder from around the US.

BRONX, NEW YORK

October 7, 1996—Officer Francis Livoti, a murderer who had waived his right to a jury trial, was found innocent of the charge of negligent homicide. On December 22, 1994 Francis Livoti choked Anthony Baez, a young man with asthma playing football outside his parents' home, to death. Family members and supporters felt they had reason to be confident in the system acting on their behalf. However, the court failed to indict Livoti on murder or manslaughter charges, due to "typographical errors" in the original indictment. Later during the trial for negligent homicide the judge described the cops' testimony as "a nest of perjury." At the end of their testimony the cops claimed that while he was handcuffed, Anthony Baez was armed—with the handcuffs. The guilty verdict against the cops was not to be. After the verdict was

announced an angry crowd filled the streets outside the courthouse, and cops backed off so as not to escalate the situation.

LELAND, MISSISSIPPI

October 17, 1996—After driving into a tree and then fleeing the scene of the accident, Aaron White, 29, was shot in the head and killed by a police officer. At first police were truthful about the circumstances of Aaron's death. Later the murderer, Officer Jackie Blaylock, and the other cops at the scene tried to claim that White had pulled over, jumped into the bushes and shot himself in the head. The community did not take the incident lying down. Leland has 6,300 residents; on October 30 some 1,500 came to a town meeting to discuss the murder. Later about 400 angry residents marched to the town hall. They wanted some answers from the mayor and the police chief about the murder. The top cop and his boss did not show their faces. The crowd grew restless, stones and firebombs were thrown and windows were broken. One arrest was made and the rebellion went on until 1:00 a.m. The mayor reacted by instituting a 6:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m. curfew for an entire weekend and calling in state troopers.

CAMDEN, NEW JERSEY

November 7, 1996—Kevin Spencer, a 19-year-old man in a hurry, decided to urinate in an abandoned building next door to his own house. He was shot dead by undercover state police vice officers. Mr. Spencer was unarmed at the time of the shooting, and was pronounced dead at the hospital 24 minutes after the shots were heard. In a strange coincidence, Spencer was murdered by police staking out a suspected drug house directly behind the home of Veronica Jones, a witness in the Mumia Abu-Jamal trial who has recently come forward to say that she was initially coerced by police into lying on the witness stand and incriminating Mumia. Spencer leaves behind friends and a pregnant girlfriend with whom he had been living.

PITTSBURGH, PA.

November 13, 1996—The white police officer that killed black motorist Jonny Gammage on October 12,

1995 was acquitted by an all-white jury. The jury was not from the city of Pittsburgh but the lily-white suburbs of Lackawanna County. Jonny Gammage was the cousin of a Pittsburgh Steelers football player and was driving his cousin's car, a Jaguar, when he was pulled over and strangled. The killer, officer John Vojtas (pronounced Vo-taz), a cop in the suburban town of Brentwood outside of Pittsburgh, began following Jonny because he was driving "erratically." After the verdict an apologetic officer Vojtas wept and told the press, "Praise the Lord." This is in stark contrast to the officer's comment the night of the murder when he was quoted saying, "The son of a bitch bit me. I hope he dies!" After the trial the jury was taken to the airport directly and in secret through the back door of the court house.

ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA

November 13, 1996—Officer James Knight was cleared of any charges in his murder of Tyron Lewis on October 24, 1996 (there are conflicting reports about what happened. In some versions Tyron was shot by Knight's partner, Sandra Minor). Tyron was pulled over by police and while officers were standing around his car it lurched forward. Gunshots rang out and Tyron was slain. Lewis's murder touched off a rebellion that made the national news. In the aftermath of the rebellion police have been harassing members of the National People's Democratic Uhuru Movement (NPDUM), a front group for the African People's Socialist Party (APSP) which has a strong presence in St. Petersburg. A smaller rebellion and other activities have taken place in St. Petersburg since the murder.

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

December 17, 1996—In what could be called a minor victory, a murderer's badge did not

protect him from the relatively mild charges of involuntary manslaughter and reckless endangerment. Police officer Stephen Pagatto shot Preston Barnes, a 22-year-old Black man. Officer Pagatto and the other cops left him to die. Preston Barnes was unarmed and had both his hands in the air when he met his end. This was the first time in Baltimore's history a police officer has killed someone and been convicted of any homicide charge.

THE ROLE OF THE POLICE

An important role of police is to micro-manage class conflict in favor of the ruling class in this society. When police and their supporters say that brutal officers should not be punished since they're "simply doing their job" more people should take them at their word—because that is exactly what the cops are doing.★



Anthony Baez's mother Iris Baez speaks at Oct. 22 police brutality demo.

Pittsburgh Cop Murder

(Continued from page 1)

nodding heads in agreement with the need for armed defense. The only other activist who raised community defense was Khalid Raheem. Of course there followed nervous rebuttal from those advocating reform. Opposing Ervin's views were established liberal/left groups pushing tactics like lawsuits and establishing civilian review boards (CRB) which Pittsburgh lacks. Ervin said CRB's are always filled with local ruling elites and cops, thus ineffective. When the Gammage family spoke, print and TV media poured into the auditorium. Cynical media questions drew jeers from the crowd. One question asked why the family was with all these radical groups. The family responded simply that they were being helped. When asked why they waited months to publicly come forward they said they had been grieving. There were workshops on police brutality, legal issues, political repression and racism. At the conference people decided to organize a protest march which, unbelievably, hadn't yet happened.

On May 16, 1996 Judge David R. Cashman ruled that juries in two separate trials would be chosen from outside Allegheny County. The juries came from far away Chester and Lackawanna counties. On June 7, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court backed this decision to the chagrin of

activists who knew the juries would be white and lenient on white cops.

A march of 200 activists was held in June, marching from "Freedom Corner" in the Black community, to downtown's City-County building. Speakers from the Nation of Islam, NAACP and the Mumia committee were adamant in their call for a CRB and to vote in elections. At a police rally days later called by mayor Tom Murphy in response to a sensational chase in which a cop was dragged by a car, (and then shot the riders inside), Councilperson Sala Udin spoke of police brutality to the heckling of assembled cops.

MISTRIAL

The misdemeanor trial of Mulholland and Albert was heard by an all-white jury starting October 16. Surprise witness, tow truck driver Frank Belajac, said he saw the attack on Gammage, that it was started by the cops and he had been afraid to come forward. On October 18, Judge Cashman ruled the trial a mistrial because coroner Dr. Cyril H. Wecht "tainted the jury" by insisting Lt. Mulholland tell the jury what he'd done, technically violating his right to be presumed innocent. Wecht was pressured by the defense to say exactly what Mulholland did, but to imply it was an accident. Wecht refused. The case has yet to be retried.

The Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* newspaper tried to cast Gammage as a troublemaker in a front page October 24, 1996 article, "Did Victim Pick Fights With Police?" It said he'd had two traffic stops ending in confrontations in his hometown of Syracuse, NY. The judge ruled the defense couldn't tell this to the jury. Buried in the article, Gammage's uncle, retired cop Ray Seals, said Gammage was respectful to cops, and that this was a "smear."

Another rally was held October 26 in front of the City-County building with 150 protesting the mistrial. After the mistrial the judge was accused of holding a meeting between jurors and defense without the prosecution present. On October 27, newspaper headlines read, "Cashman May Pull Out of Trial." Recusal was in the air. "Clearly the judge and the defense attorneys were in bed together," said a juror who asked not to be identified.

ACQUITTAL

Judge Cashman presided at the next trial where Officer Vojtas was tried alone. Pittsburgh tensely awaited the decision of this jury. Interest in the case became so strong the paper ran a special letters column. Those hoping for justice in the Gammage case were outraged when Vojtas was acquit-



ted on November 13, 1996. It looked like the entire system—city government, judge, prosecution, defense, media—was letting cops go free. Mauri Saalakhian, a Washington, DC human rights activist in the Coalition Against Political Imprisonment and National Association for Police Accountability, attended the trial. In his opinion the prosecution was not at all aggressive.

MARCHING AGAIN

I'd gone to the rally in June. I heard of the small numbers at the October one too. On Saturday, as we walked down Center Avenue and looked back it was shocking to see thousands, black and white, marching down the hill. It was a thrill to see more joining the cause. We circled the City-County Building, hands held in a human chain. Then came a rally. An African

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Spirit of Magon Lives on in Mexico

Amor y Rabia Starts Direct Solidarity Encampment in Chiapas Community

As our readers no doubt recall, on January 1, 1994 the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) launched an uprising in Chiapas, the southernmost state in Mexico. With the active participation and support of the indigenous Mayan peasantry the EZLN established a liberated territory throughout much of Chiapas's Lacandon jungle. While the Mexican Army has intruded on some of this territory, the Zapatistas have moved forward with the revolutionary transformation of the areas still under their control.

The indigenous communities in Zapatista territory are desperately poor. By and large they lack access to clean drinking water, to basic health care, to electricity, and to education. The Zapatistas need many kinds of solidarity. They need people around the world to take up the fight against neo-liberalism. They need people to spread information about their struggle and to come to their defense when they are under attack from the Mexican Army. They also need direct material aid to assist them in meeting their most basic needs.

DIRECT SOLIDARITY ENCAMPMENTS

The anti-authoritarian nature of the Zapatistas' program attracted the support of anarchists and other anti-authoritarians in Mexico and around the world. In April 1996 a group of anarchists working with the support of the EZLN established the first of what is hoped will be many Direct Solidarity Encampments. The Direct Solidarity Encampments represent a new stage in solidarity with the Zapatistas. Ever since the Mexican Army launched an offensive against the Zapatistas in February 1995, the EZLN has encouraged the creation of Civilian Peace Camps near Zapatista communities to monitor the activities of the Mexican Army. These camps are officially neutral. In contrast, the Direct Solidarity Encampments explicitly support the Zapatista revolution.

The Direct Solidarity Encampments consist of small groups of people (around seven each) who will be living in the Zapatista communities and assisting them in establishing schools, health clinics, electrical and water projects, and whatever other needs the communities have. The Direct Solidarity Encampments are to include Mexicans and people from other countries. As each encampment becomes established on a firm footing we hope to assist in opening up new ones. The pace with which the Direct Solidarity Encampments can be set up depends on both the situation in Chiapas and the amount of material aid the international movement can deliver.

THE MARTYRS OF CHICAGO ENCAMPMENT

The first encampment was established in a small and remote Tojolabal village. The village is made up of 35 families, each with an average of six or seven children. It lies a half-hour from the nearest road. The village suffered from many of the problems that characterize the whole Lacandon jungle: no functioning school, very limited health care, no electricity and poor access to drinkable water. Villagers must travel an

hour to the next closest village to buy basic articles such as sugar, oil, salt and soap. The village grows most of its own food. Its only source of income is the annual coffee harvest and the occasional sale of livestock—in both instances the village receives paltry payment for what it produces. The village lands are owned communally and divided for work among the households by the *comisión ejidal*. Some livestock and land are maintained communally for the benefit of the whole village.

The *Mártires de Chicago* (Martyrs of Chicago) Direct Solidarity Encampment was formally inaugurated on May 1, 1996. Six people, including members of *La Federación Anarquista Revolucionario Amor y Rabia* (Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation—Mexico) and unaffiliated anarchists re-opened the village school which had been closed for several years. The encampment takes its name from the Haymarket martyrs—eight Chicago anarchists sentenced to die for their participation in a general strike for the eight-hour day in 1886. The international working class holiday, Mayday, is a commemoration of that strike. Accordingly the school was renamed *Escuela Primero de Mayo* (First of May School). The names of the encampment and the school are symbolic of the internationalist mission of this project.

THE FIRST OF MAY SCHOOL

The school is open daily with classes for small children in the morning, for youth in



The First of May Anti-Authoritarian School

crafts, another for gynecological exams and a third for meetings.

In addition to the education project the Encampment workers have installed 200 meters of water pipe connecting the local spring to the center of town. Prior to the installation of the pipe the village women had to carry water from the spring to the village. Another 400 meters of pipe is needed to reach the households furthest from the center of the village. The con-

plague the community. The most common medical problems include skin diseases, dental problems, intestinal disorders, and bites (from spiders, insects and snakes). The community desperately needs electricity. Because of the difficulties involved in transporting fuel and the consistently high amount of sunshine, the Encampment workers want to install solar panels to service the school, the library, the women's center and the health clinic.

All of these projects require outside support if they are to succeed. Certain supplies are difficult to obtain in Mexico. Others are available, but the Encampment needs money to buy them.

THE SPIRIT OF MAGON

The Encampment workers have called for the creation of Direct Solidarity Committees around the world to provide material aid to the Martyrs of Chicago Encampment and future Direct Solidarity Encampments. Direct Solidarity Committees have already been established in Germany and Greece. The Spirit of Magon Direct Solidarity Committee is the organization in the United States that is responsible for coordinating aid to the Encampments. We take our name from the Flores Magon brothers, two Mexican anarchists who played an important role in setting off the Mexican Revolution of 1910. The Magons conducted much of their activity from exile in the United States. Ricardo Flores Magon died a political pris-

(Continued to page 17)



Community members of the Tojolabal village that hosts the encampment

the afternoon, and for adults in the early evening. Classes in basic literacy and practical information are supplemented with political education. The First of May School is committed to developing anti-authoritarian educational methods that draw on the rich international tradition of libertarian education but that are also appropriate to the particular needs of the village. The school is only part of a larger project that involves establishing a library, a meeting place, and a women's center. The intention is to create the kind of public social spaces that are so central to the Zapatista's vision of democracy. The women's center will include a room for sewing and producing

struction of a health clinic is planned to deal with the many medical problems that

Who Was Ricardo Flores Magon?

Ricardo Flores Magon, born in 1874, was the most important and influential anarchist in the Mexican revolutionary movement. He became active in the struggle against the dictator Porfirio Diaz at an early age. In 1901 he came to the forefront of the liberal movement, a reformist organization opposed to the excesses of the regime and, as editor of the opposition newspapers *Regeneracion* (founded by his brother) and *El Hijo del Ahuizote*, he was imprisoned several times by the dictatorship. Forced to take refuge in the US in 1904 he continued the struggle against Diaz first from St. Louis and later from Los Angeles in spite of continual persecution and imprisonment by US authorities at the instigation of the Mexican dictatorship. In 1905 Magon founded the *Partido Liberal Mexicano* which organized two unsuccessful uprisings against Diaz in 1906 and 1908. During his early years of

exile he became acquainted with Emma Goldman, and it was partly through her inspiration that he became an anarchist.

With the outbreak of the revolution of 1910, that he and the P.L.M., more than any other group or person had paved the way for, Magon devoted the rest of his life to the anarchist cause. With his influence large areas of land were expropriated by the peasants and worked in common by them under the banner of *Tierra y Libertad*, the motto of the P.L.M., later to be adopted by Emiliano Zapata. During the years of struggle Magon opposed and fought successive so-called "revolutionary regimes," resisting both the old and new dictatorships with equal vigor. Imprisoned by the US authorities in 1905, 1907, and 1912, he was finally sentenced to 20 years under espionage laws in 1918. He died in Leavenworth Prison, in Kansas, on November 22, 1922. ★



Entrance to the Martyrs of Chicago Direct Solidarity Encampment

In Memory of Kuwasi Balagoon

Black Revolutionary Anarchist 1946-1986

Anarchy Can't Fight Alone

BY KUWASI BALAGOON

Of all ideologies, anarchy is the one that addresses liberty and equalitarian relations as a goal in a realistic and ultimate fashion. It is consistent with each individual having an opportunity to live a complete and total life. With anarchy, the society as a whole not only maintains itself at an equal expense to all, but progresses in a creative process unhindered by any class, caste or party. This is because the goals of anarchy don't include replacing one ruling class with another, either in the guise of a fairer boss or as a party. This is key because this is what separates anarchist revolutionaries from marxist, socialist and nationalist revolutionaries who from the onset do not embrace complete revolution. They cannot envision a truly free and equalitarian society and must to some extent embrace the socialization process that makes exploitation and oppression possible and prevalent in the first place.

When I first became a revolutionary and accepted the doctrine of nationalism as a response to genocide practiced by the United States government, I knew as I do now that the only way to end the evil practices of the US was to crush the government and the ruling class that shielded itself through that government through protracted guerrilla war.

Armed with that knowledge, I sat out the initial organizing of the Black Panther Party until the state's escalation of the war against the Black people that was begun with the invasion of Africa to capture slaves made it clear to me that to survive and contribute I would have to go underground and literally fight.

Once captured for armed robbery, I had the opportunity to see the weakness of the movement and put the state's offensive in proper perspective. First, the state rounded up all organizers pointed out to it by agents who had infiltrated the party as soon as it had begun organizing in New York. It charged these people with conspiracy and demanded bails so high that the party turned away from its purposes of liberating the black colony to fundraising. At that point, leadership was imported rather than developed locally and the situation deteriorated quickly and sharply. Those who were bailed out were those chosen by the leadership, regardless of the wishes of the rank and file or fellow prisoners of war, or regardless of the relatively low bail of at least one proven comrade.

Under their leadership, "political consequences" (attacks) against occupation forces ceased altogether. Only a fraction of the money collected for the purpose of bail went towards bail. The leaders began to live high off the hog while the rank and file sold papers, were otherwise misdirected or were filtered out leaving behind so many robots who wouldn't challenge policy until those in jail publicly denounced the leadership.

How could a few jerks divert so much purpose and energy for so long? How could they neutralize the courage and intellect of the cadre? The answers to these questions are that the cadre accepted their leadership and accepted their command regardless of what their intellect had or had not made clear to them. The true democratic process which they were willing to die for, for the sake of their children, they would not claim for themselves.

These are the same reasons that the People's Republic of China supported UNITA and the reactionary South African government in Angola; that the war continued in Southeast Asia after the Americans had done the bird; why the Soviet Union, the product of the first socialist revolution is not providing the argument that it should and could through being a model.

This is not to say that the people of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, Zimbabwe or Cuba aren't better off because of the struggles they endured. It is to say that the only way to make a dictatorship of the proletariat is to elevate everyone to being proletariat and deflate all the advantages of power that translate into the wills of a few dictating the majority. The possibility must be prevented of any indi-

vidual or group of individuals being able to enforce their wills over any other individual's private life or to extract social consequences for behavior, preferences or ideas.

Only an anarchist revolution has it on its agenda to deal with these goals. This would seem to galvanize the working class, declass intellectuals, colonized third world nations and some members of even the petty bourgeoisie and outright bourgeoisie.

But this is not the case. It would seem that Anarchy would be a force to reckon with merely because it appeals to the lumpen proletariat alone, including the growing ranks of those who labored under the myth that they were part of the middle class. But this is not the case.

That China, North Korea, Vietnam and Mozambique would build around a Marxist ideology to drive out invaders and rebuild

feudal economies in the midst of Western Imperialism's designs and efforts to rein-vade and recolonize is a point that can be argued in the light of the international situation. It is one thing that they don't back the will of the people as much as they choose allies in the East-West wars fought on the ground of the non-white colonies. It is another thing that Anarchy ceases to inflame or to take the lead in combating fascism and imperialism here in North America with the history of the Wobblies, the Western Federation of Miners and the other groups and individuals who have made their mark on history. It is a denial of our historic task, the betrayal of anarchists who died resisting tyranny in the past, malingering in the face of horrible conditions. It is the theft of an option to the next generation and forfeiture of our own lives through faint hearts.

We permit people of other ideologies to define Anarchy rather than bring our views to the masses and provide models to show the contrary. We permit corporations to not only lay off workers and to threaten the balance of workers while cutting their salaries, but to poison the air and water to boot. We permit the police, Klan and Nazis to terrorize whatever sector of the population they wish without repaying them back in any kind. In short, by not engaging in mass organizing and delivering war to the oppressors, we become anarchists in name only.

Because marxists and nationalists ain't doing this to a large extent doesn't make it any less a shame. Our inactivity creates a void that this police state with its reactionary press and definite goals are filling. The parts of people's lives supposedly touched by mass organizing and revolutionary inspiration that sheds a light that encourages them to unveil a new day, instead are being manipulated by conditions of which apathy is no less a part than poisonous uncontested reactionary propaganda. To those who believe in a centralized party with a program for the masses this might mean whatever their subjective analysis permits. But to us who truly believe in the masses and believe that they should have their lives in their hands and know that freedom is a habit, this can only mean that we have far to go.

In the aftermath of the Overtown rebellion, the Cuban community conceded as lost souls by Castro came out clearly in support of the Black colony. And predictably the ku klux klan, through an honorary FBI agent, Bill Wilkenson, made no bones about supporting the rights of businesses and the business of imperialism. Third world colonies throughout the United States face genocide and it is time for anarchists to join the oppressed in combat against the oppressors. We must support in words and actions, self-determination, and self-defense for third world peoples.

It is beside the point whether Black, Puerto Rican, Native American and Chicano-Mexicano people choose nationalism as a vehicle for self-determination or agree with anarchism as being the only road to self-determination. As revolutionaries we must support the will of the masses. It is not only racism but compliance with the enemy to stand outside of the social arena and permit America to continue to practice genocide against the third world captive colonies because although they resist, they don't agree with us. If we truly know that anarchy is the best way of life for all people, we must promote it, defend it, and know that the people who are as smart as we are will accept it. To expect people to accept this, while they are being wiped out as a nation without allies ready to put out on the line what they already have is crazy.

Where we live and work, we must not only escalate discussion and study while promoting discussion and study groups, we must also organize on the ground level. The landlords must be contested through rent strikes and rather than develop strategies to pay the rent, we should develop strategies to take the buildings. We must not only



Who Was Kuwasi Balagoon?

Kuwasi Balagoon (s/n Donald Weems), New Afrikan revolutionary anarchist and Prisoner of War, died in a New York state prison hospital ten years ago on December 13, 1986. He succumbed to pneumocystis carinii pneumonia induced by AIDS acquired while he was incarcerated at New York's Auburn prison, a maximum security facility.

Kuwasi Balagoon had a strong influence on many revolutionaries in the 1970s and 1980s. He was one of the first Black revolutionaries to adopt and advocate revolutionary anarchism, while he still worked together with and had the respect of revolutionaries of other ideologies (Marxists, nationalists).

Throughout his adult life, Kuwasi was a staunch freedom fighter, beginning with his resistance to racism in the US military when he was 17. After his discharge, he became an active tenants' rights organizer in New York City before joining the Black Panther Party. He first became generally recognized in 1968 when he went underground after his indictment in the New York "Panther 21" case. After the defendants were acquitted (two years later) of all 156 charges leveled against them by the state (this was one of the most extravagant frame-ups of an era marked by such things) Kuwasi remained underground as a soldier in the Black Liberation Army (BLA). Captured, he spent much of the late '70s in prison, escaping twice.

His final stay within the walls began after he was arrested in December 1981,

charged with having participated—along with others in the Revolutionary Armed Task Force (RATF), a BLA unit—in the expropriation of a Brinks truck in Nyack, New York on October 21 of the same year. Two members of the West Nyack police force had been killed during the action. Kuwasi adopted the freedom fighter defense during his trial, refusing to acknowledge the legitimacy of US jurisdiction over any New Afrikan. Predictably, he was sentenced to life imprisonment, as a revolutionary "cop killer." At the time of his death, Kuwasi had spent a total of more than ten years behind bars without swerving from the liberatory principles which guided him. He remained in struggle to the very end.

We can keep alive his spirit by continuing the struggle for revolutionary anarchism, and especially by fighting for freedom for all our movement's political prisoners and prisoners of war. No more revolutionaries should be allowed to die in prison after giving so much of their lives to the struggle for a better world. We should be positively inspired by Kuwasi Balagoon's spirit, ideas, and actions. And the fact that he died in prison should inspire us to work even harder to prevent the state from taking the lives of any more of our revolutionary comrades.

Here we reprint his essay *Anarchy Can't Fight Alone*, which was published in *Bulldozer #6* (*Bulldozer* is now *Prison News Service*). This essay explains how he became an anarchist and why he was committed to revolutionary anarchism. ★

(Continued to page 17)

B♀ Brown: Undergrou

Interview with a Veteran of t

Bo Brown is an ex-political prisoner and community activist. She does grassroots work primarily in the Lesbian and Gay community in the San Francisco Bay Area where she has lived for the past ten years. She works with Out of Control—Lesbian Committee to Support Women Political Prisoners and on the Norma Jean Croy Defense Committee. She also works a 40 hour a week job doing highway maintenance, has a wonderful lover and a snooty black cat. This interview was conducted in Columbus, Ohio at the ARA conference on Oct. 15, 1995. This is the first of two parts.

Love and Rage— How were you politicized?

Bo Brown— By being born a working-class person in the state of Oregon. My father worked in a mill and he was a labor organizer. He was a shop steward and he was very active in the union. I always knew that rich people were the enemy because they had some pretty horrendous strikes there, and every time they went on strike there was scabs and a lot of fights and picket lines. When my father first started working for the timber company there were no benefits. His first job was 75 cents an hour. When I was 22 years old he had been working there for 21 years and we made the same amount of money in a year.

My first lover was a woman, and we were the only queers we knew in the whole area (Klamath Falls, Southern Oregon). I knew we had to get the hell out of there cause it's very racist, very redneck country. It's also Indian country;

pened. I was actually reading George Jackson at the time that he was murdered so all that had a profound effect on me. By virtue of who knows what, some of the African American women there befriended me and talked to me about civil rights and stuff that was going on in their lives.

So I went back to Seattle and discovered that my girlfriend had left me and was strung out and took all my shit. At that time there was still some social money available, so I went and got on DVR, the Division of Vocational Rehab. Because I was a social deviate/ex-con I was eligible, and I passed all their little tests—I can pass a lot of tests. So they gave me money to go to school and I went to a community college and took a printing program. During this period of time at this college (around 1972) there was a Black student group, there was a Native American student group there was an Asian student group. We also had a prisoner group. There I also met my very first lesbian feminist who taught me that women were not chicks. There was actually a prison movement in this country for a few years and that was the time frame.

So we went into the men's prison where this guy who ran the prison program's primary focus seemed to be to find young college girls to bring into the prisons so that the guys could drool over them. We decided well, hell, we can go to the women's prison. We made contact through school release, some of the women were at school at Purdy Women's Correctional Facility, which was the model for the country at the time because it had just been built and they had a real good school release program.

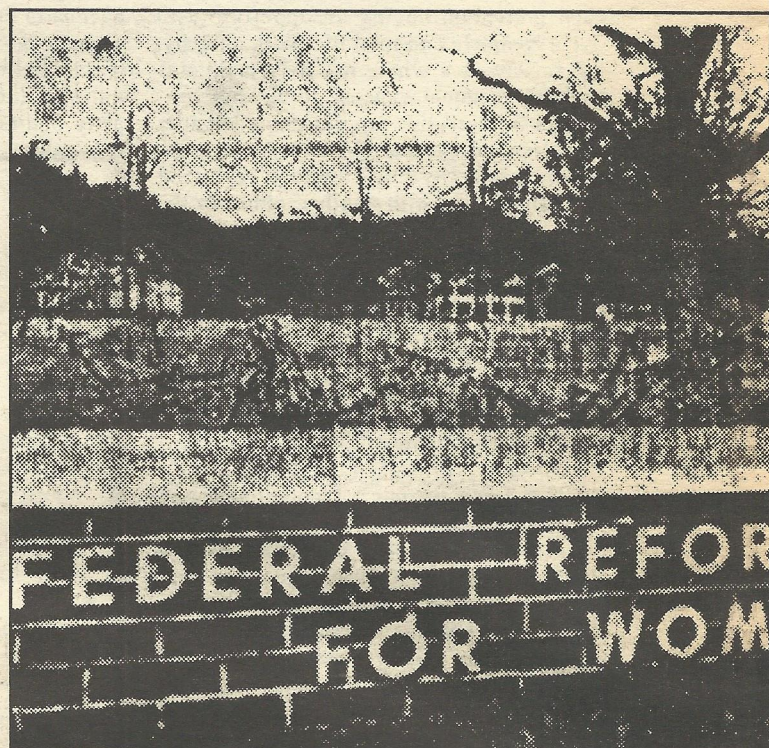
Well lo and behold, it turned out that these women were primarily dykes who were going to school and also had independently decided to try to form a GAA, a Gay Activists' Alliance inside the prison and had written up a charter and done all this stuff and had got denied by the governor. We got on their visiting lists and started going to visit them and tried to figure out how they wanted to structure a program. There was a pretty high degree of unity between the Black women there and these lesbians, most of whom were white. They helped us structure a program where we brought different community groups in to talk about what they were doing. The theory was that most of these women get 3-5 years and that they were returning to the community so they needed to know what was available there.

At that time in Seattle there were seven free clinics, there were several food coops, there was the Panther clinic, there was a lot of work going on around women and children and child care and stuff. And book stores—there were two women's book stores. There was the prison union, there was a women's karate union. So we just took all these different groups in and in the meantime we got ourselves incorporated with non-profit status. By the time the prison got pissed off at us we were pretty entrenched and we were really legal. What we used to do there really pissed them off. For example we took the karate women in there and 25 women came and they all stood in a circle and were doing kicks and stuff and yelling and it freaked them out. We had access to some attorneys and we just did what you are supposed to do with a prison program.

L&R— What was the name of that group?

BB—It was Women Out Now and it was there from like '72 to '75. We were active with the other groups in the area that were doing prison work. We helped on the *Sun Fighter* for a while which was a national prison newspaper that came out of Seattle for about a year or so in which we talked about prison issues. We printed communiqués from underground groups all over the country. It got into a lot of prisons; it was a way for prisoners to communicate with each other. It lasted about a year until they forgot the First Amendment and kicked us out of all the prisons.

By this time I had figured out the Vietnam War and the civil rights movement a little bit so there was a lot of that stuff going on. There was a lot of demonstrations. There was the first International Women's Day demonstrations. There was just stuff going on all the time, all the time all the time. It was a very active political community. There was a lot of Native struggles around fishing rights, stuff like that. Leonard Peltier actually passed through Seattle on his way to Canada. Some people were able to give him some assistance. There was a local struggle around the construction industry and how they didn't hire any minorities. And the SLA (Symbionese Liberation Army) was happening



Bo Brown spent almost a year in isolation in Davis Hall of this Alderson, West Virginia women in the federal system. She and Assata Shakur were held

in California. They got Mr. Hearst to give away a million dollars to feed people in LA. There was starting to be underground guerrilla activity all over this country. It was not nearly as isolated as they want people to think. Out of primarily the prison movement but not exclusively came the George Jackson Brigade which was named after George Jackson for very obvious reasons. Everybody else was running around talking, talking, talking and not doing too much and we sort of got frustrated so we elevated the struggle by blowing stuff up, primarily.

L&R— What year was this?

BB—'74 I think. There were a couple of other targets in support of other struggles that had been going on, but the way that the Brigade announced itself was to blow up the

Brigade Member Mark

Mark Cook, a native of Seattle, has dedicated a lifetime working for justice and equality for all residents of that city. He was an officer of the Black Panther Party which established community programs such as breakfast for children, free food giveaways, and medical clinics. With his founding of groups such as CONvention and the Bridge Project, Mark helped prisoners and ex-prisoners by establishing job training programs in prison, supporting prisoners' labor rights struggles and creating job placement programs for those recently released.

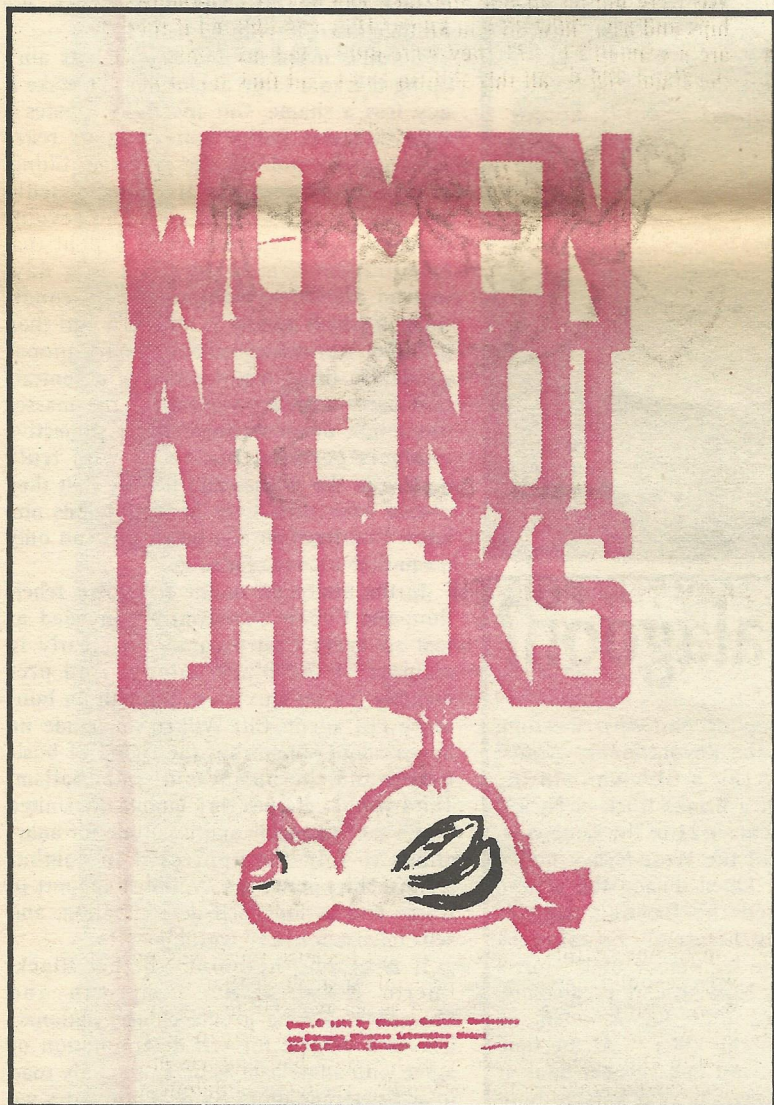
Throughout the late 60s and early 70s, Mark fought to end not only the Vietnam War, but the systems of racism and imperialism that caused that war. In many cities, people struggled on different fronts: electorally, non-violently, and militarily to put an end to the war. In Seattle, the George Jackson Brigade (GJB) waged an armed struggle, attacking the property of those who perpetuated injustice. In January 1976, three members of the GJB were arrested in a Brigade-sponsored bank robbery attempt, where one was fatally wounded and another required hospitalization. In March of that same year, the hospitalized

member was rescued from custody. In the process, a King County sheriff was shot and wounded. A few days later, Mark Cook was arrested as a suspect in the bank robbery and charged with robbery and conspiracy. Months later, Mark was charged with the escape and shooting the officer.

He was convicted of all charges and sentenced to serve a 30-year federal term and two life sentences plus ten years by the state. Mark has never admitted guilt in any of the charges against him. Of such actions, he stated, "actions in support of justice are never criminal."

POLITICAL PRISONER

Mark Cook is currently being held in the Washington State Prison at Monroe. He has served nearly 20 years for actions intended to stop an unjust war. The average length of stay for the crimes of which Mark was convicted is only 5 years, 1 month. In other words, he has already served fifteen years longer than the average prisoner convicted of similar crimes. Throughout the past two decades of incarceration, Mark has continued to fight for justice and equality for those behind bars and on the outside. He has

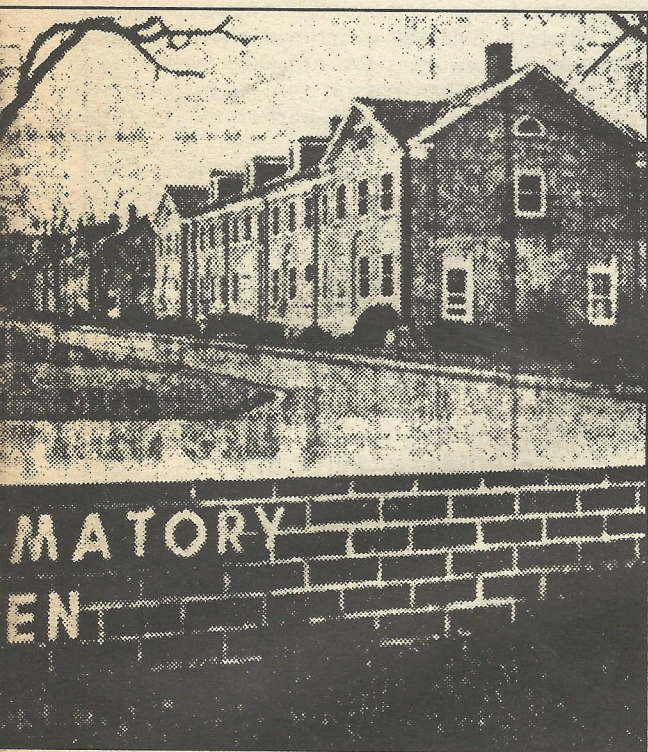


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there is a reservation there, which was where most of the racism was directed because there are hardly any black people there. I moved to Seattle because I had made a conscious decision when I was five that I didn't want to be a mother or a housewife. When I got there I got a job at the post office. The only thing I knew about the Vietnam War was that people were calling in bomb threats to the post office. We thought that was really great 'cause we could go out to the parking lot and get high. It took them long enough to search the building, we could go down the street and get a drink and then we could go back to work and sort your mail! We figured if we were gonna die—get blown up—that we should at least be drunk, so that's what we would do.

In 1971, I went to prison for possession of stolen mail (\$50). The reason I went to prison, I am convinced, is because I am a dyke. The prosecutor and everyone else involved in the case recommended probation. I had another job, I had a place to live, I had all their little requirements. But the judge took one look at me and my girlfriend who was there and gave me a year and a day. If you get more than a year you get to go to the penitentiary. So I went to the penitentiary and during the time period that I was there, George Jackson was murdered and Attica hap-

und, Inside and Out the George Jackson Brigade



nia women's prison. This was the first special control unit for political there along with reactionary and Nazi prisoners.

Department of Corrections office in the state capitol to support a prison struggle that had been going on in Walla Walla for years. The prisoners in Walla Walla had elected righteous representatives through their inmate council, and there had been a strike, hostages were taken, and it was supported by everyone in the prison—Black, white, Native. The demands were that the press come in and see the conditions under which they live, and that there would be no charges, no punishment for them guys. The press came in and saw that some people didn't have blankets, saw the shit that people were eating, saw that people had broken bones that were never set right—well, the conditions were horrible. They had the same warden there for 25 years—very similar to Lucasville here in this area [Ohio]. So they let the hostages go and the press went away and they took those guys that were leadership and slammed them all in

Cook Still in Prison

r once renounced political beliefs. Cook's time has been served for his crimes, continues now to be jailed only because of politics.

the courts too, have recognized the injustice of Mark's imprisonment. In 1978, a sentencing court judge ordered that Mark's state and federal terms be served concurrently. That judge died. A year later, the Washington State has ordered his legally binding decision and made Mark's term consecutive. His defendant in the case served state and federal time concurrently and was released this year. Why is Mark's case being handled differently? Could it be?

There is no excuse for the continued imprisonment of Mark. He has served his time, the courts have recommended release. The parole board refuses to review his case, though no complaints have been filed against Mark's behavior in prison. Through his life of work, he is an asset to the community. Each year he behind bars is one less year

of continued community service. To continue his imprisonment is a crime.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

The Mark Cook Freedom Committee plans future letter writing and petition campaigns to the parole board and governor if necessary, and a fundraising drive to hire a lawyer to file Mark's appeal. If you would like to be placed on our mailing list to be notified of future events and kept up to date on Mark's case write:

The Mark Cook Freedom Committee,
P.O. Box 85763, Seattle, WA
98145-2763 quawk@eskimo.com

the hole. They never gave them any charges, but they kept them in the hole for six months. So this action was in support of those guys 'cause still nothing had happened.

Now the country was in a very interesting state of mind at that time. So we actually were able to get the interest of a local reporter and throughout the course of our activity he printed some of our communiqués in full which had to do with this prison stuff primarily. They actually let those guys out of the hole and in fact 10 or 15 years later they finally had a huge law suit called 'Hop-To-It v. the State of Washington' that exposed all this stuff that had been going on in the prison for years.

L&R—Could you tell us about some of the other actions of the George Jackson Brigade?

BB—The Brigade also did something to the FBI and the BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs) offices around the fishing struggle. We did stuff around when the four German comrades of the Red Army Faction were murdered in custody in Germany in '75. We went to a Mercedes dealership since Mercedes is always a target in Germany and we blew up some new cars and we wrote a communiqué about the death of these people, and actually part of it got read on the radio. We did some exposés of local banks. It was very interesting to us that who was on the Rainier National Bank Board was on the Weyerhaeuser Board was on the Utility Co.'s board, and we started writing those kinds of things in our communiqués.

People got shot in a bank, 'cause we had to pay for that shit you know, so you have to go get their money. (You don't want to take the people's money and if you go to banks, they are federally insured so nobody loses any money except the feds. That is why people pick banks as targets.) So people got shot in the bank, cops came up shooting, shot one of our comrades in the back and pierced his lung. There was a hospital within 20 minutes but they didn't take him to the hospital for one and a half hours, so essentially he drowned in his own blood. Two other guys were captured, one of them was shot in the face. He was going back and forth to the hospital. He was liberated from custody in the hospital parking lot and a police was wounded. So they were after us. They were very pissed off at us! So we left the state for a while. We went to Oregon and that's when I sorta had to learn how to rob banks. So that is what I did in Oregon for a few months. I learned how to rob banks.

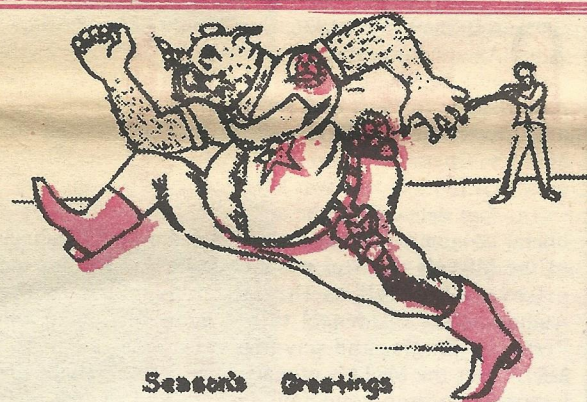
Then we went back to the Northwest and eventually back to Seattle and did some more stuff, more of this exposé of the banks and the big timber companies, punctuated by a few explosions. By this time I think they figured out our M.O. and so they put out a lot of information. Seattle at that time had maybe five or ten FBI agents for the whole state so they doubled the FBI force when we first went back up there, and they tripled it and half of all of them's job was to find us.

I was at this little shopping mall in Seattle kind of looking at this bank and doing my laundry and I had my dog with me and, you know, I was like dissembling*; I had my wig on. So I got done doing what I was doing, got my laundry and took my dog, we went down to the beach which was down the road a little ways. When I came back up from the beach I went back to the shopping center and as I came out of the shopping center these FBIs were at the hamburger stand. They all piled into their unmarked sedan and as soon as I hit the street I knew that they were on me, 'cause I could see 'em. (I don't know if you've ever seen 'em but you can tell. When you see six white shirts in a big old Ford Fairlane who left their hamburgers...) So we took a little drive. I was trying to get back on the freeway, 'cause I decided, well fuck it, I'm gonna drive to Canada! And I cut through this parking lot and they had blocked it off so I couldn't get on the street I wanted to get on so that meant I made a u-turn in the parking lot and I came back out and they thought—I don't know what they thought, but they freaked out so they stopped me, jumped out and started waving their guns and arrested me and kept me in that parking lot for hours, with my hands cuffed behind me. They never searched me the whole time until they took me downtown 5-6 hours later 'cause they wanted me to hear all this shit they were doing on their radio. I had this car that we had just bought that was still registered to the people out in another part of town so they were going to surround that house and all that shit. I just told them they should probably not kill anybody till they found out their ID, you know. And pretty much I didn't have anything to say to them.

So they arrested me and they took me to jail and then they finally searched me and they got really pissed off

because I had a handcuff key on my key ring. They tried to take me to a line-up in Seattle. I wouldn't participate in the line up and so they didn't know what to do. They sent me back to Oregon and they gave me all the Oregon bank robberies. So I think I had 7-8 bank robberies. They had, unbeknownst to me, finally figured out who we were. Because when the guy got broke out of the hospital we sort of disappeared, and our whole house disappeared in a weekend, all our belongings, all our everything was just absorbed into the community. So whenever they got around to going there was a whole other set of people living there. So it took them a while to figure it out. But once they had an idea then they started going to my family, showing them these pictures of this guy who was robbing banks in Oregon. My mother accidentally said, "oh that sort of looks like her," so they had my whole family subpoenaed to testify against me: my father, my mother, my brother.

The trial was set in Portland and not Seattle. That was not my political base so I decided to cop a plea to one of these bank robberies. They had this woman who was nine months pregnant and had been a victim teller a year and a half before who they had tricked into being convinced that I was the person. You know, they'll show you four photographs, right, my photograph was one of those photographs at any time. They were going to put this woman on the stand and say, "well how did you know it was a woman?" and she was gonna say, "because of the hips." We were gonna go out and take pictures of everybody's hips and ask, "how do you know? How can you tell if they are a woman's hips?" They were gonna put my family on the stand and do all this shit, so I just said fuck it—I'll just



**MAY THE POWER
OF THE**



**BE WITH YOU
THROUGHOUT
THE
NEW YEAR**

cop to one of these bank robberies because there was no way to build a real political trial in a place that is not where you do your work. Even so, at my sentencing and my trial were about 200 people who came down from Seattle and packed the court room; they had banners and sang revolutionary songs, (My judge's name was Baloney). My lawyers pretty much told him, "you should just leave these people alone because if you want to fight, they'll fight."

I got 25 years and I went to prison and I went to a control unit. I was there for a year. In West Virginia, I was with Assata Shakur** in that control unit. Then I just went all over the federal system for eight years, and I got rid of the five years, so it took me five years to get rid of five years because it was a double jeopardy sentence. So on 20 years I did eight. I did five years parole and I don't owe them shit right now. Next question.

(To be continued...)

* Dissembling refers to the act of blending in, or living among and like the people. The dictionary definition: 'to give a false semblance to; conceal the real nature of.'

** Assata was the only black woman in that control unit. The twenty other women there were neo nazis from California and the Manson women. [Assata Shakur was a leader in the Black Panther Party, and later the Black Liberation Army. Heavily targeted by its Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO), she was dubbed "the soul of the BLA" by the government. She successfully escaped in 1979 and now lives in Cuba.]★

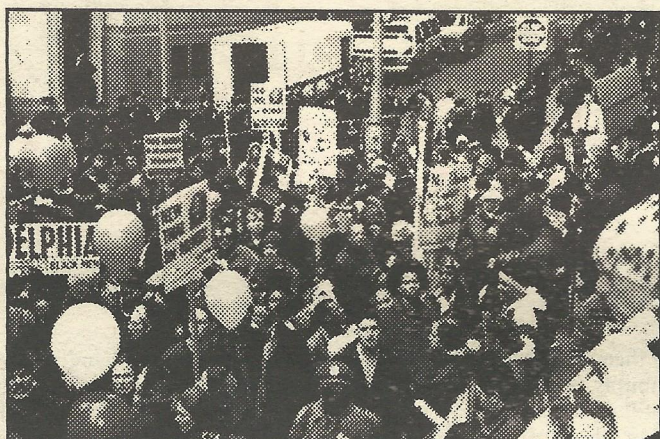
BY W. SCHWEIZER

Hundreds of people clogged the intersection of Wall and Broad Streets in New York on December 9 in a noon-time rally, to free Mumia Abu-Jamal. The cops had to close the street several times during the rally because of the size of the crowd.

The corner is the location of the original capital of the US and the home of finance capital today—the New York Stock Exchange is diagonally across the street.

The demonstration was significant in two ways. First, because of the site. Previously people had marched many times on Philadelphia's City Hall, the Pennsylvania Statehouse in Harrisburg, and the Justice Department in DC. But Dec. 9 was the first time that people had marched on the locus of real power in the US: the seat of the banks and corporations that finance much of the campaigns of all the politicians who sit in those seats of government and who return the favor by enacting and enforcing the laws of the corporate system.

In recent years the beneficiaries of this system have done exceedingly well for themselves. But for millions of other people, including Mumia Abu-Jamal, the world looks a lot different than the pages of this year's Neiman Marcus catalogue. The same corporate markets that have concentrated vast amounts of wealth at the



Part of the crowd at the December 9 Rally to Free Mumia on Wall Street

corner of Broad and Wall have condemned the majority of the world's population to lives of poor jobs or no jobs, lousy housing, hunger and early death. And those who the system has not successfully marginalized in the marketplace have been corralled off the way by the state into prisons and execution chambers.

A parenthetical note is in order here. Sometimes the corporate class's own members get so out of order, their shit stinks so much, that they get locked up themselves. But not for long. A week before the rally on Wall Street, Charles Keating, perhaps the most infamous of the 1980s savings and loan flimflam artists, won a new trial because a previous conviction had been mentioned at his trial in federal court. Keating, whose actions had resulted in thousands of people losing their homes, savings, and in some cases, their lives by suicide, is, for now, a free man.

Mumia Abu-Jamal, on the other hand, had no previous convictions when he went to trial in 1982. He was

(Continued to page 19)

BY BRAD

On December 17, 1996, a small unit of Peru's Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) secretly entered a huge party at the house of the Japanese Ambassador to Peru and took hundreds of capitalists and government officials hostage. Thus started the MRTA's "Operation Oscar Torres Condeso," named after an MRTA founder who was killed in battle in Colombia.

The four demands of the action are for an end to neo-liberal economic policies in Peru, freedom for hundreds of the MRTA's political prisoners, safe passage for the prisoners (as well as the MRTA members in the Ambassador's residence) to a remote section of the Peruvian jungle, and payment of a war tax to the MRTA. But the MRTA's primary goal is to highlight the horrendous prison conditions in Peru and to free their political prisoners. Prison conditions in Peru are among the worst in this hemisphere, and torture is common. There have periodically been massacres of huge numbers of political prisoners, such as in 1986 and 1992.

In 1992 Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori dissolved Peru's Congress and took dictatorial control. Special laws aimed at leftist organizations were passed which gave the police, army, and courts every possible means of repression. Political prisoners are routinely subjected to physical and psychological torture.

There are thousands of political prisoners in Peru, from the MRTA and the Peruvian Communist Party (a.k.a. Shining Path) and from organizations of farmers, students, women, and unions. One of the prisoners the MRTA wants freed is US revolutionary Lori Berenson, serving a life sen-



jailed MRTA rebels

tence in Peru for allegedly aiding the MRTA.

There are 12 high-security prisons in Peru. One of them is in a marine base. Another prison is located 4,000 meters high in the Andes Mountains. The climate makes life very hard for the prisoners. The wind blows through the bars and it is always cold. Many prisoners suffer from respiratory illnesses and stomach pains.

People who are arrested under the anti-terrorist laws are sentenced within 24 hours, with no chance of a defense. These prisoners must live in total isolation for a whole year. Afterwards they can receive one 30-minute visit every month, but only from immediate family members. They are confined to their small cells for all but half an hour each day. They have no radio or TV. They are often denied medical treatment. The food is horrible—it is often rotten and the guards sometimes mix in glass, rats or cockroaches. Prisoners only receive two liters of water per day for bathing, washing and drinking. Women prisoners also have to endure sexual assaults and intimidation.

On Dec. 16, the day before the MRTA's occupation action, MRTA prisoners at Miguel Castro Castro prison led a hunger strike of over 1,000 prisoners protesting prison conditions. The rebel prisoners demanded better food and more family visits, as well as changes in Peru's anti-terrorist laws and the elimination of the system of anonymous ("faceless") judges.

Everyone on the left should support the MRTA's demands for freedom for all political prisoners and for an end to neo-liberalism, regardless of how people see the MRTA or this particular action. I think anarchists should be generally supportive of the anti-capitalist movement in Peru, encouraging the anti-authoritarian and democratic tendencies within all organizations, while being critical of the authoritarian and state capitalist tendencies of the two largest armed groups, the MRTA and the Shining Path, as well as the reformism of most of the rest of the left. But the MRTA's demands in the embassy occupation are just; anarchists should demand an end to neo-liberalism in Peru and freedom for all of Peru's political prisoners.★

For current information on the situation, check these internet sites:
 Arm the Spirit's MRTA Solidarity Page
<http://burn.ucsd.edu/~ats/mrta.htm>
 MRTA Web Page (in Spanish)
<http://www.cybercity.dk/users/ccc17427/>

In October a new ABC group formed in Chicago. Most of their work will be local and regional in scope, but they want to maintain contact with anarchists, abolitionists, and other prison activists around North America.

They will work on five campaigns. First, they will correspond and work with an anarchist study group inside Illinois prisons. Second, they will work in coalition with other prison activists in Chicago on the National Campaign to Stop Control Unit Prisons (NCSCUP). Third, they will develop and distribute propaganda around the issue of prison abolition, in order to outline a comprehensive view of the criminal justice system to give context to the individual campaigns they do. Fourth, they will resume communication with Larry Giddings, an anti-authoritarian political prisoner in Lewisburg, PA. An earlier incarnation of Chicago ABC had regular contact with Larry Giddings. Fifth, they will participate in the Emergency Response Network.

Chicago ABC would like to develop ties with other ABC groups, especially in the Midwest. They welcome correspondence.

Chicago ABC
c/o Autonomous Zone
1573 N. Milwaukee #420
Chicago, IL 60622
(773) 278-0775

Lancaster ABC has published a pamphlet by New Afrikan POW Russell Shoats, titled "Human Rights or Control Units." It contains two essays on the topic, and is available from Lancaster ABC for \$1.50. All proceeds go directly to Russell Shoats.

Shoats was part of the Black Panther Party and was imprisoned for carrying out actions on behalf of the Black Liberation Army (BLA). In 1967 he was founding member of the Black Unity Council, a Philadelphia group that merged with the Black Panther Party in 1969. In 1970, he and five other comrades were accused of attacking a Philadelphia police station that resulted in the death and wounding of police officers. This attack was carried out in response to the unjustified deaths committed by these police officers against the Black community. For 18 months, he was active underground with the Black Liberation Army. Arrested in 1972, he has been in prison since that time, serving multiple life sentences. Write to him for more information on his situation or information on control units.

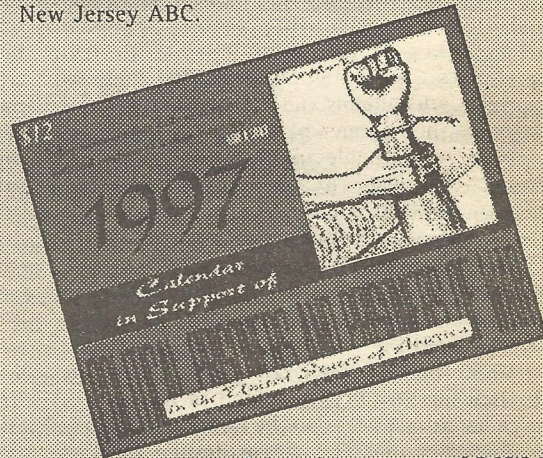
Russell Shoats / AF-3855
1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy
Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090

A new pamphlet titled "Women & Imprisonment in the United States: History & Current Reality" by Nancy Kurshan is available from Monkeywrench Press. Nancy Kurshan works with the Committee to End the Marion Lockdown in Chicago. This pamphlet provides a brief but informative history of women's imprisonment in the US. For a copy of this pamphlet, send \$3.00 to:

Monkeywrench Press
4722 Baltimore Ave
Philadelphia, PA 19143
email: monkeywrench@iww.org

Each month on this 12 month flip calendar highlights a different political prisoner or prisoner of war in the US.

All funds raised from sales of the calendar will be split among the prisoners highlighted in the calendar. Order your copy for \$12 from New Jersey ABC.



Support Political Prisoners and POWs!

Athens ABC
Rfd #1 / PO Box 6025
Athens, ME 04912

Milwaukee ABC
PO Box 93312
Milwaukee, WI 53203

Baltimore ABC
PO Box 22534
Baltimore, MD 21203

Minneapolis ABC
PO Box 7075
Minneapolis, MN 55407

Chicago ABC
c/o A-Zone, 1573 N.
Milwaukee #420
Chicago, IL 60622

Montcon ABC
PO Box 25103
Montcon, NB
E1C 9M9 CANADA

Jacksonville ABC
3628 Park Street, Suite 20
Jacksonville, FL 32205

New Jersey ABC
PO Box 8532
Paterson, NJ 07508

Lancaster ABC
PO Box 891
Lancaster, PA 17608

New York ABC
PO Box 1034
Bronx, NY 10454

ABC Federation World Wide Web Page:
<http://www.jaxnet.com/~yamixabc/index.html>

Robert Williams Dies

Early Advocate of Black Armed Self-Defense

BY MATTHEW QUEST

Some Negro leaders have cautioned me that if Negroes fight back, the racist will have cause to exterminate the race.

How asinine can one get? ... I am not half so worried about being exterminated as I am about my children's growing up under oppression and being mentally twisted out of human proportions.

—Robert F. Williams (1925-1996)

Before Malcolm X advocated Black liberation by any means necessary, and the Black Panther Party put it into practice, Robert Franklin Williams did both. Robert F. Williams was a direct action organizer against white supremacist attacks on Black folk in the South, the first prominent advocate of armed self-defense in the civil rights movement, and a revolutionary Black nationalist. As a propagandist in exile, he had a tremendous impact on US imperialism. His heroic acts in the late 1950s and 1960s were an inspiration to many who would later aspire to fill the void of radical independent Black political leadership and organizations. On October 22 he died in Michigan from Hodgkin's disease.

ARMED SELF-DEFENSE

Robert Williams (RW) was born in Monroe, North Carolina. A high school graduate, he was drafted into the army in 1944. He worked briefly at a Ford auto plant in Detroit and at other factories, before attending West Virginia State College in 1949. In 1954 he enlisted in the Marines, but was discharged when he protested the racism to which he was subjected in his integrated unit. Propelled by the Supreme Court's Brown decision of 1954 which declared segregated and unequal public schools illegal, and the 1955 lynching of Emmitt Till, a Black teenager in Mississippi, RW returned home to join the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to fight for desegregation.

When Williams was elected President of the Monroe (Union County) chapter, it was reborn in militancy. With the help of Dr. Albert Perry, he built a more multi-racial, working-class base intent on desegregating public facilities, eliminating discrimination in employment, and fighting for equal justice under the law. As a veteran, he easily secured a rifle club charter from the National Rifle Association (NRA) and prepared his community to defend itself.

THE KLAN IN MONROE

Monroe, like many places in the Jim Crow South, was a place where cops and the Ku Klux Klan went visibly "hand in hand." Klan motorcades, including police cars, with honking horns, flashing lights, and pistols firing in the air, would terrorize the Black community at night. Black folk awoke to shouts of "coons" and "niggers" as molotovs were thrown and bullets shot through the windows of their homes. Any Black person caught on the street at these times would be subjected to terrorist acts including being forced to dance at pistol point, rape, or murder. The Klan had a public regional headquarters in Monroe and the local press reported that thousands regularly attended open field gatherings. The Klan publicly declared war on the Monroe NAACP as "communist-inspired," and singled out Williams and Perry for death.

In the summer of 1957, in response to the early struggle around desegregating the public pool, the KKK and the police attacked the home of Dr. Perry, who was framed for supposedly performing an illegal abortion on a white woman and had his license to practice medicine revoked. The attacking racists were shot up by a very un-NAACP-like "rifle club" led by Robert Williams, positioned as guerrillas on the roof of the Perry home and in the trees of his yard. There would be no national media coverage of this incident despite the fact that two weeks later a Klan attack on Native Americans in the South which was repelled by gunfire was widely celebrated.

Between 1958 and 1959 the travesties of

white supremacist injustice in Monroe would become internationally known. In May of 1959, months after Williams helped to organize the defense of the "Kissing Case," in which two black boys, ages seven and nine, were convicted of rape after one of the boys innocently kissed a six-year-old white girl on the cheek while playing "house," Williams was back in court. As head of the Monroe NAACP he was called on to document charges of racial discrimination against Blacks by the courts and present them to the national convention that summer. He documented three outstanding cases of judicial white supremacy. First, a young Black male epileptic was convicted of attempted rape of a white

to stay in the good graces of influential Northern whites who were disturbed by their militancy.

In 1960 the Monroe NAACP, first temporarily led by Williams' wife Mabel and then by himself after he was unanimously re-elected by the chapter in defiance of the national office, started a non-violent sit-in campaign. The national office didn't seem to take notice that non-violence and self-defense as tactics could be successfully combined. There was less violence than in any other sit-in in the South. In Monroe, as RW would point out in his book *Negroes With Guns* (1962), "We had less violence because we'd shown the willingness and readiness to fight and defend ourselves. We



Arms in Dr. Perry's living room. Perry is at left; next to him is Robert Williams.

woman when in a dispute over a plow, he began twitching and touched the white woman's wrist. In a second case, a white man was accused of attempted rape of a Black woman who was eight months pregnant. A white woman testified that she had witnessed the assault in which the man also beat the pregnant woman with a wrench. The third case that interested Williams also involved a white male defendant. He became annoyed at a Black maid who had been dusting outside his hotel room door, awakening him. He rushed out and kicked the maid down a flight of stairs causing internal injuries so serious she was hospitalized for six weeks. In all of these cases all white juries, without sequestered deliberation, came forth with not-guilty verdicts for these vicious white men and a sentence of five years for the Black male epileptic.

A UPI reporter who had witnessed these legal appeals fall on deaf ears asked Williams what he was thinking as he walked out of the North Carolina courthouse. His next statement was reprinted all over the US and heard on radio shows across the country. "This demonstration today shows that the Negro in the South cannot expect justice in the courts. He must convict his attackers on the spot. He must meet violence with violence, lynching with lynching." Ironically, RW was under pressure from his fellow members of the local NAACP despite their tremendous respect for him because he had appealed to them to try the legal route of protest first. The family of the Black maid in particular was ready to seek retribution on their own. He would later reiterate that he was merely advocating self-defense and was not a proponent of "race war" as the media was making him out to be. He insisted that he was not for indiscriminate attacks on whites—he was President of a multi-racial organization.

STRUGGLES WITH NAACP LEADERSHIP

Roy Wilkins, the national leader of the NAACP, was quick to suspend Williams for his comments. RW, questioning the NAACP's commitment to racial justice, asked why the national office did not come to his rescue when he had been a victim of the Klan's terrorism and when his life insurance was canceled as a poor insurance risk? The national office never offered assistance to the Monroe chapter; preferring

one day a week, and after two young Black boys drowned in the fast tide of the local creek. The white establishment argued that the pool would have to be drained every time Blacks used it and this would prove too costly.

After picketing for two days, the Monroe chapter were picnicking in a "White People Only" picnic area when they heard bullets fired over their head. Williams appealed to the chief of police who was on the site but said "Well, I don't hear anything." (This was the same chief of police who placed police cars in the Klan motorcade which was shot up in 1957.) During this week-long action RW was run off the road in his car right in front of the highway patrol station as officers stood by and laughed, twice. The second time was in the middle of a major highway with white folk screaming, "Kill the niggers! Pour gasoline on the niggers! Burn the niggers!"

After being run off the road by a second car, the white male driver approached Williams' car with a baseball bat saying, "Nigger what did you hit me for?" As the man approached RW's windshield, he pointed a .45 pistol at him backing him away. The mob started screaming hysterically again and began to throw stones on his car. Williams got out of the car with an Italian carbine. At the time it was legal to carry arms in one's car in that state so long as they weren't concealed. Policemen who were standing by during this white supremacist attack approached him when they saw he was armed. One got a rifle butt in the face from Williams; a youth in his car drew a pistol on another policeman as one tried to ambush his mentor. The police would be forced to escort these fighters to safety, obviously not because they had respect for Black life.

IN EXILE

This would set the stage for RW's final showdown in Monroe. James Forman, former leader of Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in its more radical days, assisted the Monroe struggle by staging a multiracial "Freedom Ride" non-violent action at the pool. There a white supremacist mob turned ugly. Forman's head was left gushing with blood. One white woman's shirt was torn off for getting into a car with a Black man. Almost all involved were imprisoned. A white male pacifist was beaten within an inch of his life by a white ex-convict three times his size who later confessed to being bribed by the local authorities to do this. Williams and "the rifle club" were forced to exchange fire with cops and Klan to defend the pacifists. In the end Williams was framed up on kidnapping charges after he saved a Klan-affiliated couple from an angry crowd of Blacks who caught them in

(Continued to page 19)

STARING DOWN THE MOB

In June of 1961, the Monroe NAACP picketed the town's segregated swimming pool, effectively shutting it down. The 1957 campaign demanded integration but for only



Williams returns to the US to face kidnapping charges after eight years in exile in Cuba, Red China and Africa.

Mario Savio Dies

(Continued from page 5)

by Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) pamphlets—whether or not Mario read them I don't know, but bits and pieces of the ideas were certainly blowing in the wind—Mario put them all together, denouncing the University as a machine and Amerika as a giant corporation serviced by the University, in which students are just cogs in the wheel. Here is part of what Mario said, in a speech that was to make him famous:

"We have an autocracy which runs this university. It's managed. We were told the following: If President Kerr actually tried to get something more liberal out of the Regents in his telephone conversation, why didn't he make some public statement to that effect? And the answer we received from a well-meaning liberal was the following. He said: 'Would you ever imagine the manager of a firm making a statement publicly in opposition to its Board of Directors?' That's the answer. I ask you to consider: if this is a firm, and if the Board of Regents are the Board of Directors, and if President Kerr is in fact the manager, I tell you something—the faculty are a bunch of employees and we're the raw materials! But we're a bunch of raw materials that don't mean to have any process upon us, don't mean to be made into any product, don't mean to end up being bought by some clients of the University be they the government, be they industry, be they organized labor, be they anyone. We're human beings! ...

"There's a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious, makes you so sick at heart, that you can't take part, you can't even passively take part, and you've got to put your bodies upon the gears and upon the wheels, upon the levers, upon all the apparatus, and you've got to make it stop. And you've got to indicate to the people who run it, to the people who own it, that unless you're free the machine will be prevented from working at all."

And so the machine was prevented from working at all. The movement would continue for the next nine weeks. At the end, a sit in of 1,000 at Sproul Hall was broken by mass arrests. The next day, 10,000 students went out in the first mass student strike of the 1960s, shutting down the university, and ending in a clear victory for the emerging student movement. Mario Savio and the others were sentenced to four months in jail for their part in demanding freedom of speech for college students and for the society as a whole.

Along with so many others (and contrary to the bourgeois media reports about the movements of the 1960s), Mario Savio never sold out. He helped the Free Speech Movement develop into the anti-war movement, and Mario's name appeared prominently as one of the organizers of the first march on Washington against the Vietnam War organized by SDS in April 17, 1965. When a team of Navy recruiters put up a table in the Berkeley Student Union in the Fall of 1966 and SDS put up an anti-war table right next to it, Mario (along with Jerry Rubin and Stew Albert) was among those arrested defending the SDS table and, once again, the right to freedom of speech, from more than a hundred cops called onto campus to remove it.

LEADERS & COMMUNITY

The media, meanwhile, was recasting their own Hollywood script of the movement. Michael Rossman, a participant on the Steering Committee of the Free Speech Movement, examines the media's effect on the movement in his book, *New Age Blues*:

"Distorted in the mirror of the media, the FSM was a caricature of the movement I knew. Around me thousands of people, self-organized into a hundred spontaneous groups, were coordinating an intense web of learning and action; I saw my sisters and brothers turning all their intelligence and energy to something they cared for, for the first time in their lives. But to read it in the papers, the FSM was

simply a campus mob organized by a disciplined cadre of radicals and inflamed by a brilliant young charismatic leader. Mario Savio's angular figure grew familiar on prime-time TV; the publicity made him a national celebrity. It was relentless...

"The media reduced us to how people wanted to see us, as simple and familiar. [But] when I left my former life and committed myself to a political existence, I wasn't playing follow-the-Leader. It's true that Mario had a moral eloquence that gave him a special place in our hearts and made him a natural media target. Before him and since, I have known [those] who put into words the feelings that I could only mumble, exciting my love and trust by speaking for me...I knew many who felt this way. I wanted to believe that, all my comrades did, and that only the media and those who feared us were responsible for the heresy that we were sheep. But well before the FSM's climax I witnessed the sweet flesh of our imagination turning rank. Though we scoffed at the media portrait of the FSM as a disciplined, efficient organization, with Mario as its Leader, we subtly came to adopt a kindred view. Rather than take responsibility for the simple complex of our action—and the terrifying freedom we briefly felt, in which everything depended on each individual and his or her will to bring a different reality into being—each of us chose in some way to say, 'It wasn't me who did this, it was the FSM.' ... Rebellious against the deathly authority of the university and the State, we found ourselves re-creating the same forms of authority—in part because we had no language or training to support the different forms we had briefly materialized in our freedom, in part because we were afraid to."

Mario Savio's life was torn apart by the media's anointing him "leader" of the movement, and by the reduction of "movement" to "organization." I wish I knew

more about his life during this time, his relationship with his wife and child, for most likely there are important and rewarding lessons for all of us there, but I don't. (Greg Calvert addresses similar themes in his wonderful book, *Democracy from the Heart*, where he talks about what it was like for him to be gay but in the closet, as National Secretary of SDS in 1968.) But it was through his advocacy and practice of participatory democracy that Mario, working quietly and steadily on various worthy projects over the years (while also teaching mathematics), was able to regain his balance. It was not until the Persian Gulf War that he again rose to prominence, putting his shoulder against the war machine to protest the US government's bombardment of Iraq. As in the past, Mario's eloquence moved the debate beyond the liberal framework, as he claimed that opposing the war was not enough, that we had a moral and political obligation to defend those who were resisting the war within the military—those brave soldiers who refused to kill for Exxon, Mobil and the US government and who were deserted by the liberal arm of the anti-war movement and persecuted by the government.

Mario spent the last few months of his life fighting against Clinton's elimination of affirmative action and his welfare reform act. Two days after losing a round in that battle with the passage of Proposition 209 (see article on page 5), Mario, age 53, suffered a heart attack (he had a long-standing heart condition) while moving furniture at home. And now, all we have are memories of the 21-year-old student philosopher connecting us to the spirit of another time, a vision of a different world. More so than any of the other heroes of our movement who have died recently, Mario was fragile, vulnerable and sweet. More than simply eliciting agreement with him on the issues, he also elicited a desire to do right by him for risking to assert his humanity in the face of Leviathan, daring to put his shoulders against the gears and, yes!, bringing that machine grinding to a halt. Even if only temporarily, Mario helped thousands attain space for our liberation movements to breathe.

From all of us in the trenches, sweet dreams dear Mario. You made our lives mean something, which is pretty much all one could hope for. Mario Savio, *presente*.★

Elections 96

(Continued from page 3)

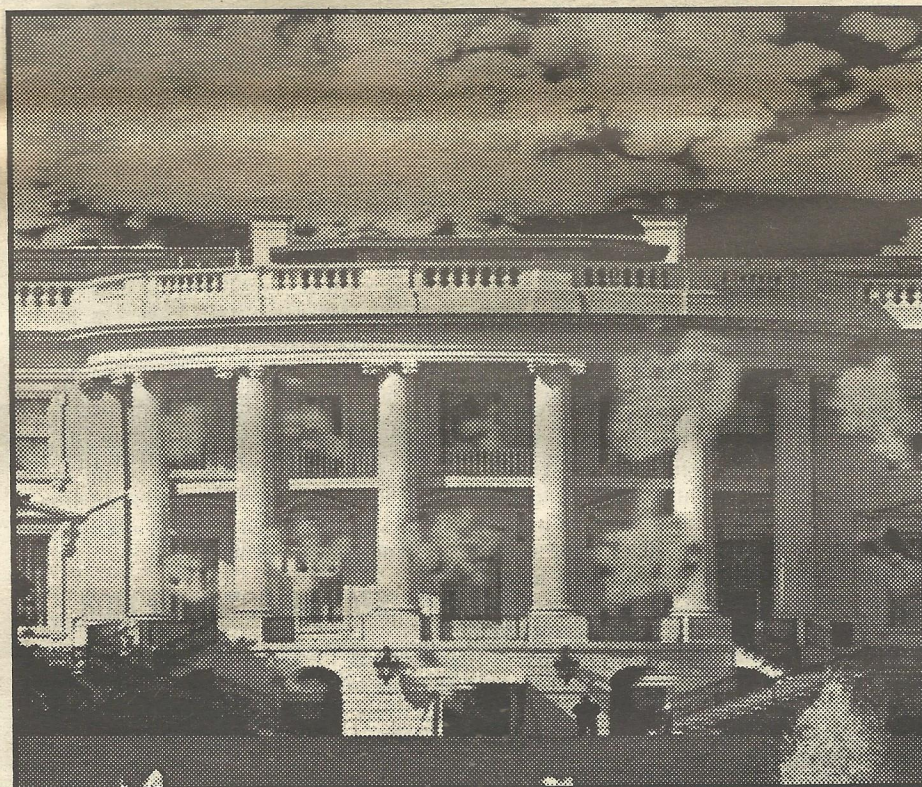
establishment liberals will not organize massive illegal struggles against the state.

Seeking to be 'respectable,' 'realistic,' and to 'work through the system,' the broad left has channeled most of its energy and money into the electoral process, particularly behind the Democratic Party. Of course they do other things, but everything focuses on electing the Democrats. (Yes, the recent shake-up in the AFL-CIO resulted in big talk about a new organizing drive and the hiring of 200 or so union organizers—but 50 years ago, a single CIO union, the Steelworkers, mobilized 5,000 organizers.) By this time it should be obvious to anyone that the Democrats are a party of big money, of power and privilege.

It is also obvious to most people that the program of the Democratic liberals has failed to improve the lives of most people. This has resulted in a popular turning away from liberalism and a willingness to listen to the only alternative program offered, that of the right.

This election could be seen as a sort of test as to just how rotten the Democrats could be and still get the support of most liberals, unionists, feminists, environmentalists, etc. Clinton and his party destroyed welfare, launched a gross attack on the poor, women, and oppressed people; they passed NAFTA against the strong opposition of the unions; they repealed environmental laws passed by Nixon; they increased the military budget beyond what the Pentagon asked; they attacked civil liberties in many ways, including with 'anti-terrorism' laws; they committed many other atrocities. Democrats know that no matter what they do, the liberals, etc., will vote for them; they only have to worry about competing with forces on their right.

The anarchist Paul Goodman wrote, "Our [liberal] friends have an obsessional inability to refrain from marking a ballot, though they are offered no relevant candidates and though their voting confirms the system that has given them the bad candidates.... The



practical alternative is to actively *not* vote, to campaign against voting with an ad in the press and on TV, and picketing one hundred feet from the polls, crying DON'T VOTE This would, of course, be scandalous—but not so scandalous as having to choose between a Kennedy and a Nixon."

The liberal argument is 'lesser evilism.' We must swallow the smaller dose of rat poison rather than the larger dose. Clinton, they say, is a lesser evil than Dole. True enough, but by this logic people should be willing to vote for Dole as a lesser evil against Pat Buchanan, Buchanan against David Duke, Duke against Timothy McVeigh, Hitler against Satan. Where does it end? Where will the liberals draw the line? And in fact, the lesser evils have been getting eviler as time goes on and politics swing further to the right. Voting for the lesser evil eventually gets us the greater evil.

FOXES AND WOLVES

Discussing the Johnson vs. Goldwater election, Malcolm X explained the meaning of 'lesser evilism': "If Johnson had been running all by himself, he wouldn't have been acceptable The shrewd imperialist knew that the only way that you will voluntarily run to the fox is to show you a wolf. So

they created a ghastly alternative and had the whole world, even the so-called intellectuals who call themselves Marxists and other things, hoping that Johnson would beat Goldwater."

This is not a discussion about individual votes. Whether an isolated individual liberal votes for Clinton or not doesn't make a difference, it's just one vote out of tens of millions (a classic anarchist criticism of mass 'representative democracy'). Discussing with individual liberals, I did not try to persuade them not to vote but to admit that Clinton really is an evil, even if 'lesser.' At issue is what large organizations and mass movements should be doing, what we advocate for the unions, the Black community, the broad left. These forces organized an army of foot soldiers for the Democrats in the election, to support those who had kicked them in the teeth.

Instead they should be organizing militant mass mobilizations, sit-in strikes, boycotts, rebellions, scandalous and disreputable actions which shut things down and start them up. This is not counterposed to winning reforms. The more militant and revolutionary the popular struggles are, the more our rulers are willing to grant reforms.

Working people are weak in electoral terms, because we don't have the money to

compete with the masters of money. But we are strong in numbers, organizational potential, location in industry and transportation, and capacity for struggle. The government and elections are the arenas of the rich and their agents; we are suckers when we play their game by their rules. We should play on our terms.

OUTSIDE THEIR POLITICS

Conditions will be getting worse for ordinary people. Bob Dole was right when he said the economy was starting to get worse (though his solutions were nonsense). The ecology will continue to deteriorate. Wars will go on around the world and the US will jump in.

People will be getting dissatisfied and angry and looking for solutions. The right will present its program. Unless it changes its approach, the broad left will not present a clear alternative program but will continue to capitulate to the centers of power. But we anarchists will be trying our best to turn things around.

There will be those proposing the least possible change for the left. The bureaucrats, lawyers, preachers, and politicians running the popular organizations will not be challenged, no matter how bad the crisis gets. One proposal is for a new party, based on the left organizations and led by the current leaders. It would take another essay to discuss the problems with third-partyism. Instead I will just point out the assumptions behind it: that the Democratic Party is the problem, not electoralism; that the state is a level playing field for the rich and poor alike; that the state machinery can be used just as well by the left as the right; that this country is run by elections; that the bureaucrats of the left will stop collaborating with the rich if they break with the Democrats; that if they did, the corporate rich would passively let the state be taken over by their enemies. Suffice it to say that all these assumptions are very unlikely.★

"If ... catastrophe [is to be] prevented, we must do it by action outside of their politics, by every means and on every relevant issue."

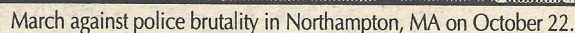
—Paul Goodman

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The march ended back in the park, with a rally which was captured on camera by local news media and replayed on the six and eleven o'clock news. Afterwards, also in the park, there was a facilitated discussion of about 50 people on freedom and genocide before the whole thing started to wind down. A banner depicting a dead tree named Hierarchy with branches labeled Racism, Capitalism, Patriarchy,

"We had a march last night in Amherst [in Massachusetts: about 20 minutes from Northampton and the site of ongoing police abuse and harassment of youth] protesting police brutality and harassment. Seventy-five of us, dressed in black and carrying candles and signs that read, 'Freedom and justice for all people,' 'Homes not jails,' and 'Stop the amerikan

above his head, and kicking him in the back when he didn't walk fast enough. When we got to the station we stood silently, before people started whispering the stories of people who had died at the hands of cops. 'My name is Anthony Baez, I was playing football in my backyard in the Bronx when my friend threw a pass that went into the street and hit a cop car. I went to get it and the cop got out of the car and strangled me to death.' Our voices got louder and louder until we were all shouting, then someone threw a hubcap down on the sidewalk, which sounded like a gunshot, and we all collapsed on the ground 'dead' in front of the station. With my eyes closed I could hear cars' tires whizzing by on the pavement, knowing that the passengers could see us, and I wondered what having a cop put a pistol to my forehead and fire would feel like and what I would think about as I lay there dying. After a while we all slowly got up and re-lit our candles, marching up and down the street a few more times, before surrounding the station and reading stories

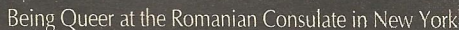


Since our two actions, we have gotten coverage in a few local papers, as well as the UMASS college newspaper. We currently have over 40 people coming to our meetings and are looking for ways to make sure everyone's voice is heard in a consensus process. We hold public meetings on Main Street in Northampton every Wednesday at 7:00 PM. We are committed to the struggle for a free and just world for all. Come check us out!★

Our mailing address:

R.A.Y.
PO Box 249
Hadley, MA 01035-0249

PAQ'N is now working on a proliferation strategy, in the hope that autonomous PAQ'N-like groups may start up where you live. PAQ'N can be contacted at 295 7th Ave. #1, Brooklyn, NY 11215 or at 212-358-5012.



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CIA Deals Crack

(Continued from page 1)

sistently thwarted by the CIA in their efforts to investigate the new plentiful source of cheap cocaine. Blandon's second innovation was to turn the coke into crack—in which form it could be sold in smaller units (rocks) at a price that would find a market even among the very poor.

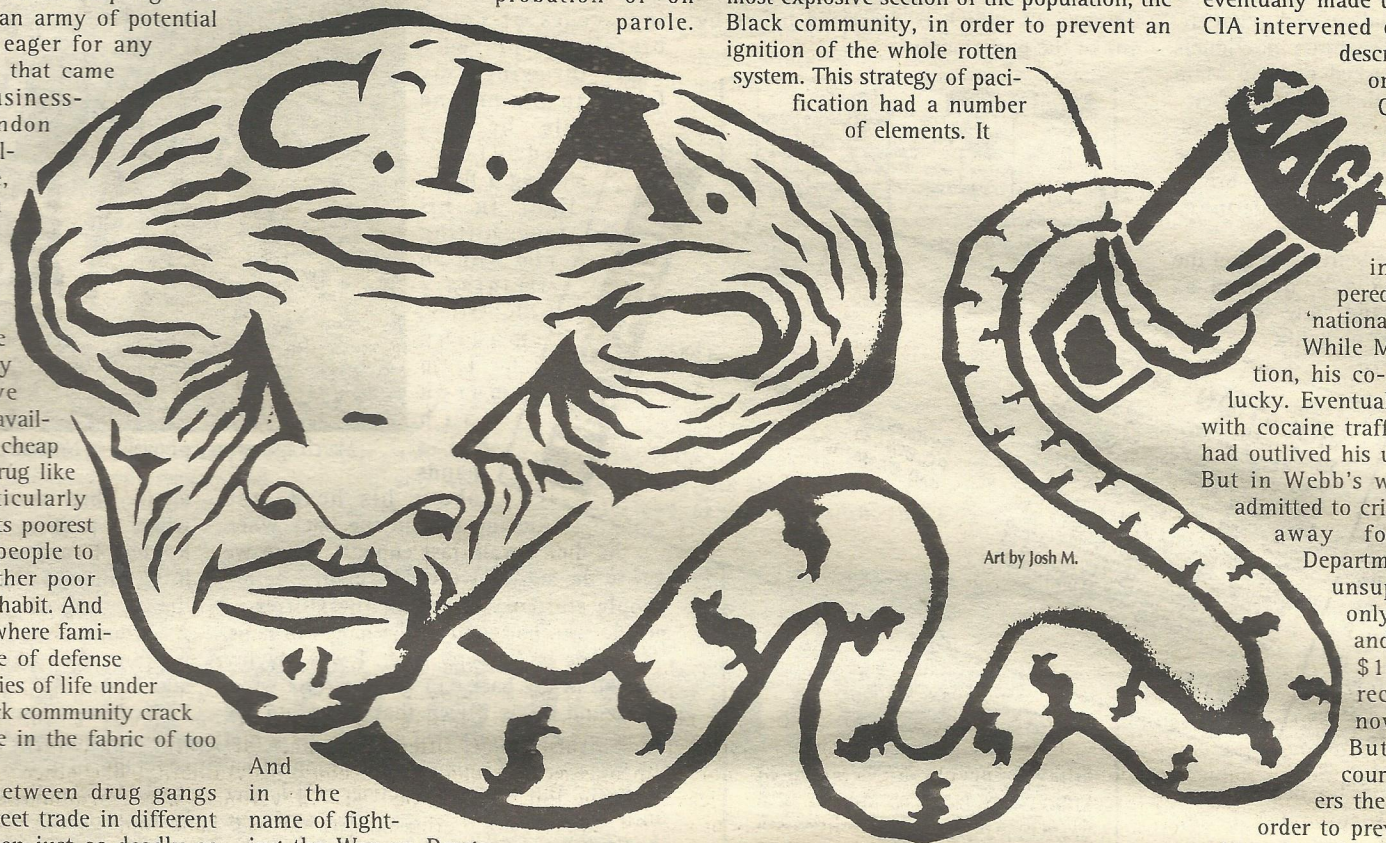
Los Angeles was already home to millions of Black and Latino youth with very little prospect for work as a consequence of the downsizing of the Los Angeles aerospace industry in the 1970s. Economic desperation creates a ready market for a cheap high like crack. It also created an army of potential young entrepreneurs eager for any economic opportunity that came their way. With business-school graduate Blandon and the logic of capitalism on his side, Freeway Rick built an empire on crack.

Crack is cheap, and crack made from CIA coke is cheaper still. But the costs to the communities affected by the crack trade have been high indeed. The availability of a relatively cheap but highly addictive drug like crack has had a particularly devastating effect on its poorest users. It drives poor people to steal and rob from other poor people to pay for their habit. And it tears families apart where family is often the last line of defense against the daily cruelties of life under capitalism. For the Black community crack has torn a terrible hole in the fabric of too many peoples' lives.

The competition between drug gangs over control of the street trade in different neighborhoods has been just as deadly as crack itself. This is perhaps best known in Los Angeles, where the pattern of retaliatory murders has become the stuff of rap songs and major motion pictures. But violence driven by the crack trade has spread to countless cities across the US, and the CIA played a role in this expansion. Webb tells the story of how Freeway Rick tried to retire from the crack trade by moving to Cincinnati. But with the assistance of this CIA connection he was soon out of retirement and Cincinnati became the hub of a new Midwest crack empire.

The lure of easy money and the gangster

lifestyle has quite literally dragged thousands of young people—mainly young Black men—to an early grave. The devastating effects of crack itself and the violence of the crack trade have provided the main justification for the so-called "War on Drugs." The War on Drugs has been mainly a war on the Black and Latino communities already hurt most by the crack trade. Public hysteria over drugs has been deliberately fanned to create an atmosphere in which the police can impose a reign of brutality and repression on youth of color. Since the early 1980s the War on Drugs has increased the prison population of the US by 300%. It has created a situation where one out of three young Black men are either in prison, awaiting trial, on probation or on parole.



Art by Josh M.

And in the name of fighting the War on Drugs, basic civil liberties have been steadily compromised. In short, it has been a fabulous success as a means of social control over the Black community. But in terms of stemming the flow of drugs, we all know it has been a major failure.

Why has the US government engaged in a policy so obviously destructive to a significant section of its own citizenry? The simplest and most obvious answer: to fund the Nicaraguan Contras. But this is not the first time the government has pumped drugs into the Black community. Nobody should take seriously the suggestion that the CIA was

unaware of the horrible social consequences of its actions. We should also be skeptical of any claims that the devastation of the crack epidemic was simply a side effect of the CIA's determined efforts to raise money for the Contras. Webb's series of articles demonstrates that it was the CIA coke pipeline that created the mass market for crack in the ghettos and barrios of the US.

The CIA's involvement in creating the crack epidemic must be understood as a particularly sinister form of counter-insurgency—a sort of chemical warfare against a historically insurgent community. The urban rebellions of the 1960s profoundly challenged the social order of the US. The powers that be needed to take steps to pacify the most explosive section of the population, the Black community, in order to prevent an ignition of the whole rotten system. This strategy of pacification had a number of elements. It

included the creation of various poverty programs to ameliorate some of the worst conditions in the Black community. It included a full-scale war against the revolutionary movement in the Black community with the result that a whole generation of leaders was killed, jailed, or driven into inactivity. A third element was a dramatic expansion of the heroin trade in key urban areas designed to dissolve the internal cohesion of the Black community and the willingness of people to rise up in revolt.

There is really nothing new about this sort of thing. From 1839 to 1842 Great Britain waged what were called the Opium Wars against China to force China to accept British opium imports from India. Superficially the issue was simply one of increasing British profits from opium. But the long-term effects went well beyond the profits of the opium trade. Opium addiction devastated Chinese society and left China less and less able to resist European and Japanese colonialist demands on her. This pattern persisted until the Chinese Revolution in 1949 largely eliminated the Chinese opium trade.

But the use of opium for the purposes of

than straight ones. By 1971 almost a quarter of US military personnel had tried heroin and 11% had acquired a regular habit. Soldiers returning to the US brought their heroin habits with them and the CIA-protected heroin trade eagerly met the new market's demand for smack.

Webb documents that the Meneses family was establishing its relationship with Colombian coke sellers in 1974, the same year that "crack cocaine makes its first documented appearance in California." While the documents of the FBI and DEA demonstrate that both agencies were aware of Meneses' involvement in coke smuggling in the 1970s, he inexplicably eluded any prosecution whatsoever. When efforts were eventually made to investigate Meneses the CIA intervened on his behalf. As Webb describes it, "Agents from four organizations—the DEA, US Customs, the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department and the California Bureau of Narcotic Enforcement—have complained that investigations were hampered by the CIA for unnamed 'national security' interests."

While Meneses escaped prosecution, his co-conspirators were not as lucky. Eventually Blandon was charged with cocaine trafficking, but only after he had outlived his usefulness to the Contras. But in Webb's words, "though Blandon admitted to crimes that have sent others away for life, the Justice Department turned him loose on unsupervised probation after only 28 months behind bars and has paid him more than \$166,000 since, court records show." Blandon is now a full-time informant. But when he testifies in court against other drug dealers the prosecution gets a court order to prevent the defendants from asking about his CIA connection.

Freeway Rick has gotten a much worse deal than either Meneses or Blandon. One of Blandon's jobs for the government was to set up Freeway Rick for a bust. Ross was sent to prison for four years as the result of a bust in Cincinnati. While he was in prison he testified for the US government against some corrupt LAPD officers who were part of what was called the Freeway Rick Task Force. He got five years shaved off his sentence for the testimony. But he also earned the vengeance of many in Southern California's law enforcement establishment.

The sting operation against Freeway Rick was set up while he was still in prison even though there was no evidence that he was engaged in any illegal activity from behind bars. In 1995 Freeway Rick was lured into a set-up. He was arrested and charged with conspiracy to sell cocaine—coke that he never laid eyes on and that had been provided to Blandon by the DEA. He is behind bars today. Freeway Rick's bust fits the profile for crack cases, however. In spite of the extensive involvement of others in the cocaine trade, almost everybody in jail for crack dealing is Black like Freeway Rick. It remains to be seen

Toronto General Strike

(Continued from page 1)

Organizers worked long and hard to make sure that the Toronto strike would cripple the city. Over 300 sites were targeted for protest. Organizing spread throughout the city into factories, schools, hospitals, daycares, and the street. On Friday Oct. 25, pickets emerged everywhere! The postal stations were the first to close where workers wore masks to hide their identities because the bosses threatened to fire any worker seen on the pickets. The transit system, which over a million people use every day, was also closed. This was the most important thing shut down. Several unions ranging from the Teamsters, UNITE, The Canadian Autoworkers, as well as Public employee unions united to make sure that a strong message against the Tories was made. Several labour bureaucrats were making sure that the pickets were only "informational," because the government won a court injunction making the transit pickets illegal until the next morning. However, rank and file militants and other leftists, including Love and Rage members, challenged the power of the picket captains and made sure that the pickets were there to shut the system down!

POLICE INTIMIDATION

At daybreak, the streets looked like a Sunday morning as compared to the usual rush hour traffic. Workplace pickets appeared everywhere, from daycares to the main international airport. However, the state's heavy mobilization was very apparent. Police convoys, some over 50 vehicles long, drove around the city in full stormtrooper gear intimidating protesters. In one case, a riot ensued at the federal building when police charged pickets and arrested several protesters after they would

not allow scabs through. Demonstrators throughout the city ranged from First Nations peoples to health care workers who picketed outside a hotel where Tory delegates to a convention were staying. Another demonstration at the financial district failed to shut down the stock exchange because social democratic labour leaders were unwilling to cause some real damage. They made sure that their marshals worked with the riot police to protect the capitalist exchange. It is estimated that over 100,000 people took part in the strike events. The huge turnout was clear at the rally to protest education cuts, where the crowd took over several surrounding streets.

ON THE MOVE ONTARIO-WIDE

On the following day, every union, social group, and thousands of unaffiliated people marched to demand that the government be removed from office. The march was led by First Nations peoples and their supporters, who have been under more attack recently by the state. Union officials estimate that over 250,000 people marched to protest against the Tories. The march ended with tens of thousands of protesters surrounding the government buildings. Speakers included the usual boring labour bureaucrats, but striking workers and community activists also spoke. The highlight of the event was when Billy Bragg appeared and played a set of political songs including "There is Power in a Union!" Bragg also talked about the similarities between the growing struggle in Canada and the struggle against the Tories in Britain. A movement is in the making in Ontario, as more people are getting angered by the capitalist offensive that is destroying their lives daily. Organizers are now talking about the next step: shutting down the province. *Let's do it!*★

The powers that be needed to take steps to pacify the most explosive section of the population, the Black community, in order to prevent an ignition of the whole rotten system.

empire building and social control did not end there. In his book, *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia*, Alfred W. McCoy documents the intimate involvement of the US Government in the production of opium in Southeast Asia and its transformation into heroin for consumption in the US. It was precisely this Southeast Asian heroin that flooded into the ghettos after the urban uprisings of the late 1960s. McCoy documents how US officials turned a blind eye on South Vietnamese officials peddling heroin to US soldiers. The US armed forces were facing a rising tide of discontent within the ranks that was increasingly taking the form of fragging (killing) of officers if not outright mutiny. They certainly understood that doped-out soldiers were less likely to revolt

whether the official investigations into the CIA's involvement in the crack epidemic will go anywhere. What is clear is that they wouldn't have been initiated if not for the vocal expressions of outrage from the Black community since Webb's articles were published.

All people interested in justice must continue to demand thorough independent investigations which will bring the full scope of this story to light. Exposing this story and the government's bald-faced hypocrisy and cynicism in pumping poison into the Black community will be invaluable in lowering everyone's trust and respect for the state, and showing the desperate need to build an entirely new system in the shell of this decaying one.★

Palestinian Authority Metes Out Systematic Prisoner Abuse

By YIFAT SUSSKIND

Since the Oslo Agreement came into effect in May 1994 the situation of Palestine's political prisoners has served as a litmus test for a viable, just end to the Israeli occupation. Today the continuing prisoners' crisis reflects the entrenched Israeli remote-control over Palestinians which commissions Yasser Arafat to deliver and enforce local compliance with the new order.

Of the nearly 6,000 Palestinians now imprisoned by Israel, more than half were arrested after the signing of the 1993 Agreement. Sweeping "security arrangements" in last September's Oslo II deal distinctly preserve Israeli ability to arrest, try and imprison Palestinians in large portions of the West Bank. Gaping loopholes in the accords allow Israel to continue to administratively detain Palestinians from areas now under the control of the Palestinian Authority (PA)—for membership in nationalist organizations that are perfectly legal in those areas. Conditions of detention and interrogation have deteriorated since Oslo II. There have been rollbacks in rights such as minimum standards for hygiene, food and particularly family visits, rights which were won through a series of hunger strikes in the 1980s and early 1990s. Moreover, the current Knesset recently passed a bill that makes Israel the only country in the world to legislate torture. The bill, in Orwellian doublespeak, defines torture as "pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, *except for pain or suffering inherent in interrogation procedures or punishment according to the law*" (emphasis added).

ROUTINE TORTURE

This summer's events have made it painfully clear that Israel is no longer the only authority in Palestine to systematically abuse prisoners. Indeed, as Palestinian legislative and executive powers are incrementally swallowed up by Arafat's one-man rule, human rights violations have become routine. In their two-year tenure PA forces have tortured seven detainees to death and an estimated 70% of prisoners are now systematically subjected to torture. By June 1996, the number of people arrested by the PA was more than double the figure for all of 1995. Today the PA holds 1,200 prisoners suspected of membership in opposition groups, two-thirds of whom have been imprisoned for more than six months without charges, trial or legal council.

The chaotic functioning of the PA's nine armed security forces is one clear source of abuses. Employing over 40,000 people (one of the highest police-to-population ratios in the world), the security forces are characterized by a near-total lack of regulation and wide-scale corruption. In the Gaza Strip alone there are 24 separate detention centers whose locations were kept secret until this April. Often prisoners in one detention center are held under the authority of a security service not responsible



Women demonstrating in Gaza against Palestinian Authority arrests.

for that jail. Family members are usually not informed of arrests and prison officials regularly refuse to provide information to families searching for imprisoned relatives. People are sometimes jailed under a false name. Often people are detained by more than one security body; in such cases they may be released by one force only to be transferred to the custody of another. Lawyers are routinely and arbitrarily denied access to imprisoned clients. Search and arrest warrants are the exception rather than the norm. Mistreatment is endemic, with whipping, electrocution, stretching and controlled strangulation used to elicit confessions and mete out punishment.

UNDER ISRAELI CHARGE

The PA's brutal suppression of opposition stems in part from Israeli demands encoded in the Oslo Agreements. Oslo II, for example, charges the PA with quelling any threat to Israeli security, ranging from armed attacks to "anticipated incitement." (Art. II; 2, emphasis added) Pressure to meet such demands has led to an unofficial quota system for arrests. As one PA prison guard commented, "We have to maintain a certain number of

detainees for the Israeli press." Also operative, however, is the PA's own agenda. Ruthless destruction of both internal and external opposition elements has for decades been a hallmark of Arafat's autocratic command of the PLO. Today, his Authority, like other young "post-revolutionary" governments, is consolidating its still-tenuous rule with an iron hand. Indeed, the PA relies increasingly on the use of force as its legitimacy in the autonomous areas dwindles with every new concession to Israel. In this climate, the lack of even a pretense of due process sends a clear warning to all would-be dissenters: inside the jails there are no rules of conduct, no recourse and no one to be held accountable.

The recent spotlight on PA arrests has largely eclipsed the crisis of Israeli-held prisoners. Three years into the Oslo process the prisoners of the Palestinian national movement have been cast as remnants of an obsolete struggle. "While I sat in jail for carrying out Arafat's orders he traveled the world shaking blood-stained hands and grinning for cameras," said a Bethlehem man who recently completed an eight-year sentence in Israel. "Now I'm waiting to be arrested by Arafat, for I still believe in what he once taught."★

Quebec Students

(Continued from page 4)

other cities. A few universities went on strike for the principle. That day the students received the official support of the CSN, Quebec's second largest workers' union federation, and of the Quebec Women's Federation. Since then the movement continues with sporadic direct action and participation in demonstrations.

Everywhere a situation of dual power emerged: the militant mobilization committee took the lead from the conservative student executives on the local and provincial level. Activists are presently organizing to get power in their unions as soon as possible. This means that there is a real possibility to structure a strong syndicalist tendency in the student movement.

The student movement is the first social movement in Quebec to say 'no' to the neo-liberal agenda of the Parti Quebecois government. Not only this, but they gained a partial victory. There is a real possibility that this will give ideas to other sections of the population. In fact it is already happening. The workers' union bureaucracy, who at the economic summit agreed on the government's consensus is slowly changing its

position. During the Parti Quebecois congress, on November 23, more than 15,000 public workers, supported by a few students and popular groups, demonstrated against the government. Popular groups are forging an alliance against a new welfare reform; they are planning a massive mobilization for January. All this means that we have the ingredients for a massive social movement in Quebec, comparable to the movement in France last winter.

REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHISTS IN THE QUEBEC STUDENTS' STRIKE

The strike also opened new and unforeseen perspectives for revolutionary anarchists. Because of the political climate and the particular situation of Quebec, parts of our political program were taken up by masses of people and there is a real possibility to enlarge even more. The Parti Quebecois is supposed to represent the left on the mainstream political spectrum, but most of the students know all too well that they cannot defeat the cuts on an electoral level. So this brings some of them to the logical conclusion of an anti-electoral position. From this position they can understand the class

nature of society, and understand that only by mobilizing themselves will they be able to defend their rights.

Another positive development is the massive use of radical and direct democracy. In fact the traditional anarcho-syndicalist means of organizing a struggle were largely accepted and used (they were not necessarily seen as anarcho-syndicalist, of course). The use of frequent sovereign assembly, the creation of local strike committees, the creation of a provincial strike coordination committee where all elected delegates could be recalled at any time and elected with imperative mandates clearly shows that the students agree that those in struggle should control the struggle.

Around Quebec, thousands of young people got a taste of direct action and direct democracy; we can only hope they will ask for more. Young militants were also politicized on a massive scale. Discussions about strategies, neo-liberalism, syndicalism, the nature of capitalism, etc. took place everywhere. Activists are looking at the nature of neo-liberalism and concluding that to get rid of the cuts in a permanent manner they will have to get rid of capitalism. Right now, I don't think the majority have decided what they want to replace it with, but there is a good chance that they will look around. It's up to us to be there.★



Ricardo Flores Magon

Kuwasi Balagoon

(Continued from page 9)

recognize the squatters movement for what it is, but support it and embrace it. Set up communes in abandoned buildings, sell scrap cars and aluminum cans. Turn vacant lots into gardens.

When our children grow out of clothes, we should have places where we can take

them, clearly marked anarchist clothing exchanges and have no bones about looking for needed clothing there first. And of course we should relearn how to preserve food; we must learn construction and ways to take back our lives, help each other move and stay in shape.

Let's keep the American and Canadian flags flying at half mast. I refuse to believe that Direct Action has been captured and will respond to any revolutionary activist response to this.★

Spirit of Magon

(Continued from page 8)

oner in the US Federal Penitentiary in Leavenworth. (See sidebar page 8).

WHAT YOU CAN DO

The Encampments need your support. They need money and they need supplies.

They are also looking for people with medical and other technical skills who can spend at least six months in the communities. (Participants in the Encampments must be fluent in Spanish.) If you can help in any of these areas, please contact us.★

Spirit of Magon Direct Solidarity Committee
PO Box 1831
New York, NY 10021-0048
212-252-4996



This aint no 90210

By CARLA AND KATRINA

Girls kick ass and finally there's a movie that lets them show it. When was the last time you saw a movie where the main characters were a crew of friends that were all girls? Not one or two girls trying to snag Mr. Right but four girls with problems outside of how to get dates. Welcome to *Girlstown*! It's a place where girls support and confide in each other and throw down to regulate on the boys and men that fuck them over.

These tough girls deal with rape and domestic violence in real ways. They talk and cry and then they fuck up the perpetrators' shit! This movie sends the message that if you fuck with girls it's gonna come back to you. It's too bad the girls in the movie *Kids* couldn't have met Angela, Emma, and Patty to get some ideas (and some back up) on dealing with all those fucked up little boys in their world.

NO APOLOGIES

Girlstown stands out in the slow but growing genre of tough girl movies in a few ways. First, the men in the movie are rarely seen; the girls' friendships are at the center. When the men are seen in the movie it is in reference to the fucked up shit that they do. In addition, when pay-back comes, these women get to live to fight another day. Unlike *Thelma and Louise*, they have more options than just driving over a cliff. Finally, they offer no apologies for their anger. I mean, payback feels good, and this movie doesn't try to hide behind the women/girls as nurturer shiat. They are sugar and a whole lotta spice.

NATURAL REBELS

After one of their crew commits suicide, Angela, Emma, and Patty start communicating and dealing with their problems which, not surprisingly, stem mostly from boys being rapists and abusers. They don't decide to be the junior chapter of *Feminist Avengers*, it just happens naturally.

Look, this movie has some faults. But it made us laugh and cry and when we left we harassed yuppie men. Anyway, if you are gonna be that picky, I guess we'll just have to kick yer ass. ★

Sisters Seek Sweet Revenge on Screen

By JENA

"Look at the risk of putting African-American women in the role that white men would normally take. There is nothing to reference this film with." —L. Gary Gray Director, *Set It Off*

Except for real life perhaps. *Set It Off* merely puts on film the everyday struggle people face and some of the desperate conclusions they draw. *Set It Off* differs from the typical rendition of the bank-robber flick not only because it's centered around four Black women who are not waiting for Prince Charming; but also, their collective decision to act is directly tied to their own individual economic crises.

Cleo, Stoney, Frankie and Ti-Ti (Queen Latifah, Jada Pinkett, Vivica Fox, and Kimberly Elise, respectively) are four women musing over the death of a brother by the cops, unaffordable childcare, and shitty, low-paying jobs while slumming in the projects of Los Angeles. When circumstances put each of the women into an even more serious economic bind, they decide to take action.

DO ASK, DO TELL

Latifah's Cleo-the-hunky-dyke swaps a luscious kiss with her all too silent lover, Ursula, within the first fifteen minutes of the film—a sure sign that *Set It Off* is not going to be another "don't ask, don't tell"-type of film. Cleo's sexuality is firmly displayed without being exploitative and is comfortably integrated into the total story.

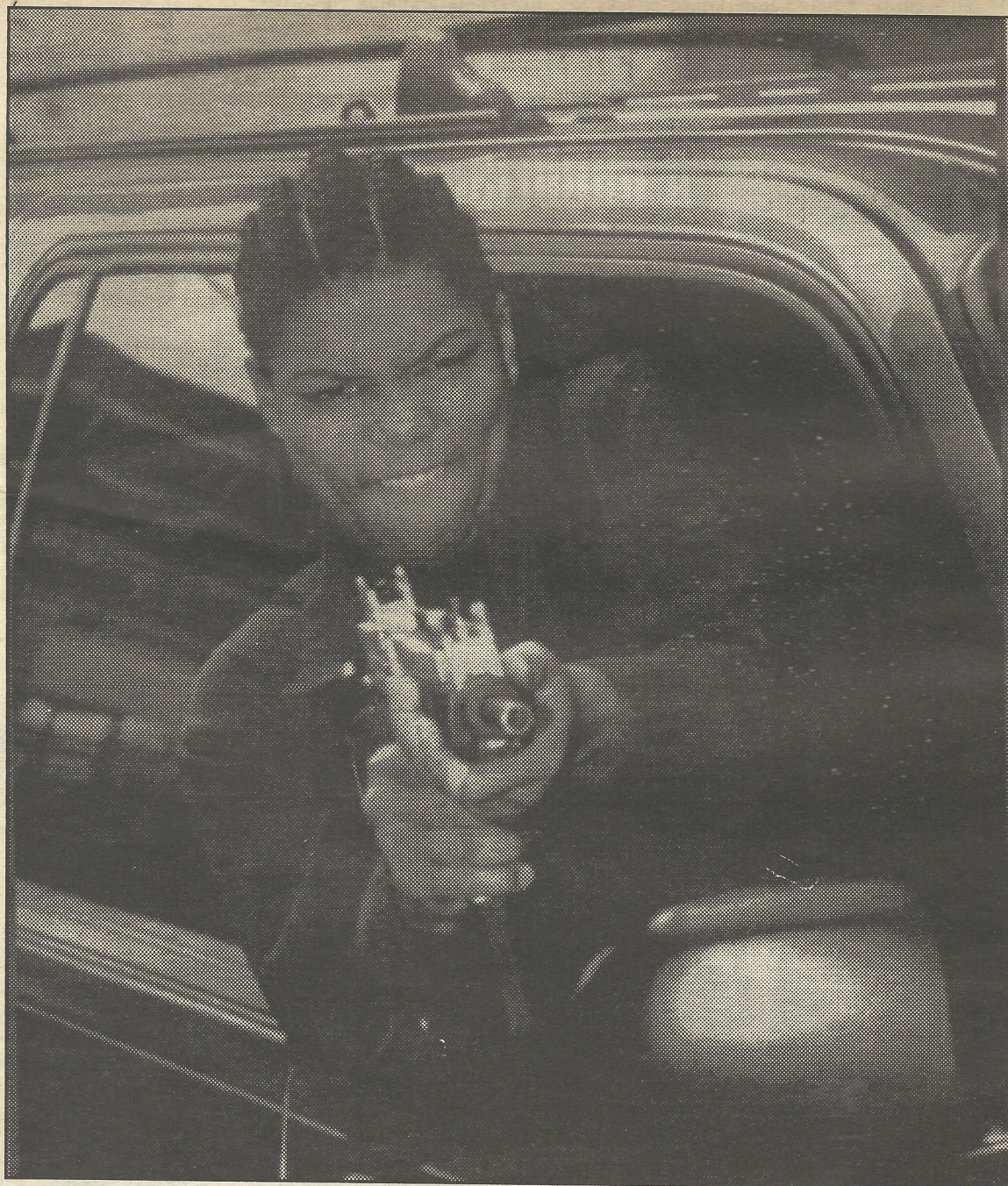
Jada Pinkett as Stoney is a disgruntled cleaning woman seeking to rise out of the bowels of the underclass. However, when the Prince arrives to save her from misery (complete with designer frocks for her, dinner for two and trips to Mexico on him), she reaffirms her loyalty to her ghetto sisters by rejecting (to a degree) his bourgeois world.

Vivica Fox's vengeful, ex-bank-teller Frankie as the brains behind the business, and Kimberly Elise as Ti-Ti, the mother in crisis, tie together the complex yet personable individuals into an operation that seems invincible.

WHITE GUYS? BACKGROUND SCENERY

Set It Off explores themes of race, class and sexuality. It's interesting to note that the only white people in the film are either cops or obviously wealthy. Also, the few male characters (a police detective, an upper-class bank manager guy, a gun runner and an asshole boss) are practically background scenery to the full frontal assault of the women behind the guns.

While some sisters may see this film and say, "Cool, let's go rob a bank," *Set It Off* accurately portrays the dangerous strength of the state (complete with police helicopters, high-powered weapons and mindless bodies for troops) and how easily four people can be crushed by a prepared police force. Although the film's heroines had militancy and determination, their resistance could've also used some revolutionary ideas and a lot more people. Maybe then we can set it off. ★



Queen Latifah sports girlfriend and gun in *Set It Off*

Jonny Gammage

(Continued from page 7)

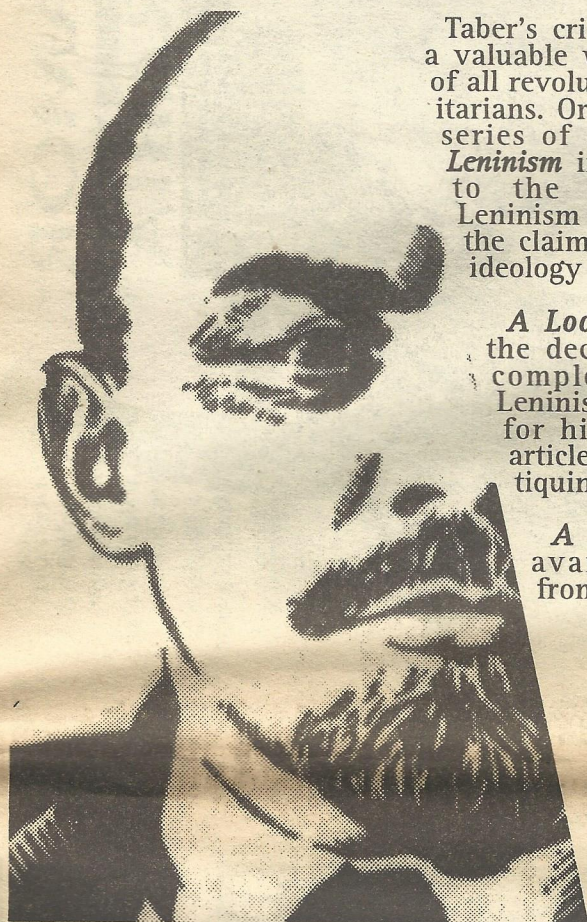
American woman gang leader said Pittsburgh gangs were so mad they'd started a truce. NAACP spokesperson Tim Stevens dominated the tone of the speeches, calling for a CRB and voting. Most of the crowd seemed to agree. It seemed the NAACP called out reserves who hadn't shown up before, yet march organizers seemed surprised by the turnout. Sala Udin gave an angry speech saying that this was just the beginning. A boycott of downtown and mall businesses was advocated. Speakers also complained of recent gang/drug sweep of about 100 black youth. Angry demonstrators occasionally shouted at speakers and crowd in a tense atmosphere. The Campus Coalition for Peace and Justice held a smaller rally

just after the main one. Though they were in on organizing all year they didn't speak at the big rally. There was also a contingent of *Food Not Bombs* people present.

A sudden rise in numbers of folks joining a movement leads to an interesting problem for anti-authoritarians. What do we do when more moderate forces join a struggle we've been trying to radicalize? New participants seemed to be suburban religious and civil rights types who hadn't been to a march in years and just outraged individuals. They often bring reformist, collaborationist politics with them. Within the anarchist movement some are more tolerant of reformism while others shun it. We want to push things in a radical direction but we also believe in revolutionary pluralism. So far the Gammage case has proven, once again for many, and for the first time for some, that the system protects cops over and above the people.★

A Look at Leninism

By Ron Taber



Taber's critique of Leninism is a valuable weapon in the hand of all revolutionary anti-authoritarians. Originally written as a series of articles, *A Look at Leninism* introduces the reader to the key concepts of Leninism and then demolishes the claims of Leninism as an ideology of liberation.

A Look at Leninism was the declaration of Taber's complete break with Leninism, and set the stage for his current series of articles in *Love & Rage* critiquing Marxism.

A Look at Leninism is available for \$5.00 from:

Love & Rage
PO Box 853
Stuyvesant Station
New York, NY
10009

Poverty Pimping

(Continued from page 4)

awarding them a \$150 million contract to run the Parking Violations Bureau.

Privatization blurs the line between corporations and the US Government not only in terms of funds but in personnel. In West Virginia, one consultant hired by Maximus to develop its bid for child welfare programs was later indicted when he turned out to be the state employee in charge of the project.

We recently witnessed an inevitable split in Clinton's welfare cabinet. In the wake of welfare "reform," a couple of public officials who retained a shred of a conscience resigned from the cabinet in disgust. Some of the others, "new" democrats whose consciences were replaced with Masters' Degrees in Business Administration, made the corporate move, and with barely a shift in gears. Lockheed has already hired welfare officials from Texas, Oregon, and Alabama as well as the Federal Government. Gerald Miller, director of Michigan's widely mimicked welfare reform program resigned in September 1996 to direct Lockheed's welfare gambit. Miller's feet followed the logic of welfare reform. By his own accord, "The private sector will ultimately run these programs. The era of big government is over." Gerry forgot to add that the era of unimpeded corporate power has begun.

The rhetoric of privatization appeals to a very American kind of individualism. Free market reformers proclaim that they are clearing the scene of intrusive, presumptuous government to make way for a rash of individual creativity and entrepreneurial spirit that combines to form the sheer genius of the marketplace. Militia members, new Democrats, and many regular

folks have joined in to ring the death knell of 'big government.' Anarchists have some strange allies on this point. The impulse to resist state power is of course a good one. But similarities among most critics of government ends there.

A far less popular subject for debate is what might follow in the government's wake. Privatization, the biggest scheme of government downsizing, just shifts economic priorities from slight concern for human and community welfare to complete devotion to corporate profit margins. Those who fall through the ever-widening economic cracks will have to rely on cruelly inadequate private charities. Someone's going to have to pick up the pieces and the fact that it won't be the government may not be all bad. Even programs currently on trial in Los Angeles and about to be embraced by New York City, while severely limited in themselves, shift case work from impersonal and distant welfare bureaucracies to neighborhood-based networks of churches, medical centers and social service agencies.

Sold as a family preservation program, this innovation nevertheless suggests an alternative to corporate and governmental poverty pimping: that is, community self-help and mutual aid. Survival networks already exist in our communities. And they recognize the value of work like raising children, which when supported at all in our society, is considered charity or welfare. These and other networks self-organized by oppressed communities—mobilized and politicized in struggle against the systems that make their job so hard right now—would form the back bone of a revolutionary movement. It is also here that successful campaigns around welfare issues can and have begun.★

R. Williams

(Continued from page 13)

the Black part of town. RW would attempt to exchange the Klan couple for the Freedom Riders. The FBI soon intervened in Monroe by criminalizing RW in the media, and he went into exile in Cuba.

Robert Williams would be the first of many prominent Black nationalist leaders to visit or be exiled in Cuba while their public defiance had the FBI and CIA threatening their life. Through *The Crusader* newsletter and through public letters to the United Nations, Williams organized African-American sentiment against the Bay of Pigs, the foiled US plot to overthrow Castro in 1962. In addition he would make a mockery of US imperialism by having Third World national liberation struggle representatives at the UN quote his bold statements about the fraud of democracy in the US.

RACISM IN CUBA

Williams later showed his independence in 1965, shortly after the assassination of Malcolm X, when he denounced after closer examination, what he felt was the Castro regime's opportunism regarding foreign policy towards US Blacks. He also found that Black folk in Cuba are still being treated like second-class citizens. He would go off now to China where the Maoists promoted a propaganda war with Cuba. Cuba would counter

RW anti-Cuba statements with a variety of tactics from falsifying and circulating *The Crusader*, to accusing him outrageously of being a CIA agent. Eldridge Cleaver, and Kwame Toure (at that time Stoakley Carmichael), in later visits, would make more cautious criticisms about Cuba's racism and the Cuban leadership's overblown claims of their efforts to eradicate it. In 1968 RW encouraged Mao Tse-tung to speak on the revolutionary possibilities of Black liberation in the US in the aftermath of Martin Luther King's assassination. He would later stay in Tanzania before finally getting amnesty to return to the US in the mid-1970s.

ANTI-RACIST ICON

The lessons of Robert Williams's life are unfortunately not so obvious and are often ignored. Many Black folk in the US do not see Black nationalism and first-class citizenship within the US nation-state as counterposed, despite folk's experience of institutional and individual white supremacist terrorism. Black self-determination and militant multiracial organizations (not just a multiracial movement) are not counterposed. Black folk who are subjected to Klan-type terrorism are interested in organizing direct action against it and don't feel, as some distant urban-based intellectuals with "nationalist" and/or "separatist" tendencies, that this type of organizing is only or primarily radical white folk's responsibility. With the death of Robert Williams we have lost a profound and, unfortunately, little known and understood freedom fighter.★

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Mumia Abu-Jamal

(Continued from page 12)

condemned to the lethal needle gurney largely on the much more nebulous "evidence" of his Black Panther Party writings of 1969. And Mumia, who of course never was a savings and loan chief executive, has also not won a new trial.

The second reason the rally was significant was the evidence there of a growing unity and broadening of the movement. The crowd was a real mix of students, workers, church people and members of street organizations. Some of the students traveled great distances to attend. They came from such places as Greensboro, NC, Howard University in Washington, DC, Kent State in Ohio and Trent University in Peterborough, Ontario. The Mailhandlers' Union Local 300 brought a contingent with its banner. The Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People in Nigeria sent a representative. Its leader, Ken Saro-Wiwa, was executed a year ago by the Nigerian military government. The Almighty Latin King and Queen Nation and Asociacion pro Derrechos de Confinados/Neta provided almost all the security for the rally.

This coming together itself comes at a critical time in the struggle to free Mumia. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court is expected to rule in 1997 on Mumia's petition for a new trial. If the court denies it, as most people expect, Governor Ridge has promised he will sign a new death warrant.

THE MARCH

The day started on a high point of unity: an ecumenical religious service at the 200-year-old John Street United Methodist Church. This was significant because for the first time a group of clergy came together to put on their own program for Mumia. The service brought together clergy from Christian, Islamic, Jewish and Yoruba faiths who offered prayers for Mumia and for justice for all people.

After the service people marched around lower Manhattan, stopping at major sites of injustice such as the US Court House (where the Rosenbergs were tried and condemned to death in 1951); the Immigration Service (if you're white you're all right); and City Hall (need more be said?).

Returning to the John Street Church, the procession had grown to well over a hundred people who sat in on a late morning press conference at which the clergy gave eloquent statements in favor of a new trial for Mumia and against the death penalty.

The press conference over, the crowd in the church then marched—with no permit—five blocks downtown to the rally site. After the rally there was another march—again, with no permit—back to the front of the church. There people clogged John Street for well over a half-hour, talking, exchanging notes, and listening to impromptu speeches. Despite being out in cold weather for hours, people did not want to go home.★

Free Mumia!