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¡Viva Zapata!

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AÑO 2, NUMERO 3 MAYO / JUNIO / JULIO 1995

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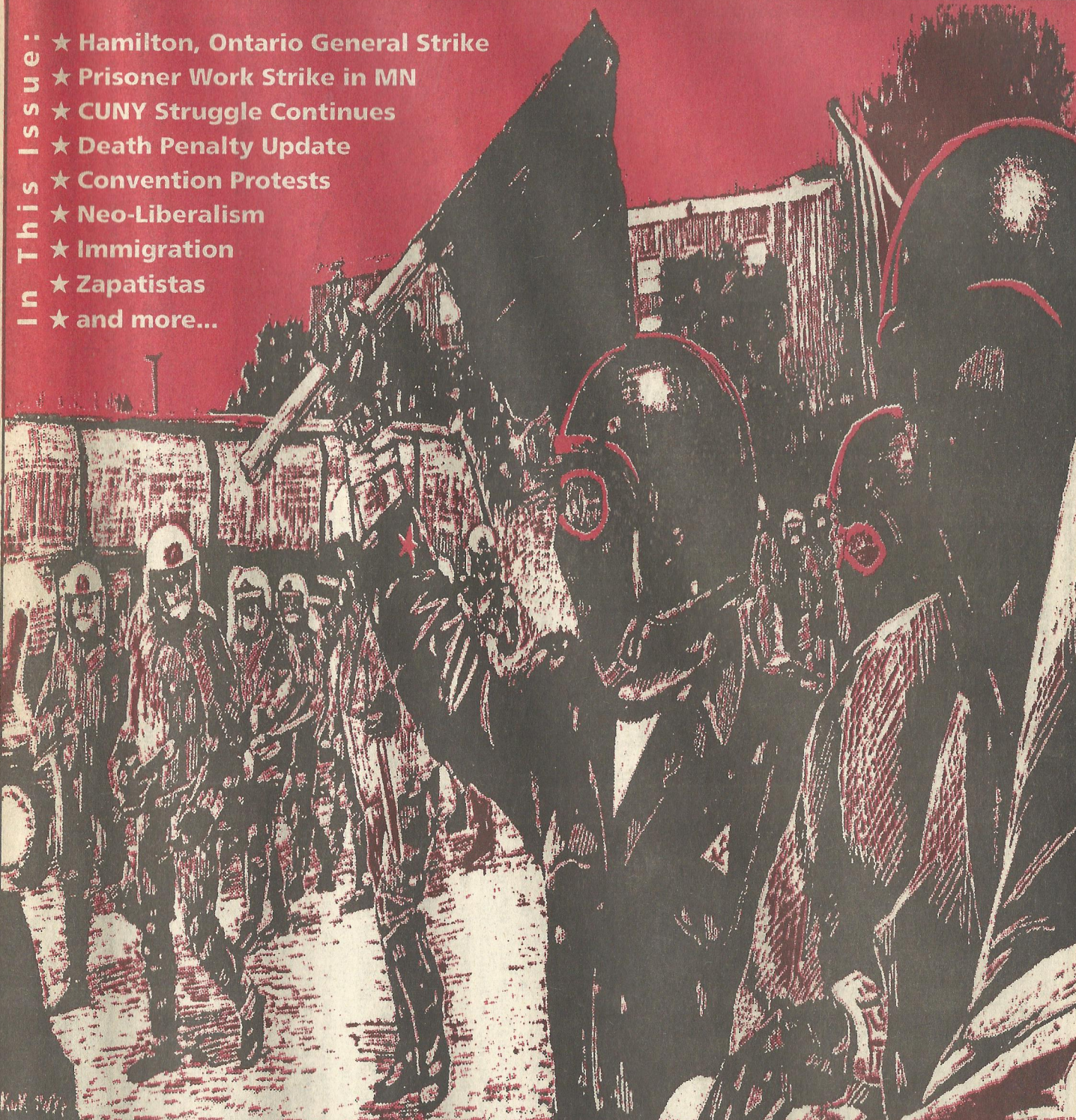
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LOVE & RAGE

REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHIST NEWSPAPER

- In This Issue:
- ★ Hamilton, Ontario General Strike
 - ★ Prisoner Work Strike in MN
 - ★ CUNY Struggle Continues
 - ★ Death Penalty Update
 - ★ Convention Protests
 - ★ Neo-Liberalism
 - ★ Immigration
 - ★ Zapatistas
 - ★ and more...



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Fighting for Education

Ups & Downs of CUNY Student Movement 95-96

BY CAROLYN & BRAD

Who's got the money? The rich got the money. Who must pay? The rich must pay, over a thousand City University of New York (CUNY) students vowed as they marched past Wall Street, the heart of New York's financial district on a sunny May afternoon. The demands of the day were simple: Stop trying to destroy our only chances at an education—don't destroy CUNY. Students raged at the faceless buildings, "They want prisons, we want schools!" And on that day the students had moments when they spoke in a direct voice, straight up and live.

Organized by the Student Liberation Action Movement (SLAM!), in coalition with the United Student Senate (USS) and the Professional Staff Congress (PSC—the faculty union), the May 8, 1996 demonstration against the budget cuts was the culmination of a semester of organizing on college campuses across all the New York boroughs from the Bronx to Brooklyn. While the student movement didn't successfully stop this round of budget cuts, important

lessons can be learned that we will need to understand in order to carry the struggle to the next level.

THE CUNY SYSTEM THEN & NOW

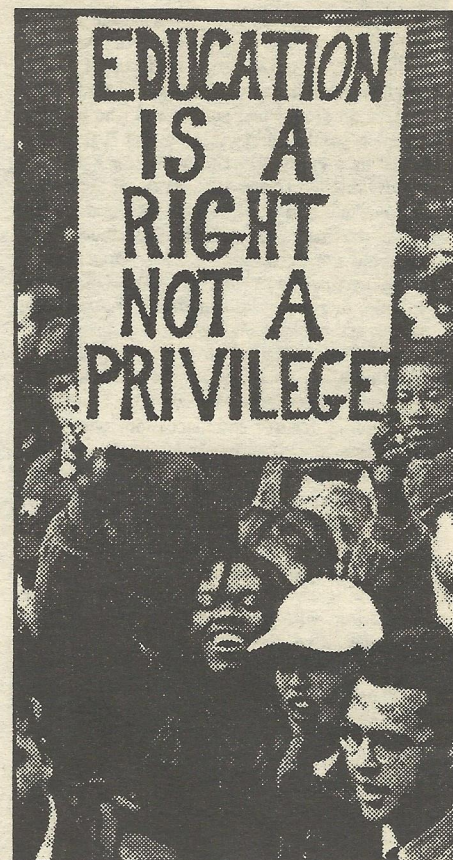
CUNY began as a free school for the working class and poor in 1847 with one campus, City College in Harlem. Now it is a network of junior and senior colleges throughout New York City's five boroughs. Tuition was free from 1847 until 1976, when a citywide financial crisis caused the university to impose a fee of \$925 a year. The next tuition increase was in 1982, raising the cost to \$1,075. Tuition has been raised regularly ever since. Current estimates are tuition will be \$3,400 this Fall. The tuition increases from the '70s to the '90s have been part of an effort to downsize and dismantle CUNY.

CUNY currently has 220,000 full-time and part-time students. At least 60% of the students are people of color, and 60% are women. The CUNY system is the only educational opportunity for the most oppressed

people in New York. The state legislature passed cuts in 1995 which have resulted in a \$750 tuition increase, and a 90% Tuition Assistance Program (TAP) cap that lowered aid to the neediest students. TAP will be cut statewide by \$98 million and will no longer be linked to tuition levels. Another \$250-\$750 increase per student is being proposed, which would end all possibilities of a higher education for many CUNY students.

CUNY Chancellor W. Ann Reynolds conservatively estimates that 20,000 CUNY students will not be able to return in Fall 1996 due to financial hardship. This is the equivalent of completely emptying one whole CUNY campus. And it's impossible to calculate the effects these cuts will have on the quality of the education for those who can afford to stay in school. The cuts include \$5 million in bilingual education grants, \$7 million in adult literacy programs, and axing pre-kindergarten, special education, summer handicapped programs, and schools for the deaf and blind. To add

(Continued to page 18)



CUNY Students March on Broadway Ave Mar. 21

General Strikes Rock Ontario

BY HAMILTON LOVE & RAGE

There have been three significant organized events in Ontario since last June's election win by the Provincial Conservatives. Hundreds of thousands of people in three different cities have taken part in 'General Strikes' taking the form of mass rallies. Called by the Ontario Federation of Labour and others among the Province's major unions, the intent has been to bring pressure to bear on the government.

Since the Provincial Conservatives have been in office, many people are on the brink of despair, or genuinely despairing, due to the cutting or eliminating of jobs and programs. The protests, also known as "Days Of Action," brought business as usual to a halt for the day (in one instance for two days), stopping most major industries and city services. As normal business stopped, the streets themselves swelled with people!

LONDON CALLING

The first of the strikes took place in London on Dec. 11, 1995. The city of London seemed an odd choice as the site of major labour and social unrest, since its outlying region has long been considered one of the country's wealthiest. It is seen as a city of

consumers, not workers. But this was the exact reason London was targeted! Hosting a significant labour rally in a city not known for its labour base—if pulled off—could send a powerful message to the Province. London does, however, have a local industrial base, as do all cities to one degree or another.

With support from manufacturing in areas targeted by Tory cuts such as auto part makers (and also Hospitals, City Works and Schools), the call from the local Labour Council and community groups went out. The action was known as "London Calling," and succeeded in shutting down much of the city's infrastructure. 30,000 people came from all over to march.

HAMILTON ANSWERING

Not long after the events in London, Hamilton was announced as the next site of the "General Strikes." This time the strike would be for two days, February 23-24. The choice of Hamilton was a more obvious one because it is an industrial city with a mostly poor and working class population. The city is well known for its steel plants.

In the time between events in London and Hamilton there were other clashes with the government's agenda—most notably student and anti-poverty protests at the leg-

islature. It was also at this time that a strike by Provincial employees looked like a growing possibility (and in fact became reality). The organization of the general strike in Hamilton was, as in London, massive. It was called the "Hamilton Action Days," and was also known as "Hamilton Answering," in response to the initial "London Calling."

Something else that carried over from London and took on a life of its own here was media speculation as to the likelihood of violence during events. For weeks any comment about this by police, bank officials, or Chamber of Commerce members became worthy of print. This led to frequent verbal distancing from such claims by the official event organizers. There had been, however, no indications that any violence would occur based on what happened in London.

A striking difference between events in London and Hamilton was the Provincial Tories Policy Convention here the same weekend (which was the main motivating factor in having the strike here). The organizers and participating unions worked out prearrangements with the Municipal Government and management so that most of those striking would in fact be taking time off. There were expected to be 50,000 participants, and there was every indication

that the police presence in this climate would be excessive.

The first day came with a near complete shutdown of the city and industry. Only services deemed "emergency" remained. Those services not shut down included garbage collection, public schools (with over 75% of mainly working class Catholic school students not showing up anyway), and buses (which were compelled to run). Private industry was hit as well. The unionized Stelco was a site of action, as were Westinghouse and many other major employers. The march that day was 30,000 strong. The following day lay witness to the largest demonstration in this country's history with 120,000 people marching through the streets. The march itself was supposed to recreate the historic 9 Hour march, where the movement in this nation first began. (It is ironic that an 8 or 9 hour work day in manufacturing is a thing of the past, with the current average a 12 hour shift and overtime increasing.) The plan to do this was scrapped, due to police requests to organizers, based on their fear of the march passing the Tory Convention site. The police themselves had a blanket policy that day of not wearing identification, as ordered from up high (they were candid about this actually). The reason given by the Chief of Police was to guard against the laying of "frivolous complaints!"

The protest included steel workers, auto workers, health care workers, teamsters, public employees, the injured, unemployed, and teachers (who made up the

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Death Penalty Spreads Across the United States

BY S. MURRAY

"We hear the reactionary howling for limits on Death Row appeals. The genocidal death penalty is not only being expanded—it will be utilized more frequently. This all-pervasive reactionary climate is a clear indication of what the future holds for oppressed people on the outside, and the prisoners as well. The question is how do we confront these new realities and this new offensive of the state?"

—A New Afrikan Prisoner

In the thick of a Baltimore city night, Maryland's Death Row inmates were moved from the Baltimore penitentiary to the Maryland Correctional Adjustment Center (MCAC), the supermax control unit. The 24 hours of solitary confinement for all supermax prisoners was slightly altered for the newly transferred men on death row. Now they can also make phone calls, a privilege other inmates at the supermax do not share.

That same day, a decision denying a new trial came down from Judge David Ross on

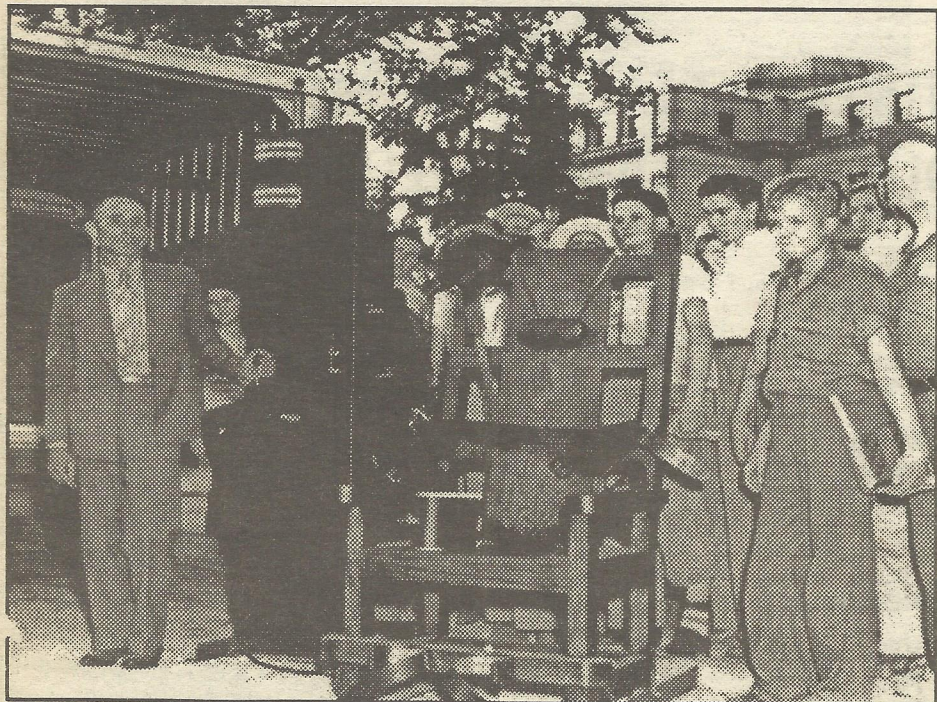
the Post Conviction Relief Appeal Hearing of Flint Gregory Hunt. He was sentenced to death in 1986 for the shooting of a police officer. Before Hunt's counsel was even able to meet and decide on their next steps, his death warrant was signed by Judge Kaplan of the Maryland Circuit Court. He is set to be executed the week of June 10.

So now they're taking Gregory off lockdown. He gets six visits in May instead of the two visits per month he got while on lockdown, and they'll return his TV and radio to him. He'll get the one hour of recreation every day required by law that supermax inmates normally don't get.

Maryland hasn't legally executed people in 33 years, except for one man, who was atypical from the other 16 death row prisoners in that he literally asked to die, and was white.

A few days after Hunt's death warrant was signed, the US Department of Justice publicized their report from an investigation of the Maryland Supermax from spring and summer 1995, citing violation of prisoners' constitutional rights. It

(Continued to page 17)



Portable electric chair developed in the 1930s after a series of gruesome public hangings in Mississippi. Seventy-three people were put to death in this contraption between 1940 and 1954.

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 common political projects. *Love and Rage* is produced by a Production Group in New York City. The Production Group is made up of volunteers and one full-time staff person. *Love and Rage* is one of the many projects of the Federation, which also produces the Spanish-language *Amor y Rabia* in Mexico City and publishes an internal discussion bulletin, in addition to supporting and initiating various actions and campaigns.

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

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

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

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Boring Disclaimer

The stuff we print does 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. We also print some articles that 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 internet 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). A set of Working Papers encompassing the debate on the content of this statement is available for \$5 from the Federation Office. The following introduction to our old Political Statement gives an idea of where we are coming from:

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

Revolution Revolution Revolution

Introduction

This edition of Love & Rage has two threads that run through many of the articles. These threads represent the increasing focus of activity of many Love & Rage members. With these pieces we hope to provide reports on activism, as well as information and theory that can inform our political organizing.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

We have a number of articles dealing with the criminal justice system in this issue. The article on the spread of the death penalty puts the immediacy of the issue before us, while the article on Oak Park Heights prison highlights activism that is being done collectively on the inside and outside. The article on black imprisonment provides a wealth of data and evidence to prove that the criminal justice system upholds and reinforces white supremacy.

NEO-LIBERALISM

In this issue we are also trying to strengthen our coverage of neo-liberalism. This term is used more and more by the left, but is seldom defined or understood. The articles on workfare and on the general strikes in Ontario tell us about resistance to the effects of neo-liberal economic policies in Canada. The articles on the struggle at CUNY and on Streetwatch deal with movements

against neo-liberal budget cuts in the US. The Zapatista article explores elements of the movement against neo-liberalism in Mexico.

REPRESENTING THE FEDERATION

Love & Rage started out as a newspaper project and later grew into an organization in its own right. Over the past couple years we've made efforts for the newspaper to better represent the activities and politics of the federation as a whole, but in general the paper still fails to thoroughly integrate the organizing work the federation is doing. We are taking a number of steps this year to make Love & Rage Newspaper more clearly a newspaper of the Love & Rage Federation, rather than just an autonomous newspaper project.

In this regard, we are starting an Anti-Racist Action section with this issue. The ARA movement has grown into a dynamic force, especially in the midwest, and Love & Rage members are playing an important role in building this movement. We hope to continue and expand our coverage of ARA activities, making it a regular feature of the paper.

We're also trying out a new feature, "Federation Notes," in this issue. This is also in effort to directly report on projects of Love & Rage which sometimes don't even get mentioned in the paper. We are also trying

to get more regular articles on mass organizing that federation members and supporters are involved with.

ASSORTED NOTES

In last issue's introduction, we promised to move toward shorter articles this year. Well, we lied. There are no 4-page articles this time, but there are a number of long articles. We have no excuse other than the verbosity of our writers. We are mixing in shorter news articles though, and hope to increase this.

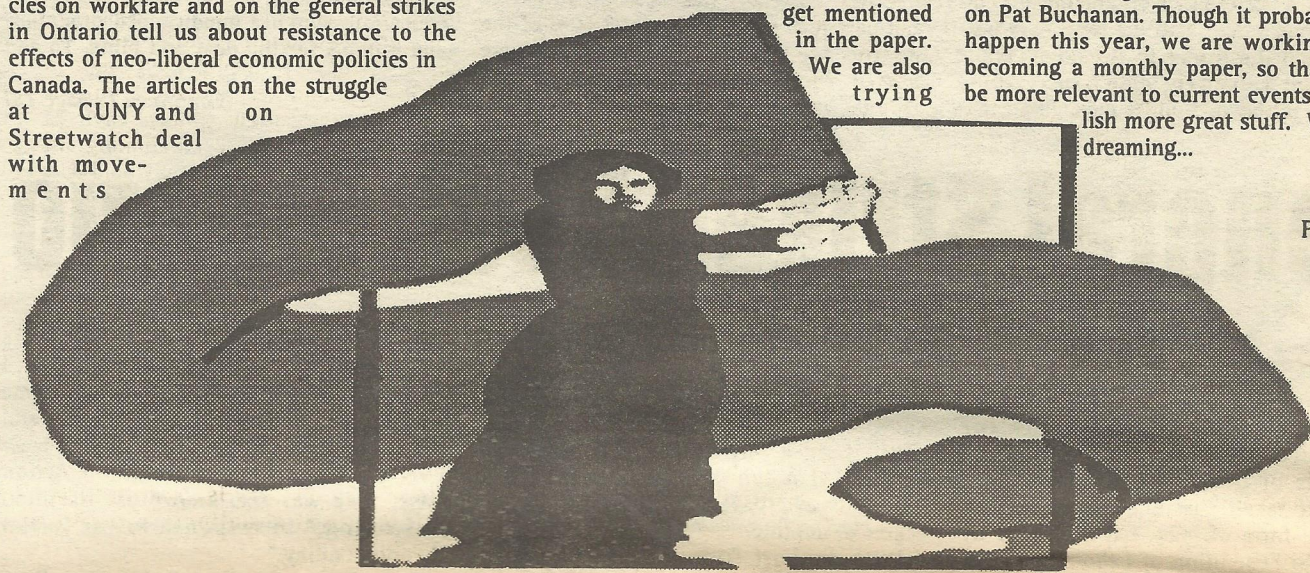
This issue revives our short-lived tradition of using a second color. Enjoy!

There is no letters section in this issue. This is partly due to space constraints, but is more due to the fact that we haven't gotten many provocative or interesting letters to publish. We'd really like to have more dialogue in these pages, so if anything in this issue irks you or fills you with glee, write us a letter!

We're getting closer to a truly bimonthly production schedule now. By the end of summer we should hit our stride and rock on into the fall.

There are a number of articles that we wanted to run in this issue but didn't. Specifically, we are regretful that we have nothing on the Unabomber, nothing on Israel's bombings of Lebanon, and nothing on Pat Buchanan. Though it probably won't happen this year, we are working toward becoming a monthly paper, so that we can be more relevant to current events and publish more great stuff. We'll keep dreaming...

the
Production
Group



Federation Notes

projects & events organized by the Love & Rage Federation

This new section will highlight continental (and some local) projects of Love & Rage.

LOVE & RAGE SUMMER ORGANIZING TOUR

Two L&R members will be on the road from late June through August on an organizing tour. They will criss cross much of the US and Canada, to meet and talk politics & strategy with revolutionary-minded anti-authoritarians folks. If you are interested in meeting with us, contact the New York L&R office as soon as possible. The following are dates are already tentatively scheduled:

June 26 Minneapolis ★ June 27 Madison
★ June 28 Milwaukee ★ June 29 - July 1 Chicago
★ July 2 Lansing ★ July 3 Detroit

★ July 4 Toronto ★ July 5-6 Montreal ★
July 7-8 Vermont ★ July 9 Amherst ★
July 10 Boston ★ July 16 Philadelphia ★
July 17 DC ★ July 18 Baltimore ★ July 19
Chapel Hill ★ July 22 Knoxville ★ July 23
Chatanooga ★ July 24-25 Atlanta ★ July
28 Houston ★ July 29 Austin ★ August 1-
2 Albuquerque ★ Aug 4 Fresno ★ Aug 5-6
San Francisco ★ Aug 7-9 Los Angeles ★
Aug 10-16 San Diego

AUTONOME ANTIFA (M) SPEAKING TOUR

In April, Minneapolis Love & Rage coordinated a North American speaking tour for two comrades from the German anti-fascist group, Autonome Antifa (M).

Successful events were held in Baltimore, New York, Minneapolis, Detroit, Lansing, Chicago and Toronto. Minneapolis L&R is coordinating solidarity work for Autonome Antifa (M) in the US, preparing for their upcoming trials in August in Germany. (See article on p. 14 about the trials.)

CONVENTION ACTIONS

We're mobilizing for the actions & events opposing the Republican and Democratic Conventions in August. We hope to be at both of them, and particularly want to build for the Republican Convention in San Diego.

ANTI-CONTROL UNIT EVENTS

In early May, New York and Mpls. L&R showed videos and hosted speakers to speak out against control unit prisons in the US. The events were in response to a call by the National Campaign to Stop Control Unit Prisons for coordinated actions against control units in late April and early May. ★

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

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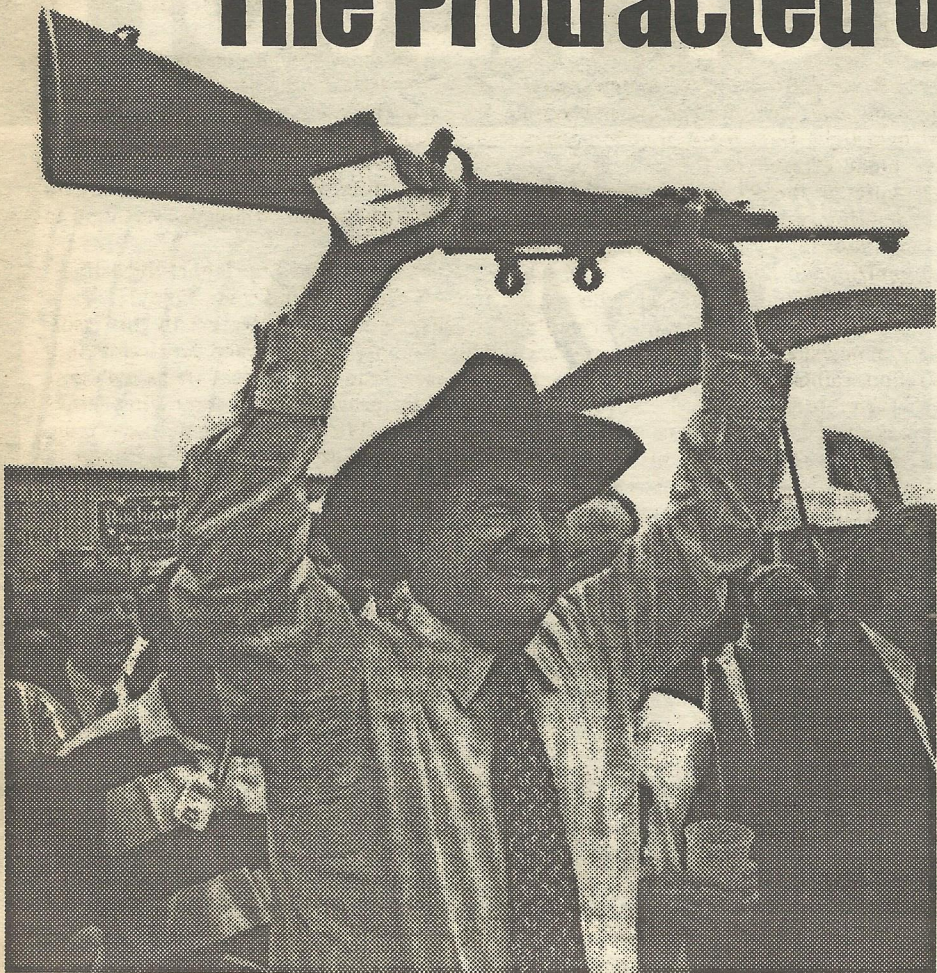
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If you find yourself in general agreement with the politics of Love and Rage, get involved!

Contact one of the local groups listed here, or write the Federation Office in Minneapolis for information.

The Protracted US War on Immigrants



Buchanan rallies whitey.

BY THE L&R PRODUCTION GROUP

Immigration is a central issue this year as the elections roll around. Pat Buchanan has called for militarizing the US-Mexico border, and for a moratorium on legal immigration. His message will be featured prominently at the Republican National Convention in San Diego—on the US-Mexico border—in August.

The intensity varies over time but anti-immigrant hysteria is constant in the US. To explain the rapid shift to the right on immigration over the past few years is to understand the history of colonialism and expansionism that has defined the US since its inception.

In 1848 the US invaded Mexico and annexed the land which is now California and the Southwestern US. When the US stole this land it divided families and communities, creating a permanent border problem. This was part of the white quest

for domination—Manifest Destiny—over the North American continent. The theft of Northern Mexico and the land grabs from Indigenous people, along with slavery and super-exploitation of the Black population, are the rotting foundations of this nation. Attempts to 'protect US borders' or 'protect US jobs' from immigrants can be seen essentially as attempts to maintain white supremacy.

WHITE SUPREMACIST MAINSTREAM

A few years ago Tom Metzger and a few white supremacist vigilantes were seen as crazy when they went out patrolling the US-Mexico border. Now the very policies they advocated are being passed in Congress. People seeking to emigrate to the US face increasingly repressive and militaristic laws, such as Proposition 187 in California and the current national legislation.

Activists must seriously consider the relationship between fascism and mainstream institutions. We must oppose any and all openly fascist organizations, but that is not enough. What actually upholds white supremacy and patriarchy day-to-day are the institutions of the state—police, courts, schools, universities, social service agencies, etc. Building a broad movement targeting these institutions (even though they don't wear swastikas or white hoods) is imperative.

CALIFORNIA'S KRISTALLNACHT?

Proposition 187 passed in California by a margin of 59% to 41%. Seventy percent of whites voted for 187, while 38% of people of color who voted were for it. Ultimately, people wishing to preserve their privileges as US citizens voted in favor of strengthening border patrols and making it impossible for undocumented people to work, go to school or seek medical attention.

The social control of immigrants as part of the labor force is important to capitalism. Cheap labor augments profits and is a handy tool to keep documented labor in line. Pat Buchanan has capitalized on this. It was easy in the current political environment for him to tap into anti-immigrant sentiment and ride it as far as it would take him in the Republican primaries.

CAPITAL KNOWS NO BORDERS

With the passage of NAFTA and GATT, capital is crossing borders more freely. Meanwhile, people fleeing oppressive economic and political conditions in the Third World encounter greater obstacles and repression. The free flow of capital combined with the restricted movement of people across borders is creating new, volatile political situations in the US, Canada and Mexico.

FIRST / THIRD WORLD BORDERS.

Borders divide the working class; one major way is that wages in the US and other rich nations are kept artificially high, while wages are kept artificially low everywhere else. This economic difference, combined with a desire to reconnect with family, provides incentive for those living on the low-waged side of the border to try to

get to the other side. Rather than keeping out all undocumented people, the US Border Patrol regulates the flow of Mexican workers so that the number coming in has been sufficient to meet labor demands but not enough to cause political problems with white workers by lowering their inflated wages.

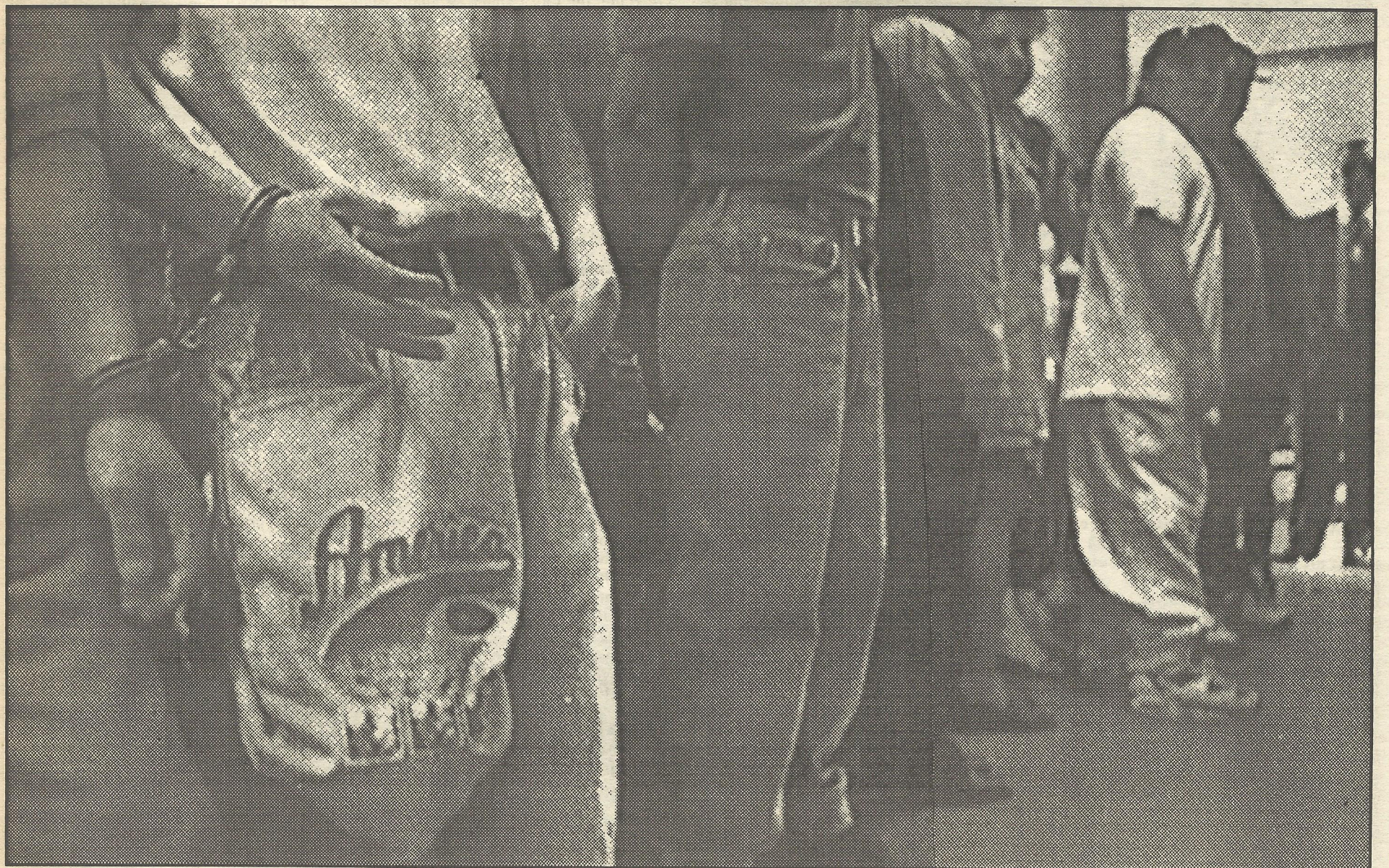
The growing internationalization of capital as seen with NAFTA and GATT represents a new day for workers in the US, most notably for white workers. With the erosion of economic and social privilege, white workers are also being chewed up and spit out, and they are increasingly turning against new immigrant workers.

Capitalism has bought off the managerial and much of the working class in the industrialized North. The unequal conditions among the working class globally do not mean that people here lead meaningful, fulfilling lives free of alienation and exploitation, but we do have more privileges as a direct result of the superexploitation of Third World peoples. We must counter the appeal of neo-fascist politics among whites with our vision of a society free from alienation, exploitation, sexism and racism. We also have to develop plausible strategies and programs to bring our vision into being.

TEAR DOWN THE BORDERS

We support open borders worldwide. But the line between First and Third World is the most important in upholding the current global order. The border between the US and Canada is about as difficult to cross as the border between North Dakota and South Dakota, while the US-Mexico border is a war zone. We'd support a campaign to "Tear Down the US-Canada Border," but tearing down the US-Mexico border would more profoundly undermine the capitalist system.

A starting point in reparations to Third World peoples is for Europe, the US and Japan to open their borders to oppressed immigrants immediately, like Germany was forced to do after World War II. To truly solve border problems we need to work toward equitable living conditions worldwide. Anti-authoritarian social revolution can make this possible by fighting to tear down all borders, while supporting self-determination for all the people on the planet.★



Thirteen immigrants suspected of working 'illegally' in a New York sweatshop are arrested. Eighty-six factories have been raided, and 1,228 arrests made in the INS war on immigrants in New York.



NOTES OF REVOLT

Building Takeover in Northampton, MA

BY SARA ZIA EBRAHIMI

On April 15 a group of activists from various homeless and homeless advocacy groups in the Northampton, Mass. area took over an abandoned building on the old state hospital grounds. There were six people actually inside the building while several others stood on the lawn holding banners.

Only two emergency shelters exist in the area. One of these, the Grove Street Inn, which is on the same plot of property, was seized through an action very similar to ours about five years ago. A list of demands drafted by the coalition of groups was issued in the park in downtown Northampton as the rest of us were making our way into the building.

We are demanding that the state stop sitting on this property and that this building be turned into a collectively run transitional house that would be autonomous from state service programs. Several appeals have been made to do this through legal means, which have all gone ignored. It is for this reason that we took the direct action that we did.

We held the building for ten hours. The cops came and hassled us, but there were reporters present, which deterred them from taking any action. We spent that time renovating and cleaning the building, which is in excellent condition with the exception of peeling paint and five years worth of dust and dirt. That evening around 8:30 the state police showed up and told us that we had a half hour to leave the property or they would arrest us. Those who could not afford to be arrested left the property, leaving six of us in the house. When the cops

gave us our final warning, we went to the smallest room in the house, locked arms and lay on the floor.

When the storm of cops broke through our barricaded doors they told us that if we did not move they would pepper spray us. One member got up. They then sprayed a bit of pepper spray and three more people got up. With two of us left on the ground, the cops doused us with 3/4 a capsule of pepper spray (he told me how much in the station), blinding us and dragging us out of the house.

We got charged only with trespassing, which is a misdemeanor in Massachusetts. We have been getting amazing press coverage (they even published our list of demands and interviewed people in the homeless community who supported us). The mayor has been making statements that the needs of the homeless are being adequately met. But the Grove Street Shelter has a 40-80 person mailing list.

Our goal is to get community, state, regional and national support on this issue so it would look awful if they tried to convict us. More importantly we want the demand for housing to be so pressing that the building will be turned over to our coalition of groups, the Northampton Renovation Collective.

We have a series of actions planned in the area. You can write our Mayor, Mary Ford, a lovely letter at City Hall, Northampton, MA 01060. We will need a bit of money to cover legal costs and already have one benefit show in the making. Any form of solidarity would be excellent, whether it be letters of support, publicity, or taking over a building in your city!★



BY HAMILTON LOVE & RAGE

The sentiment "Workfare is Warfare!" has been seen and heard around Hamilton in past weeks as the city council passed a workfare program. This statement is not so much a call-to-arms as an acknowledgment of the way things are shaping up to be. It soon could be that rallying cry though, if the Ontario (Tory) Government implements its scheduled workfare programs across the Province.

The Government has given the deadline of May 23 for 15 regional governments to apply to be the first workfare sites. Six regional or city governments are known to have had it before their City/Regional Councils. Only one of these cities, Kingston, voted down workfare outright, citing the United Nation's "International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights" (of which Canada is a signatory), as precluding their involvement. The City Council of London deferred the question and the regional government already has a form of workfare in place. The region of Ottawa-Carleton listed six concerns they had in making their decision to pass Workfare; The City Council of Sault Sainte Marie passed Workfare, and then there's what happened here in Hamilton.

Over the last two months there has been a flurry of activity against workfare in Hamilton. A new group was formed—the Hamilton Against Workfare Coalition. A local anti-poverty group organized a demonstration—the first opposition to the Government plan. Activists held a forum that allowed for the only public input into the matter in Hamilton. They also released an alternative document and held a demonstration at City Hall.

The demonstration was held the night Hamilton-Wentworth regional council was to vote on workfare here. But in fact the council had already voted in favor of Workfare in Hamilton-Wentworth. This was done without any public consultation, and, as the vote to reconsider concedes, without any of the facts.

According to a document called "Ontario Works," those for whom workfare is mandatory will include single parents with children over three, as well as couples with and without children. (The "aged and disabled," and, for a temporary period, those who are caregivers and sole support parents with young children, will be exempted.) The document lists the possible number of hours welfare recipients (recips)

would need to toil as 70 hours a month. Under "sanctions" it makes clear that "benefits will be canceled upon refusal of a work placement or volunteer placement."

Already the people of Hamilton are bearing witness to workfare, as seen at 3rd Sector, the recycling program for the Hamilton area. Layoff notices have recently been given to 17 of 23 unionized workers there. At the same time it maintains a training program that no longer receives Federal funding. The program pays trainees (welfare recips) \$12.50 a day plus travel expenses, which comes to \$520 a month. Payment is in the form of their welfare checks.

One of the first things that the Ontario Government did once elected was to cut entitlements. This was done on the argument that Ontario had the most "generous" welfare payments in the country, and even with the cuts, would still be among the highest. What the Province never acknowledged was that Ontario has the highest cost of living in the country, with cities such as Toronto higher still. The average rent in Toronto is about \$500 per month.

The province has responded to this type of information by suggesting to those who have been cut that they seek out neighbors and the churches for relief. The man responsible for overseeing the cuts, sinister minister of Social Services David Tsubouchi has released a recommended food budget of \$90 (with recommended food items), and has advocated that recips go and barter in super markets for deals. When a group of anti-poverty activists did just that, they were arrested.

At the original Ontario welfare rates, recips were getting at least \$200 a month below the minimum wage. Under the new rates it is at least \$300 less. The expectation is that recips will work for less than the minimum wage.

What welfare recips are meant to derive from workfare, according to its sponsors, is "meaningful job training," "life-skills," and renewed "purpose" and "productivity." When queried as to what type of training and jobs those involved can expect, a uniform answer seems to be "cleaning up garbage at the side of the road." Being in this type of "work" will supposedly lead to greater employability as a result of the greater skills learned. Although when you pick up garbage, the likelihood that there will be an opening somewhere in the area of your "training" seems unlikely.★



One of the Ethnic Studies hunger strikers addresses students during massive sit-in at Columbia's Butler Library.

Student Takeovers at Columbia University for Ethnic Studies

BY MATTHEW QUEST

Columbia University students, demanding the creation of an ethnic studies program, conducted a two-week battle with their campus administration and security. A 15-day hunger strike, three building takeovers, and two marches highlighted the struggle. More than 23 students were arrested at the height of the rebellion as riot police stormed campus for the first time since the 1970s.

More than 150 students occupied Low Library, the main administrative building, after a 4 p.m. rally on April 10. Students occupied the building all night and barred all employees, who were left standing for hours outside on the next bitter cold morning. Finally, campus security cleared the building with forced arrests. Students stopped traffic while surrounding police vehicles outside the campus gates, finally

marching on the local precinct.

On April 12, while 100 students occupied Hamilton Hall for most of the day, students chanted in the names of activists Marcus Garvey, Bobby Seale, Steven Biko, and Cesar Chavez, among others. Across from Hamilton Hall is the campus main library, whose facade is engraved with the names of Homer, Herodotus, Sophocles, and Plato—authors taught in Columbia's Western core curriculum.

Student leaders, prominent among them Asian, African, and Latina women, won concessions from the Columbia administration which included amnesty for the protesters, four new minority faculty members (two Asian and two Latino), and a promise to hire more faculty for the African American studies department. However their key demand, a separate ethnic studies center or separate academic department, was not met. The struggle continues.★

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Active Resistance Counter-Convention to Plague Chicago Democratic Convention

It's no news to you that the Democrats will descend on Chicago in August to drink and argue and maintain the status quo. It may be news to you that radical activists from across the country have been working together for months to organize Active Resistance—the Counter Convention. Active Resistance is scheduled to take place in Chicago the week before the DNC. Its purpose is to bring people together to create meaningful sustainable alternatives to the country's current oppressive institutions. Our goal is (1) to develop counter institutions and (2) to do constructive activism around issues important to all of us.

Active Resistance will turn its back on the electoral circus taking place in Chicago and explore instead our vision of real direct democracy. Active Resistance will focus on the work anarchists and other like-minded radicals are already doing to create viable alternatives to current society. Such projects are based on non-hierarchical, autonomous organization and revolutionary intentions, and include radical collectives, economic cooperatives, alternative educational projects, networks of revolutionaries, and truly community-based organizations.

A new anti-authoritarian movement is growing quickly. It appeals to a growing number of us who are rejecting dominant ideology and culture and its political and economic institutions. Nonetheless, many of these groupings are as isolated as Ted Kaczynski, and our efforts often fail to connect as they could.

Active Resistance will provide space and time for all these sorts of people to begin real face-to-face conversations about these efforts. Participants will discuss practical campaigns and projects, share perspectives, experience, and information with each other, and plan concrete activities to seize the momentum created by having so many radicals in one place at the same time. Plans, projects, counter-institutions, and campaigns will develop from the grassroots, as participants build upon their own experience to draw up proposals for discussion.

Active Resistance is not about lobbying for useless electoral victories. Active Resistance is not about seizing control of the state. Active Resistance is about the promise of autonomy, mutual aid, and cooperation. Active Resistance is about the building blocks of revolutionary community. From August 21 to 31, radical collectives and individuals will come together in Chicago to create sustainable communities of resistance. This is an event with purpose and strategy, not just another stuff conference with the same old boring workshops and lectures.

ACTIVE RESISTANCE AND YOU

AR is being organized to help us develop the skills and awareness to help us take direct autonomous control of our lives. This union of collectives and individuals will involve lots of hard work, spirited activism,

intense discussion, and serious fun. Come prepared with an idea of what you want from AR and with plans, hopes and dreams.

We've pilfered the following inclusive definition of anarchy from the folks who put on Without Borders, the 1989 anarchist conference and festival in San Francisco, because it reflects our commitment to working with radical anti-authoritarians, no matter what they call themselves: "Anarchy: a self-governed society in which people organize themselves from the bottom up on an egalitarian basis; decisions made by those affecting them; direct democratic control of our workplaces, schools, neighborhoods, towns and bio-regions with coordination between differing groups as needed. A world where women and men are free and equal and all of us have power over our own lives, bodies and sexuality; where we cherish and live in balance with the earth and value diversity of cultures, races, and sexual orientations; where we work and live together cooperatively." Don't be scared off by the term "anarchy." If this definition matches your life, your work, and your aspirations, please join us for Active Resistance.

The counter-convention will present practical models of revolutionary politics in action, highlighting resistance to state and capital-sponsored domination as well as community activism which builds real alternatives to the current oppressive system. We are interested in more than just rehashing the issues. By holding ongoing discussions on certain themes, we hope to offer participants the opportunity to work

on actual projects and the momentum to realize real goals.

Contact AR for a registration form. You can pre-register, or just show up and jump right into the activities. On-site registration will begin on Tuesday, Aug. 20 at the Autonomous Zone, 2311 W. North Avenue (the Milwaukee Avenue address listed below is our mailing address) in Chicago. Food and child-care will be available during AR activities. To the extent that housing is available, it will be given on a first come first serve basis, so pre-registration is strongly encouraged.★

There are many ways for you to participate:

★ pre-register for the counter-convention for a

bare-bones cost of \$20 to cover rental costs for the necessary space

★ facilitate a workshop, panel discussion, or skill-sharing event

★ come to Chicago early to be a part of organizing Active Resistance

★ endorse Active Resistance (organizations that do so will be identified in coming publicity)

★ make a generous financial contribution

Active Resistance
c/o A-Zone
1573 N. Milwaukee #420
Chicago, IL 60622
phone: 312-278-0775
fax: 312-252-8655
email: ugwiller@bgu.edu



Police riot outside Conrad Hilton at 1968 Chicago Democratic Convention

Olympic Games Squash Atlanta's Homeless

BY SARA ZIA EBRAHIMI

This summer a gathering, entitled "Building an Alternative to Transnational Greed," will be held in Atlanta, Georgia from July 18 to August 4 in protest of the Olympic Games. This gathering will be much different in nature than last year's in the sense that security will be much more of a serious issue. Up to ten thousand US troops will patrol the area during the Olympics in order to "enforce security." Additionally, private security guards are being hired by several businesses in the downtown area. Two large detention centers have been erected in the downtown area to house the homeless and others, such as Food not Bombers, that might disrupt the Olympics.

This should not be taken as scare tactics to discourage your involvement, for indeed that is what they are attempting to do. What it does mean is that any type of direct action to take place at the gathering in protest of the Games should be well planned and executed.

Many would question why we would want to protest the Olympic Games, for little is known outside of Georgia of the Atlanta Committee of the Olympic Games

(ACOG) and city planners' efforts to displace the 20,000 homeless people and low-income people from the downtown area. One means through which ACOG has attacked Atlanta's poor is by shutting down shelters and housing projects in the downtown area. The best example of this is the destruction of Techwood, one of the nation's oldest housing projects, which was evacuated and replaced with a new multi-story "Olympic Village" for tourists this summer. Rather than being converted to low-income housing once they become vacant this fall, the housing units will be donated to Georgia Tech University.

Most services available in the downtown area for low and no-income residents of Atlanta such as soup kitchens have also been forced to shut down. The city has also passed several ordinances that are direct attacks on the city's poor. One example is the parking lot ordinance which says that if no one can walk across or loiter in a parking lot unless they have a car parked there, which is used as a justification to arrest homeless people "lingering" in the vicinity of the Olympic venues (about 30% of Atlanta's downtown area is made up of parking lots).

Additionally, all of the Olympic venues (the stadium, the track, the housing, etc.) have been built by temp work forces that practically enslave the city's poor, with no benefits, no more than minimum wage and physically intensive labor with little rest.

To counter the Olympic "mascot" Izzy, Empty the Shelters, an organization working in conjunction with Food not Bombs based in Atlanta has created a half-sister to Izzy named Spoilsport. ETS activists hope to have Spoilsport be the "mascot" of those being displaced by the Olympics. She has already made appearances during the construction process of Olympic venues. Look out for Spoilsport around the country once the Olympic Torch tour begins (or bring her to your city yourself!)*

To find out more about the situation in Atlanta write ETS for their free *Spoilsport's Guide to Atlanta*:

Spoilsport
c/o Empty the Shelters
363 Georgia Ave SE
Atlanta, GA 30312

To find out more about the Food not Bombs gathering call 1-800-884-1136 or 404-622-5859.

Upcoming Events

July 4
Demonstration to Free
Mumia Abu-Jamal
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Info: Concerned Friends & Family of
Mumia Abu-Jamal 215-387-9955

July 18 - August 4
Food Not Bombs
International Gathering
Atlanta, Georgia
"Building an Alternative to Transnational Greed"
Activities during the 1996 Olympic Games
Info: 1-800-884-1136 or 404-524-2147

July 27-August 3
Intercontinental Encounter
for Humanity and
Against Neo-Liberalism
Chiapas, Mexico
Info: NCDM 915-532-8382

August 10-15
Protest Against the
Republican National Convention
San Diego, California
Info: Raza Rights Coalition 619-280-8361
Protest GOP '96 619-297-9570

June 26-27
Leonard Peltier
Freedom Forum
Washington D.C.
Info: 913-842-5774 or
<http://www.unicom.net/peltier/index.html>

August 21-31
Active Resistance
Chicago, Illinois
a counter-convention to
the democratic national convention
Info: A-Zone 312-278-0775
or ugwiller@bgu.edu



Due to pressure from corporate sponsors, "American Gladiators" will be an Olympic sport in the 2000 games.

BY COMMITTEE TO END THE MARION LOCKDOWN

In the Fall of 1994, the US announced that it set its millionth human being to prison. In addition to a million people in prison there are those in jails (about 500,000), those on parole (about 600,000), those on probation (about 3,000,000) and those in juvenile facilities (about 100,000). It is difficult to grasp the enormity of these numbers. For example, the number of people in prison would comprise the 9th largest city in the US. The number of people who are incarcerated in jails and prisons is greater than the number of people who live in 13 states. The number of people under the control of the "criminal" "justice" system is almost two times larger the number of people who live in Nicaragua or Chicago. The number of people in the US who were arrested last year (14,000,000) is much larger than the population of Cuba.

Placing a million human beings in prison is an extraordinary landmark, the number of prisoners today being about five times larger than it was 20 years ago. This growth has more than kept up with the population. Between 1925 (when official imprisonment statistics were first organized) and 1971, the imprisonment rate remained on the order of about 100 per 100,000. Then in 1972, the imprisonment rate began to soar and is still soaring. Graph 1 on page 16 shows this trend. Today the imprisonment rate is 373 (per 100,000 population), almost four times higher than it was in 1972.

INTERNATIONAL COMPARISONS

In 1991 the Sentencing Project, an independent organization based in Washington DC, issued a report authored by Marc Mauer, its assistant director, entitled "Americans Behind Bars: A Comparison of International Rates of Incarceration." The report, which used data from 1989 and 1990, found that the US had the highest incarceration rate in the world (426) compared to a distant second South Africa (333) and third, the Soviet Union (268).

Incredibly, when the report was revised using data from one year later, the gap had widened, and was wider still one year later. In 1992 the US had an incarceration rate of 519 compared to South Africa's rate of 368. Furthermore, in 1990 the incarceration rate for Black men in the US was 3,109 compared to 729 for Black men in South Africa. In 1992 this differential had increased: the rates were, respectively, 3,822 and 851. Thus, in 1990 the incarceration rate for Black men in the US was 4.3 times greater than the rate for Black men in South Africa. Two years later the ratio had increased to 4.5.

Table 1 provides some of the incarceration rates assembled by Mauer. Among other observations, it is interesting to note that the competition between Washington DC and Moscow continues as the newly formed country of Russia has just overtaken the US as the country with the highest imprisonment rate in the world.

US PRISONS IN BLACK AND WHITE

Consider the racial nature of imprisonment in the US. Using US Census and estimates derived from the Bureau of Justice Statistics, we have calculated imprisonment rates (we are now using only people in prison for these calculations) as of June 1994. These are shown in Table 2.

We can see from the table that Black people are 8.5 times more likely and that Hispanic people are 3.9 times more likely to go to prison than are White people.

Further examination of these statistics reveals the depth of their meaning. For example, if instead of the usual per 100,000 people, we employ percentages (per 100

The Continuing Crime of Black Imprisonment



people), we see that 1.489% of all Black people (and 0.176% of all White people) will be in prison at any given moment. Using census data we can calculate related figures: 3.0% of all Black males will be in prison on a given day in 1994 as will 6.0% of all Black men aged 18-44 and 7.6% of all Black men aged 25-29.

We can also consider some other research findings:

- ★ In 1992 there were more Black men in prison (583,000) than in college (537,000)

- ★ One out of every four Black men will go to prison in his lifetime

- ★ 30% of Black men aged 20-29 in Chicago were arrested in 1993

- ★ 42% of Black men aged 18-35 in Washington, DC were under some form of criminal justice control in 1992

- ★ 56% of Black men aged 18-35 in Baltimore were under some form of criminal justice control in 1992

THE NEW CRIME BILL

In 1995 a new "crime" bill was passed by Congress. This bill will render the horrific numbers discussed above small by comparison. In addition to adding scores of new crimes punishable by the death penalty, the goals of this new "crime initiative" involve: placing 100,000 more police on the streets; increasing the proportion of convictions resulting in imprisonment; requiring those imprisoned to serve at least 85% of their sentences ("truth in sentencing"); and incarcerating "three-time losers" for the rest of their lives.

Political scientists and criminologists have started to estimate the impact that this bill will have on imprisonment. John Irwin and James Austin, two criminologists who often prepare publications for the prestigious National Council on Crime and Delinquency, have estimated in their new book entitled *It's About Time* that a pack-

age of laws such as those included in the new crime bill would result in over 9 times as many people being imprisoned. Thus, if we multiply by 9 the 6.0% noted above, we see that well over half of all Black men aged 18-44 would be in prison on any given day if all projected aspects of the new "crime initiative" are implemented. Irwin and Austin note similarly: "[The Crime Bill] would mean that most of the nation's 5.5 million black males aged 18-39 would be incarcerated." Other estimates of the potential impact of the crime bill have suggested a smaller but still devastating impact.

FINANCES

Much has been written about the financing of the "criminal" "justice" system (CJS). Just a few figures here will suffice. Funding for the CJS has increased seven-fold over the past 20 years, from \$10 billion to \$74 billion a year, with \$25 billion spent for incarceration. This, however, is all spare change compared to what may follow, depending upon which aspects of the new crime bill are implemented. For example, it has been estimated that the "three-time loser" provision itself will cost \$5.7 billion annually and require an additional \$21 billion in prison construction costs. It has also been estimated that the crime bill could cost as much as an extra \$351 billion over the next ten years.

Since not many of us have this much money in our pockets, or even in our bank accounts, let's try to understand just how much it really is. It costs much more to send a person to prison for a year than it does to send a person to Harvard. In fact, it costs more to send a person to prison than it would to support family of four. Interestingly about 300,000 families of four, or 1.2 million people, could live for what it cost just to implement the new three-time loser laws. Noting the surging hunger in the US, the Bread for the World Institute has just determined that \$10 billion would be

enough to expand the Women, Infants and Children (WIC) food program to assure that there were no longer any hungry people in this category. This is less than two years of payments for the three-time loser law. Or, consider this: According to a report from the American Bar Association, all the state taxes of 18 average taxpayers in Delaware are required to keep one person in prison for a year; and the money spent to build a prison in Wisconsin would pay for 11,000 children to attend Head Start.

WHAT IS CRIME?

This is not as simple a question as it appears. For example, there is the street crime that breaks the law and that sometimes results in imprisonment. But most crime does not result in imprisonment, nor is it even considered crime.

For example, domestic violence, or the battering of women, is almost never seen as a crime—even though it is estimated that 3 to 4,000,000 women a year in the US are battered by their mates. Waging war is not even considered criminal even though the war against Iraq murdered about 500,000 Iraqis. Denying people health care, food or housing also isn't a crime. And it is not a crime to manufacture and sell cigarettes, which each year kill 20 times as many people as guns. We make these points to emphasize that whatever the relationship between crime and imprisonment, it doesn't involve any of these issues.

HOW IS CRIME MEASURED

There are two main ways that street crime is measured in the US. The first is the Uniform Crime Report (UCR). This is computed by adding together the major crimes that are reported to the police, who in turn report to the FBI, who in turn publish the findings. The other measure of crime comes

(Continued to page 16)

NY Anti-Racists Arrested in Confrontation with Boneheads

BY MATT BLACK

On Saturday, April 27, three people were arrested at the Meadowlands Arena in New Jersey after a confrontation with boneheads at a soccer game. Among those arrested was Dan Sabater, a member of Red and Anarchist Skin Heads (RASH) of NY and the Love and Rage Federation. Dan is facing charges of Aggravated Assault and Felony Possession of a Weapon (a 3-inch knife).

Members of RASH regularly go to soccer games in the New York area. As is usually the case, there were about 30 skinheads at this game. As people were leaving the game, members of RASH noticed a group of 5-6 boneheads, some of them wearing swastikas.

Dan and others approached the boneheads to verbally confront them about the swastikas. During the discussion, the boneheads Sieg Heiled at the RASH folks, and then threw some punches. A fight broke out as RASH folks defended themselves from the boneheads.

The brawl was resolved as the boneheads beat a hasty retreat towards the parking lot, licking their wounds. A few minutes later the RASH folks went to the parking lot and got in their van. As they were waiting in traffic, the police stopped them and made them get out. The boneheads drove by and identified Dan and other people to the police, at which point the police arrested Dan and two others. In addition to the

criminal charges, 10 people are banned from the Meadowlands permanently. Meadowlands Security worked with the cops to make the arrests.

RASH plans to fight back in three ways. First, they have hired an attorney and are waiting to find out what charges are finally leveled at the arraignment. Second, they plan to use this opportunity to expose the attempts of boneheads and other white supremacists to develop an influence within the growing professional soccer scene in the US.

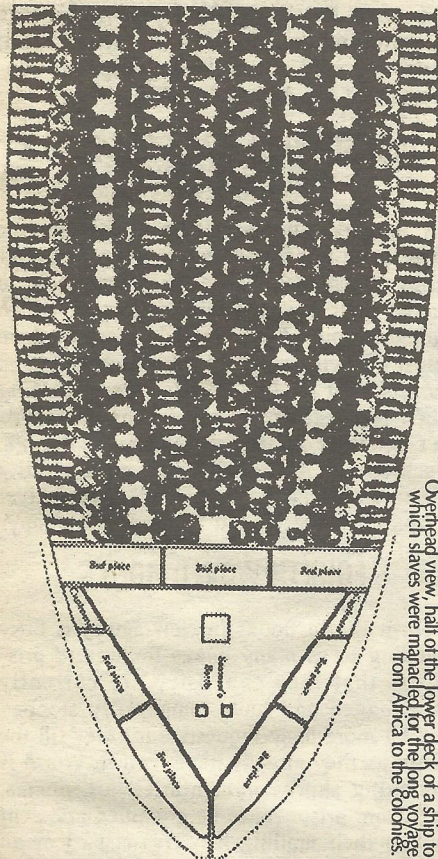
Finally, they plan to expose the racist hypocrisy of the management of the Meadowlands in banning the display of "inflammatory" insignia, such as an Irish

flag (which was the subject of an argument with gate attendants on the same day), but apparently not including such symbols as swastikas. They are also fighting the bannings.

RASH are still working out their overall legal and political strategy. The need your support to help pay for legal and organizing costs. They are also seeking support from soccer support organizations.★

Write for more information
or to send contributions:
RASH
PO Box 365
Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013

Anti-Racist Action Reports



Overhead view, half of the lower deck of a ship to which slaves were marched for the long voyage from Africa to the Colonies.

These reports are reprinted from Minneapolis ARA's newsletter "Fighting Words" Issue 3, Summer 1996. Write to Minneapolis ARA for a copy of the newsletter. Write to any of these groups for more information on their activities or to get involved.

DETROIT, MICHIGAN

Detroit ARA came out in full force at the second ARA Network Conference and action on January 17, 1996. Although they are just starting to come up, they have already done some excellent work. They visited the home of a young woman attacked by fascists to lend support and see how they could help. A rally is planned to protest the attack.

On March 1, Detroit ARA helped to do anti-Nazi patrol at a heavy metal show where one of the bands had been threatened by fascists. (Detroit is home to Resistance Records and Magazine, a slick Nazi music zine and record distribution operation that combines heavy metal with racist politics.)

On other fronts, ARA made an appearance at the International Women's Day fair at United Auto Workers Local 600. Some ARA kids also attended the NAACP conference in Louisville, KY to take part in a "Youth in Action" workshop.

FLINT, MICHIGAN

Flint ARA was formed in November 1995 when some anti-racists learned that a local record store was selling Nazi music and Resistance magazine. They organized a protest at the store, and within two weeks the racist music and zines were off the shelves! Flint also went to the January 17 Governor's "State of the State" address to protest against welfare cuts, financial aid cutbacks, and for tenant rights. In the crowd of 200, along with ARA, were MeCha, Unions, Active Transformation, and Michigan Education Association, among others. Currently they are working on starting regular meetings at the East Side

Community Center, which they hope will put them in touch with a larger base of people. They are also planning to have regular movies and discussions.

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Brew City ARA got started in November 1995, and already has a great crew of people. Two comrades made the long trip out to Columbus, Ohio for the Second Annual ARA Network Conference and ended up going back to Minneapolis for a while to check out Kieran Knutson's trial. The first issue of their newsletter just came out, which is helping to bring new people into the chapter. One of the projects ARA has been working on is to expose the fascist nature of the Bradley Foundation, a local "charity." Milwaukee plans to start its own Copwatch soon.

COLUMBUS, OHIO

Columbus ARA has been pretty active lately. A lot of their work focuses on national outreach and support for ARA. Last October they hosted the Second Annual Anti-Racist Action Network Conference. They have already begun early plans for the third ARA conference this year on October 18-20, 1996.

ARA News, the Columbus chapter's zine, has grown quickly. They now publish about every three to four months. They printed 10,000 of the last issue and mailed it to their mailing list of about 5,600. The rest got distributed in bulk at music shows, tables, etc. They plan on printing 13,000 of the next issue.

They went on tour with the Mighty Mighty Bosstones, and set up and signed up people at 14 Bosstones shows in February and March. They helped to organize the protest against the Klan in Columbus on January 6, 1996. They mobilized against the Klan recruitment rally in Bryan, Ohio (west of Toledo) on April 20.

On the local scene, ARA Columbus held their Anti-Fest II, an all day rock against racism, across from Ohio State campus in May. They're also doing what they can to help the two guys busted and facing long prison terms for their part in the January anti-Klan action. Their Schools Committee has three classroom appearances scheduled in March and April. They have also been contacted by victims of three separate hate incidents (two in their area, one near Cincinnati) for help. They hope to be able to do something to support these folks.

TORONTO, ONTARIO

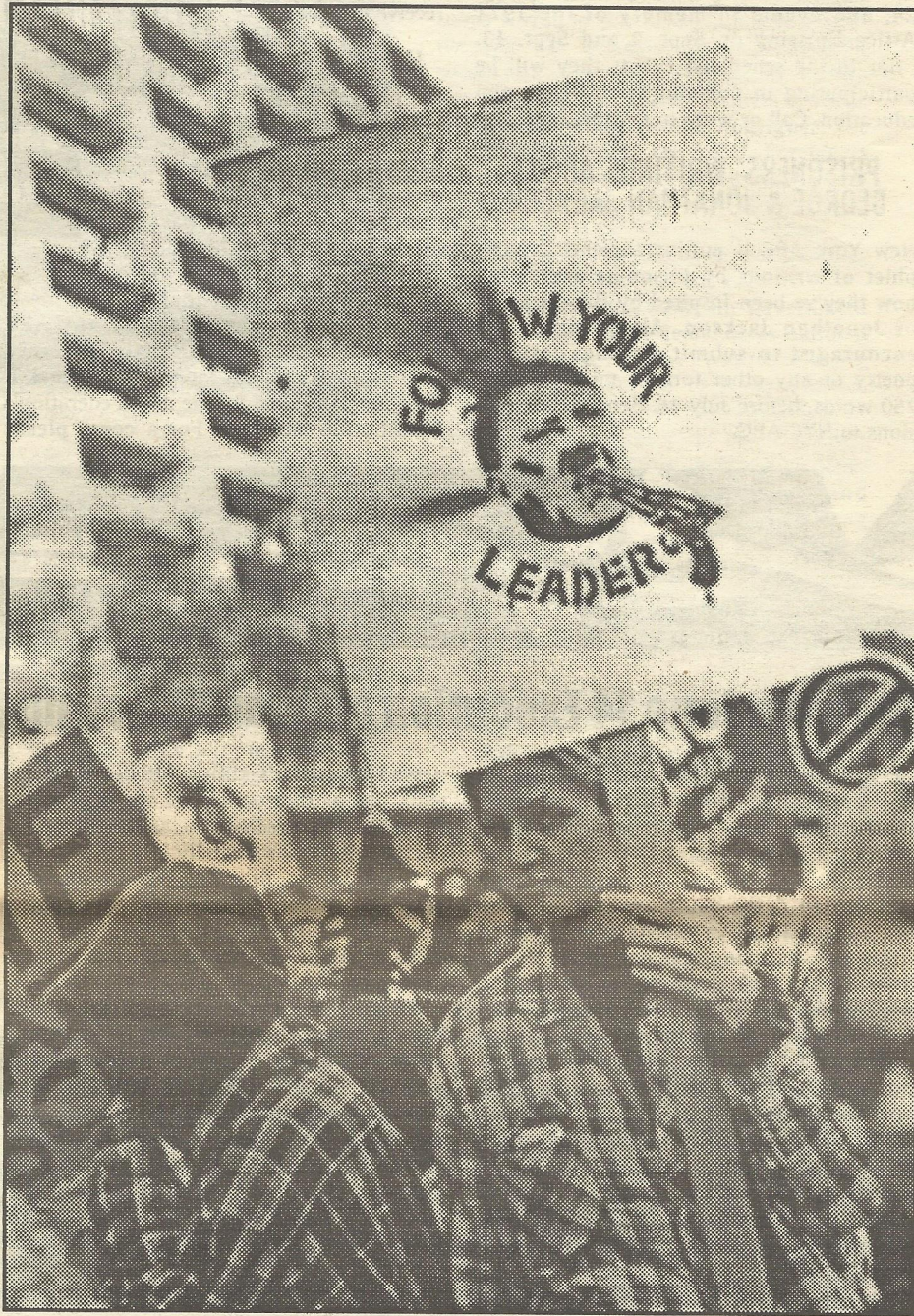
The Toronto ARA crew has already been around a few years and done some excellent anti-racist work. Too good, almost—they've had their phone tapped and been beat down by boneheads (but, of course, the tables have been turned more than a few times, too!). Recently, they pulled off a ska benefit show, and made lots of money to further the anti-racist struggle. They also signed up a bunch of cool kids

on their mailing list and hope to hook up with them soon. Toronto ARA has been helping to get a couple new ARA groups off the ground in Durham (see the update) and St. Catherine's, Ontario. They are also hosting an ARA conference in June (see separate article).

DURHAM, ONTARIO

Although a new ARA chapter, Durham Anti-Racist Action has already paid their

dues! They held a very successful anti-racist concert on January 26, and over 300 people showed up. They sold a bunch of ARA gear: buttons, patches and T-shirts, as well as anti-racist posters and pamphlets. Unfortunately, two ARA kids were attacked by some racist skinheads with brass knuckles and a pipe. The crowd went out to look for the boneheads and take care of business, but the Nazi clowns had already run off. As usual, the cops harassed the ARA kids.★



Toronto ARA Conference June 22-23, 1996

Anti-Racist Action-Toronto presents "Youth Against Hate," an anti-racist/anti-fascist conference, on June 22-23 in Toronto. Developing organizing skills among young people in particular, encouraging the formation of new ARA-type groups, and building an information-sharing network with anti-fascists in our region (Ontario, US border) are the main focuses. We also expect people from all over Canada to be here, as well as supporters of the various American ARA groups, because it's going to be a great weekend!

ARA Toronto is not, by any stretch of the imagination, trying to replace the annual ARA Network gathering, to be hosted by ARA Columbus in October this year. We are also determined to prevent the weekend from being consumed with ideological battles—emphasis will be on skills, work and fun. We do plan one large panel discussion on the role of grassroots anti-fascist activists, our relationship to other anti-racist struggles, and our relationship to the state.

- Workshops will include most of the following:
- ★ Starting a Youth-Based Anti-Racist / Anti-Fascist Group
 - ★ Anti-Fascist History (presentations by a Jewish partisan fighter from W.W.II and an anarchist who fought in the Spanish Civil War)
 - ★ The Neo-Nazi Music Industry
 - ★ Rock 'n Rap Against Racism

- ★ Street Art and Propaganda
- ★ Nazis in your 'Hood (overview of Canadian fascists)
- ★ Monitoring and Tracking the Fascists
- ★ Anti-Native Hate Groups
- ★ Street Kids Against Racism
- ★ Producing Newsletters & Bulletins
- ★ Homophobia, Anti-Choice Terror, and the Christian Right
- ★ Cops & Klan...
- ★ Copwatch (presented by Minneapolis ARA)
- ★ Unlearning the 'isms
- ★ Neo-Nazis & the Law
- ★ Anti-Hate Initiatives in the Workplace/Labour Movement
- ★ Racism, Fascism and Resistance in the Media.

The conference is co-sponsored by the Vancouver-based Canadian Anti-Racism Education and Research Society. Pre-registration is necessary for the weekend, both for security purposes and so that we can plan billeting and food (2 meals provided each day). We're asking for a \$10 contribution/day.★

For registration forms:
 Toronto ARA
 PO Box 291, Station B
 Toronto, ON M5T 2T2 Canada
 Phone (416) 631-8835.
 Email ara@web.apc.org
 All info is also on our web page at
<http://web.apc.org/~ara>.
 Cheques can be made out to ARA.

Anti-Racist Action Contacts

Columbus ARA
 PO Box 82097
 Columbus, OH 43202
 614-424-9074
 (Publishes "ARA News")

Detroit ARA
 PO Box 321211
 Detroit, MI 48232
 313-730-3555

Durham ARA (DARA)
 PO Box 66022
 Town Centre Postal Outlet
 1355 Kingston Road
 Pickering, ON
 L1V 6P7 CANADA
 (Publishes "Fighting Talk")

Flint ARA
 PO Box 90303
 Burton, MI 48509

Louisville ARA
 PO Box 4963
 Louisville, KY
 502-485-0410

Milwaukee ARA
 PO Box 92264
 Milwaukee, WI 53202

Minneapolis ARA
 PO Box 80239
 Minneapolis, MN 55408
 (Publishes "Fighting Words")

Toronto ARA
 PO Box 664, Stn. C
 Toronto, ON
 M6J 3S1 CANADA
 416-631-8835
ara@web.apc.org

<http://www.web.apc.org/~ara>
 (Publishes "On the Prowl")

This section, reporting on projects initiated by ABC groups, will be a regular feature in *Love & Rage*. We encourage all active ABC groups to send us announcements to print.

BRONX ABC BECOMES NYC ABC AND GOES ON THE OFFENSIVE

Bronx ABC has changed its name to New York ABC. Anyone in the New York area who would like to get involved in prisoner support and movement defense work should contact NYC ABC to see how you can get involved. NYC ABC has plans underway for a summer campaign in support of prisoners, called "the Offensive Summer." This will include a Prisoner Justice Day demonstration on Aug. 10, a commemoration of George & Jonathan Jackson on Aug. 18, a Sacco & Vanzetti Anarchist Picnic on Aug. 24, and events in memory of the 1971 Attica Uprising on Sept. 9 and Sept. 13. Prior to the scheduled events they will be participating in community outreach and education. Call or write to get involved.

PRISONERS' WRITINGS ABOUT GEORGE & JONATHAN JACKSON

New York ABC is putting together a pamphlet of writings by prisoners expressing how they've been inspired by George and / or Jonathan Jackson. All prisoners are encouraged to submit writings (essays, poetry or any other format) no more than 750 words, before July 15. Send all submissions to NYC ABC.

MERCHANDISE CATALOG FROM NEW JERSEY ABC

New Jersey ABC has a new Spring '96 catalog of merchandise in support of Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War. Proceeds from all merchandise go directly to the P.P./P.O.W.'s featured. The catalog includes booklets by P.P./P.O.W.'s, audio tapes, video tapes, and t-shirts. The merchandise is high quality and is made by NJ ABC themselves, featuring well-known as well as lesser known P.P. / P.O.W.'s. Send NJ ABC a stamp to receive the catalog.

HIP HOP VIDEO "FREE MUMIA NOW!" AVAILABLE

Hip Hop artist (MC)3 Shank of the Political Prisoner Rap Movement has released a video for his song "Free Mumia Now!" The video is a fundraising effort that is split equally between (MC)3 Shank, the ABC Federation, and International Concerned Friends and Family of Mumia Abu-Jamal. It is being distributed by the ABC Federation's Distribution Network. For a copy, please

mail \$15 to New Jersey ABC. Please make any checks out to Neil A. Batelli.

CLAUSTROPHOBIA ABC'S FREEING SPIRIT READING SERVICE

Freeing Spirit Reading Service is a project of Claustrophobia ABC in Washington DC. Through this project they provide radical and revolutionary pamphlets to prisoners for free. Pamphlets available include anarchist classics, writings by and about the Black Panthers, analyses of prisons in society, and much more. Write to them for a list of pamphlets they have available. They are also in need of donations of money or stamps (or copycards!) to sustain the project.

TWO NEW ABC GROUPS FORM

There are two new ABC groups in the US. A long-time ABC supporter in Lancaster, Pennsylvania has formed an ABC group there, and a new group has also formed in Athens, Maine. The Athens group has been organizing in support of

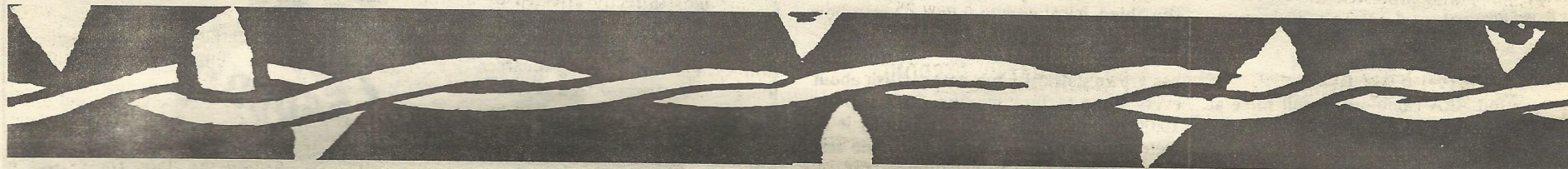
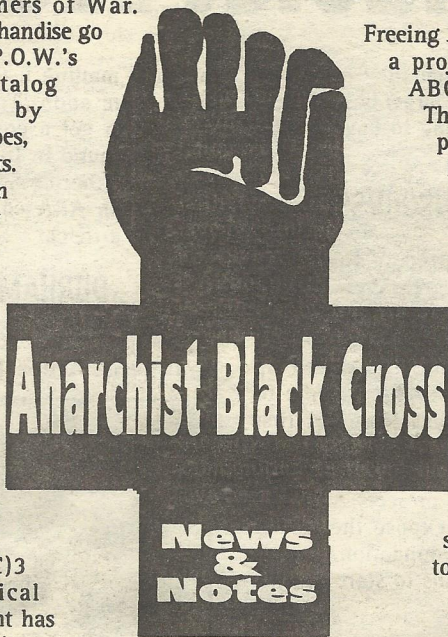
Leonard Peltier, MOVE prisoners, Rod Coronado (an Animal Liberation Front prisoner), and others. Both groups are supporters of the ABC Federation.

JACKSONVILLE ABC GOES FREE & GETS BACK GUNS

In January, three members of Jacksonville ABC were imprisoned when over 20 SWAT cops raided their house. They were able to make their bail and hire a lawyer, which got them out of jail. Their lawyer got them most of their property back which had been confiscated by the SWAT cops, including their two legally registered guns. They didn't get their graffiti stencils back, though. Jacksonville ABC is also now putting out a community newspaper, called "Alarm! River City Resistance." Send 3 stamps for a copy.

FOURTH WORLD BOOKS

Fourth World Books in New Jersey is busy sending in as many books for free to prisoners that they can. They are currently backlogged and have temporarily stopped taking more book requests until they fill the requests they already have. Fourth World is soliciting short commentaries, art, poems, etc. from prisoners to be compiled and sent out to their mailing list. This is part of an effort to encourage and create a national communication network among the hundreds of prisoners they are in contact with across the country. Write to: Fourth World Books, PO Box 22809, Newark, NJ 07101.★



Stop the June 14 Execution of Ziyon Yisrayah!

On Dec. 11, 1980 in Indianapolis, Indiana, the police department made a pre-dawn raid on the home of Ajamu Nassor (Gregory Reslover) and Ziyon Yisrayah (Tommie Smith). The men and women in the house were asleep when the police kicked in the door and started firing and throwing tear gas inside of the home. Sgt. Jack Ohrberg of the police department was killed and Ziyon Yisrayah was wounded. It was determined at that time that Sgt. Ohrberg had been shot in the back, and that the bullet that killed him did not come from either of the guns within the house. Most importantly, when this officer was shot, he had been facing Ajamu and Ziyon. The evidence is clear that this officer was killed by someone behind him, and only police officers were in that position.

On Dec. 8, 1994, the state of Indiana killed Ajamu Nassor. Human rights workers in Indiana reported that 40,000 letters had been written on behalf of Ajamu, requesting clemency. All these voices went unheard. Ajamu's father, Beverly Reslover, said his son was a "political scapegoat" for a crime he did not commit, and he predicted that no judge would save his son: "There's no hope from the courts, they definitely want to see him die." Ajamu himself refused to accept his death willingly, did not want to wear the hood over his head, and was forced to do so. He maintained his innocence to the end. Ajamu's wish was to expose the injustice and brutality carried out by the state. Gregory Barnett, Ajamu's son, then age 18, wit-

nessed his father's killing. He could barely walk out of the room after the execution. Kevin, a brother of Ajamu, said "It's unfair, it's unjust and it's ungodly."

Don't let another legal lynching take place in Indiana. Write to the newspapers now. **OPPOSE THE KILLING OF ZIYON YISRAYAH!!!** Demand an end to the death penalty.

Please write letters to the governor and Parole Board to oppose the execution / killing of Ziyon Yisrayah, a condemned prisoner on death row in Indiana. Tell them that people all over the country and the world are outraged over the state's plans for the legal lynching of Ziyon Yisrayah (Tommie Smith). His execution date is scheduled for June 14. Write TODAY!!!★

Call, fax, or write to these people:

Governor Evan Bayh
Office of the Governor
The State House
Indianapolis, IN 46204
Phone: 317-232-4567
Fax: 317 232-3443

Indiana Parole Board
E321 Indiana Government Center South
302 West Washington Street
Indianapolis, IN 46204-2278

Send copies of your letters to:
Human Rights Coalition of Indiana
54125 Maple Lane
South Bend, IN 46635

Zapatista POWs Javier Elorriaga and Sebastian Entzin Are Freed!

In early June, Jorge Javier Elorriaga Berdegue and Sebastian Entzin Gomez were freed by the Mexican government. The two were Mexican political prisoners sentenced to 13 and 6 years, respectively, for "crimes of terrorism, rebellion, and conspiracy."

Javier is a video journalist whose collective took a prominent role in spreading news about the EZLN with the video "Viaje al Centro de la Selva" (Journey to the Center of the Jungle). He also, in efforts to aid the process of creating a just and dignified peace in Mexico, delivered letters between Subcomandante Marcos and President Zedillo. Sebastian is an indigenous Tzeltal activist from San Cristobal de las Casas, Chiapas. They both have been charged as members of the EZLN.

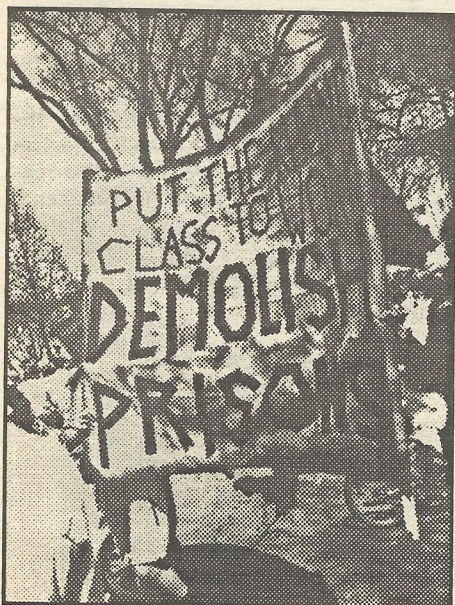
Irregularities in these cases show the blatant disregard that the Mexican government has for even its own laws. Testimony from a ghost witness was used. This individual has never appeared in person to deliver his statements. Other testimony used against Javier was received under torture from Maria Gloria Benevides, his wife and another member of the video collective. In several of the early proceedings against Sebastian, the

translator provided for him spoke only in Spanish and Tzotzil, and he was left unable to understand the proceedings as he only speaks Tzeltal.

The initial sentencing of these two men as terrorists displays the Mexican government's continuing efforts to delegitimize the struggle of the EZLN and their supporters around Mexico. These charges violate the Law for Dialog, Conciliation, and Dignified Peace in Chiapas which recognized the EZLN as a majority indigenous organization which exists for just reasons.

The two were freed only after the EZLN broke off negotiations with the government and went on a red alert. They were freed on a legal appeal. It is probable that negotiations between the EZLN and the government will now resume. But there are still a number of Zapatistas and alleged Zapatistas in Mexico's prisons. It is a victory that Elorriaga and Entzin were freed. But we must continue to demand freedom for the rest of the POWs in Mexico.★

For more information contact:
New York ABC
PO Box 1034
Bronx, NY 10454



Western Massachusetts Prison Issues Group

The Western Mass. Prison Issues Group works to change the brutality of the extended prison system. This explicitly includes the criminal "justice" network. Further, as we think about the causes of crime, which one cannot separate from the reality of prisons, we see that included in this system are those who hold political power, military power, and financial power.

WMPIG organizes educational events, such as speakers and films. We write and distribute literature. We have organized actively around the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

For more information:
phone: 413-549-4119
email: kastor@phast.umass.edu
http://www.unix.oit.umass.edu/
~kastor/groups/wmass.wmass.html

Anarchist Black Cross Groups

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

Baltimore ABC
PO Box 22203
Baltimore, MD 21203
barrenador@nothingness.org

Claustrophobia ABC
PO Box 77432
Washington, DC 20013

Jacksonville ABC
3628 Park Street
Suite 20
Jacksonville, FL 32205

Lancaster ABC
PO Box 891
Lancaster, PA 17608

Milwaukee ABC
PO Box 93312
Milwaukee, WI 53203

Minneapolis ABC
PO Box 7075
Minneapolis, MN 55407

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

New Jersey ABC
PO Box 8532
Paterson, NJ 07508

New York ABC
PO Box 1034
Bronx, NY 10454
colin@nyic.com

Work Strike at Oak Park Heights Prison

BY NINA

On the morning of March 4, 1996, approximately 120 prisoners at Minnesota's Oak Park Heights maximum security prison took a unified stance against the prison's continual repression and violations of their human and constitutional rights. After breakfast, these prisoners staged a work strike, shutting down most of the prison's profit-making industries. Six hours later these complexes were locked down.

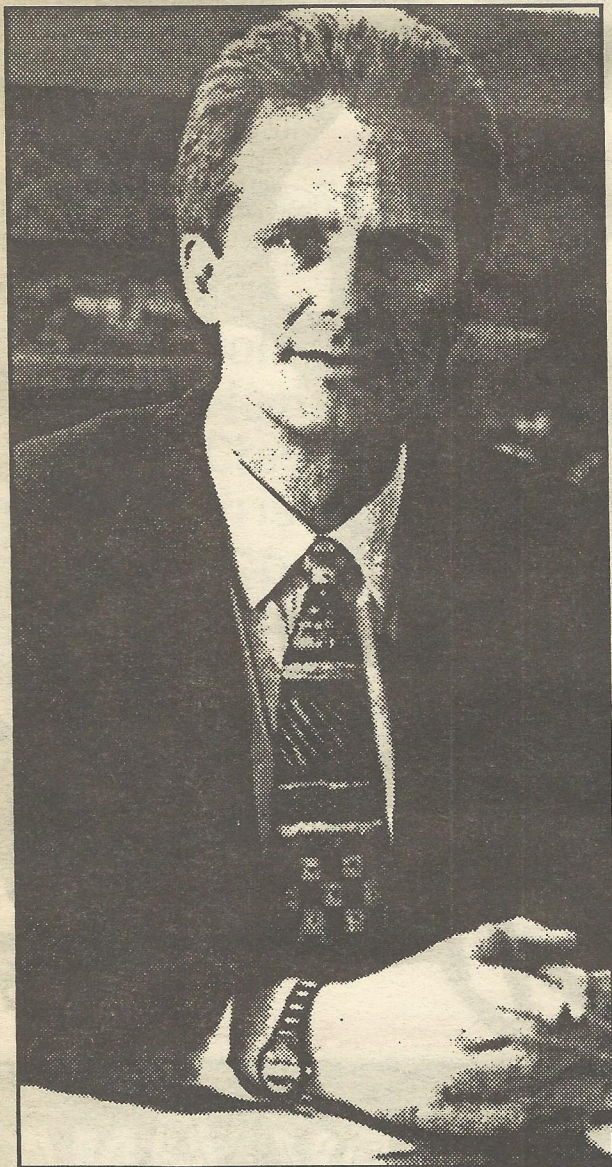
As guards ransacked rooms and sent alleged ringleaders to the segregation complex, support for the strike spread through the institution. By the evening of the next day, over half of the inmates in the prison's old Special Housing Unit (SHU) refused to eat dinner to show solidarity with the striking prisoners. They too were locked down.

As a result of the work strike, Oak Park Heights Maximum Security Prison in Stillwater now contains the state's first official control unit, the new Special Housing Unit (SHU). Prisoners are being put in the new SHU explicitly for their political activity in supporting the work strike, and can only get out by renouncing that activity and going back to work on the prison authorities' terms. The new SHU unit is being used to isolate and destroy the spirit of prisoners who protested the repressive conditions in the prison. This is the function of a control unit.

THE PRISONERS' DEMANDS

Although denied all phone calls and visits during the eleven day lockup, the prisoners would not be silenced. A list of grievances sent to Warden Skon and circulated by outside supporters exposed the prison's repressive conditions. The prisoners demanded an end to slave wages, systematic brutality in the segregation complex, restrictive visitation policy, excessive medical and phone costs, poor air ventilation, excessive canteen prices, inadequate and substandard law library, and removal of cable television channels.

Ironically, these demands for the most part merely request a restoration of the prison conditions prior to 1994. Increased restrictions over the last two years include the elimination of evening college classes and Pell Grants, the sealing of all windows in the institution, a severe limit to the number of clothes and books per prisoner,



Warden Skkon



Blatantly self-promotional photo (from demonstration at Oak Park Heights prison in March, organized by ABC and Love & Rage.

new restrictions in the visitation policy, charges for medical visits, the elimination of cable television, and a new 25 cent telephone call fee.

PRISON HACKS RESPOND...

Officials, unmoved by prisoner demands, even conceded that the increasing restrictions placed on the prisoners were not imposed to "rehabilitate," but rather to pander to the public's anti-crime hysteria. In the words of Programs Manager Jessica Freer and her brother Mark Freer, "it has become increasingly apparent that the public is losing patience with increasing crime and less and less interested in rehabilitation...we must demonstrate that we are willing to acknowledge the concerns of the public."

Officials jumped at the opportunity to increase repression further by creating the special control unit for those who refused to return to work. In addition to punishing those who refused to work, the SHU unit also threatens the prison population at large with the looming possibility of isolation and psychological torture if they resist in any way.

CONTROL UNITS AND MASS INCARCERATION

The purpose of control units is not rehabilitation, but rather the physical and psychological destruction of the prisoner. These torture units primarily target political prisoners and politicized prisoners who organize and agitate against the inhumanity of the prison system.

Minnesota's control unit uses prolonged isolation, sensory deprivation, and behavior modification as methods to achieve total control and total breakdown of the prisoner. Locked inside their 7' by 10' cells 21 hours a day, the only way out is to sign up for a job. To do this is to betray one's dignity and capitulate to the prison authorities by going back to work without any of the demands for better conditions being met. Even then, prisoners are stuck in the SHU for an indeterminate amount of time waiting for an available job. Such is the psychology of the control unit.

Control units are a desperate extension made necessary by America's obsession with mass incarceration. With over 1.5 million people now locked up in US jails and prisons, overcrowding and poor conditions are worsening. Increasing resistance to these conditions is inevitable. Control units are the system's

answer to this resistance.

People of Afrikan descent and poor people are most directly affected by all this. Currently, almost 1 in 3 men of Afrikan descent are caught up in the criminal sanction system. The rate of incarceration of Black women ages 20-29 skyrocketed 78% between 1989-1994, according to the 1995 report "Young Black Americans and the Criminal Justice System: Five Years Later" by Marc Mauer and Tracy Huling. The smokescreen of rehabilitation is fading before the sheer magnitude of the expansion of US prisons.

THE STATE'S OBJECTIVES

The state more openly incarcerates to further three major interests. The state's first interest is to divert attention away from the problems caused by capitalism and white supremacy. Conveniently, the criminal sanction system blames the individual but never the system for social disorder. They "solve" these problems by social control of the individuals.

Social control is the state's second interest. This is achieved through criminalization of poor and oppressed people, who resist the conditions caused by capitalism and white supremacy in order to survive. Criminalization legitimizes the status quo of slavery, torture, and justifiable homicide. Social control through incarceration keeps "undesirables" off the street and available for slave labor.

Slave labor is the third objective. This type of labor has always created the wealth of this nation. After the official end to slavery in 1865, incarceration became a way to replace the slave labor needed to keep the economy going. As noted by Jose Lopez of the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional, "If you study the prison population between 1865 and 1900 in the South you will see an incredible swelling of the prison population in the deep South. Black people came out of slavery and were literally transported to prisons. With the chain gangs, they rebuilt the mines and the cities and the railroads and the ports of the South..."

America continues to be built on the backs of prisoners. However, the product of today's slave laborer ranges from license plates to clothing, airline ticket sales to blue jeans. Private industries contract labor from the state, creating a "third world" labor force without leaving the country. By the year 2000, it is estimated that sales resulting from prison labor will exceed \$8.8 billion (up from \$1.3 billion in 1993), according to data from the Prison Industries Reform Alliance.

CONTRADICTION BETWEEN SLAVE LABOR & SOCIAL CONTROL?

Prison labor profit is a boon to both the state and private industry. However, the parallel expansion of prison labor and control units demonstrates the occasional conflict between the state interests of profits and social control. Oak Park Heights illus-

trates this schism. As a result of the work strike, all industry was shipped to nearby prisons. For the next month only 36 of the 104 previously working prisoners were employed. The state had to take this financial loss to gain control mentally and physically of the prisoners.

Control units by themselves are not profitable because prisoners in them don't work. But their isolation, torture and fear tactics ultimately benefit the state. The existence of control units leaves general population as a more terrorized and disorganized (and thus compliant) labor pool to be more easily exploited at third world wages under military guard.

ORGANIZE ON THE OUTSIDE TO SHUT DOWN CONTROL UNITS

Control units make it harder for prisoners to defend their basic human rights and dignity. Organizing on the outside is essential to shutting down control units.

Minneapolis ABC is focusing our efforts around supporting the Oak Park Heights work strike and shutting down the new SHU unit. We have focused much attention on public awareness and education due to the mainstream media's biased reporting. We were featured on Minnesota Public Radio, "Black Power Perspectives" radio show and wrote letters published in the daily paper. Love & Rage and ABC organized a successful protest at the prison. Minneapolis ABC has held three educational forums and launched a phone zap against the prison. The "A Job is a Right" Campaign was instrumental in organizing a letter drive from labor leaders regarding slave labor.

Although the work strike is over, our job is not done. It has in fact resulted in a bigger job - shutting down the new control unit. We urge you to contact the warden and demand that the SHU unit be closed and the demands of the prisoners be met. ★

Build the Movement to Shut Down Control Unit Prisons!

To protest the conditions at Oak Park Heights, write or call the warden:
Warden Skon
MCF Oak Park Heights, Box 10
Stillwater, MN 55082
(612) 779-1400

For more info on Oak Park Heights:
Minneapolis ABC
PO Box 7075
Minneapolis, MN 55407

To get involved in the anti-control unit movement nationally contact:
National Campaign to Stop Control Unit Prisons
972 Broad Street, 6th Floor
Newark, NJ 07102
201-643-3192

RESIST THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

TEAR DOWN



Seth

LOVE AND RAGE REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHISM

CONVENTION-RESIST THE NEW WORLD ORDER

THE BORDER!

SAN DIEGO, CA

AUG. 10-16, 1996

**JOIN THE AUG. 10 NATIONAL RAZA MARCH
AGAINST THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION**

**RESCIND PROPOSITION 187! RESCIND ALL "ENGLISH ONLY" LAWS! ANNUL THE "CLINTON CRIME
BILL"! NO SOCIAL OR EDUCATION CUTBACKS! ABOLISH THE INS AND THE BORDER PATROL!
DEMOLISH THE BORDER! ANNUL NAFTA! U.S. OUT OF MEXICO! IMPEACH PETE WILSON!
FOR INFORMATION ON THE NATIONAL RAZA MARCH OR THE AUG. 11 NATIONAL RAZA UNITY
CONVENTION CONTACT THE RAZA RIGHTS COALITION AT (619) 280-8361. FOR INFORMATION
ON OTHER EVENTS CONTACT PROTEST GOP '96 (619) 297-9570 OR E-MAIL!
KWR@CRASH.CTS.COM.**

DON'T LET THE DEMOCRATS OFF THE HOOK!

**Join the Not On the Guest List! Demonstration at the Democratic
National Convention. Expose and Oppose the Racism and
Classism of the Criminal "Justice" System! Free All Political
Prisoners in US Jails! Stop Police Brutality! For further informa-
tion contact Not On the Guest List! 2048 W. Division, Chicago, IL
60622. Tel.: (312) 278-6706 and...**

**Come to the Active Resistance Counter Convention Aug. 21 - 31 in
Chicago. For further information contact: Autonomous Zone
Infoshop, 1573 N. Milwaukee #420, Chicago, IL 60622. Tel.: (312)
278-0775, Fax: (312) 252-8655, e-mail ugwiller@bgu.edu or
chill@burn.ucsd.edu.**

IST FEDERATION

1929 S. 5TH STREET, MINNEAPOLIS, MN 55455
TEL.: (612) 288-0405 E-MAIL: TWOB12AOL.COM

LOCAL CONTACT

Building the International of Hope

The Zapatistas and Civil Society

BY BUBBLES

"She has no military rank, uniform, nor weapon. She is a Zapatista but only she knows. She has no face or name, much like the Zapatistas. She struggles for democracy, liberty and justice, the same as the Zapatistas...She leaves everything behind. She says nothing... She smiles because she once admired the Zapatistas but no longer. She ended the admiration in the moment in which she learned that they were only a mirror of her own rebellion, of her own hope."

Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos, March 1996

The Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) rose up two and a half years ago to declare war on the Mexican government, on neo-liberalism, and on the cruel system that has become a killing machine of the people of Chiapas. The EZLN is a force that rose up demanding a better world, expecting to be quickly slaughtered, deciding they would rather die fighting than on their knees. When they came out of the mountains, on January 1, 1994, with a declaration of war, they found they were not alone in their demands for democracy, liberty, and justice. People from all parts of society and all areas of the world united with the demands of the EZLN.

The realities of neo-liberalism are affecting lives everywhere. In the US they are manifested in free trade policies that give open reign to the globalization of businesses. This process has meant the consolidation of wealth and power for the rich all over the world, and the loss of stability and security in the lives of billions of people as they become disposable in the eyes of capital.

Laws and restrictions once imposed with the idea of making capitalism more "humane" are disappearing. In Mexico this process has been manifested in opening up the country and the people to exploitation by this global capital. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) is hailed by its proponents as one of the crowning glories of neo-liberalism. This treaty between the US, Mexico, and Canada to aid the free flow of capital has been labeled a death sentence by the indigenous campesinos of Chiapas and Mexico. The date that it went into effect was the date that the Zapatistas chose to declare war.

As US corporations cross the border and build factories in Mexico to increase their profits by exploiting the cheap labor, the Mexican government has assisted in the creation of a disposable work force with legislation such as the rewriting of Article 27 of the Mexican constitution, which provided for land reform to aid campesinos. As the campesinos lose their land, they become a reality for corporate exploitation, as a disposable labor force.

This happens in the context of a Mexican political system where the same party has held power for 67 years, one of the longest periods of continuous rule by any party in history. The Revolutionary Institutional Party (PRI) controls elections through manipulation and fraud, and political activists who struggle outside of government channels are frequently harassed, jailed, or killed.

In Chiapas there has existed a strong movement for social change for many years. There are several strong indigenous and campesino organizations struggling through legal means for justice. The EZLN formed 12 years ago out of frustration with these methods and a vision of building a better world outside of this corrupt and bankrupt system.

"It is not enough to die, this we have learned now for five centuries. Now it is necessary to live together with the others who are also us."

CCRI Statement, January 9, 1996

The decision-making body of the EZLN is the Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee (CCRI), a huge body of representatives from around Chiapas. All major decisions for the EZLN come from the CCRI. They are taken through a process of consultation with the Zapatista communities. The EZLN goes to the communities and engages in public debate and discussion, and afterwards takes the vote of every woman, man,

and child over twelve. This slow and careful process has amazed the Mexican government and Zapatista supporters throughout Mexico and the world.

This commitment to democracy, to "leading by obeying," has injected a fresh perspective into movements for social change, and sets an example of democratic responsibility. The level of consensus they have built is the result of years of common work, of listening and building. Through this process they were able to collectively decide to declare war on the Mexican government in January, 1994. That the communities stood by this decision after the government made an early peace offer speaks to the depth of their consensus, and the strength of the collective process used to build it.

Currently, over one-third of Zapatista combatants are women, and the Zapatistas are clear these women have power in the organization because they demanded and defined their own empowerment.

"Our voice has found other ears, different from ours, and who do not try to make our words go away or adulterate them. We have found ears that listen to us and make our words their own. This is the surprise for everyone, including us."

Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos, June 20, 1995

The power and justice of their demands, coming from forgotten people, people that many had counted as conquered and beyond hope, propelled the Zapatista Army into a prominent place in Mexican politics, and inspired the imaginations and hopes of people around the world.

With their platform of 13 demands—land, housing, jobs, food, health, education,

January of 1994, but a long process that involved ten years of work by the EZLN, 500 years of struggle by indigenous people, and hundreds of years of work on the part of many other rebel organizations throughout Chiapas, Mexico, and the world, the Zapatistas have allowed their development to continue within and beyond Chiapas. Understanding that revolutions, if not created of, by, and for the people, are nothing, the EZLN has made prominent space for the voice of civil society in their struggle.

When a cease-fire was declared by the Mexican government 12 days after the fighting began, and the Zapatistas found themselves dialoguing with the Mexican government, everyone was surprised. Many of the Zapatistas expected to die shortly after January 1, 1994, when they marched out of the mountains with a declaration of war. When the cease-fire was called it was not because then-President Salinas was disposed to dialogue. The motor behind this development was members of civil society. They had spoken out through massive demonstrations around Mexico and the world, through an outpouring of letters to the government and to the Zapatistas directly. That the Zapatistas listened, and agreed to a cease-fire and negotiations with a government they had given up on, and that a government notoriously brutal in crushing revolutionary movements agreed to dialogue, shows the power of civil society in motion.

During the dialogues, supporters surrounded the EZLN to prevent government aggression, forming human "belts of peace" around the towns where the dialogues took place. The EZLN looked to these people and all their supporters in civil society, for ways to build a democracy which stepped outside the bounds of what the government was

together to participate in the discussion and the result was a new organization, named for the CCRI, with representatives from all over Mexico and diverse sectors of Mexican society. As the CCRI was launched, Marcos likened it to a boat being set off to sail by the EZLN. The CCRI was an organization that now belonged to the people of civil society who wanted to join this struggle. The Zapatista Army was explicitly separate from the CCRI. They relegated themselves to the role of protector and guardian.

With this organization and the National Liberation Movement (MLN), a broader opposition front the Zapatistas called for the creation of in January, 1995, the EZLN merely took on the role of instigator. Although they had named the common monster that eats away at the lives of all of civil society, they recognized that each sector must build a solution from its own particular reality.

Yet the various sectors of society that joined together to form the CCRI did not have the ten years of shared experience which the EZLN did. There was a great deal of arguing within the CCRI; it did make slow progress and helped develop the MLN.

"A true multinational force pursues us and tries to destroy our example. The powerful of the world...accurately perceive the Zapatista challenge as a global challenge. We never thought this possible, much less did we seek it. But since we have been placed in this role we will be as disturbing as possible as long as it is possible."

CCRI Statement, April 4, 1996

The early months of 1995 were difficult for the EZLN and supporters of the democratic vision they articulated. In February the value of the Mexican peso declined sharply, and international capital began to worry about its investments. Under pressure from corporations, on February 9, the Mexican Federal Army invaded Zapatista territory, supposedly to serve arrest warrants to several prominent Zapatista leaders. Entire villages left their homes, fleeing persecution, and in returning found them destroyed. Many arrest warrants were issued on that day for people around Mexico who had supported and participated in this quest for a peace with justice and dignity.

Aguascalientes, the symbolic center of dialogue between civil society and the EZLN, was razed to the ground, and where it once stood is now one of the largest military bases in Chiapas. The government had launched an offensive against the EZLN, against a growing democratic movement, and against the EZLN's dialogue with civil society.

The death march of the Federal Army was halted once again by an outpouring of support from members of civil society. The CCRI and supporters in various countries that had organized in solidarity with this struggle mobilized in defense of the EZLN and the vision they stood for. When the government "unmasked" the EZLN's most prominent spokesperson, Subcomandante Marcos, giving him a name and a face, supporters responded by proclaiming that we are all Marcos, that his voice had come to represent the voice of us all. The flow of international observers and people who became part of "peace camps" around Chiapas to monitor the activities of the army increased. Demonstrations around the world denounced the Mexican government's offensive and the corporate interests that had encouraged the destruction of the Zapatistas.

"We did not learn to listen. This we already knew. To learn to listen is, at least for the indigenous of southern Mexico, to learn to live. Now we want to use the rights to speak and to be heard, and the responsibility to listen to what others are saying. They say that this is a dialogue—to speak and to listen, to find our differences—but also, and this is the most difficult thing, to find what makes us the same."

Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos, June 20, 1995

As the EZLN emerged from these months they found that while they still had broad-based support, the movement to build a new democracy had fragmented, and although still inspiring resistance it was heading in many different directions. Civil society's



Rebel girls in Chiapas

culture, information, independence, democracy, liberty, justice and peace—the EZLN speaks to the basic needs of all people. In the volumes of pages issued to the public by the CCRI and Subcomandante Marcos, they speak of the democracy they seek as a responsible one in which all parties are held accountable. They seek to be inclusive, listening to the voices of all who would join them in this struggle.

When the founders of the EZLN started organizing 12 years ago, they did not have the vision they have now. Through struggle and a willingness to listen, they underwent a process of development. By seeing that their uprising was not just 12 days in

willing to discuss. The EZLN's terms for peace are their 13 demands, which have been ratified with massive popular support. To build for a peace on these terms, the EZLN asked the people of Mexico to come together for discussion that would build the kind of consensus that made the declaration of war on January 1, possible.

In August, 1994, the EZLN convened a National Democratic Convention (CND) in Chiapas. The EZLN built a massive amphitheater and named it Aguascalientes. This site became symbolic of the EZLN's communication with civil society used to create a new movement towards radical democracy. Thousands of people came



Conventioneers at the National Democratic Convention (CND) in Aguascalientes, attended by 6,000 people from organizations & movements all over Mexico.

outpouring of support had once again led to the initiation of peace talks between the EZLN and the government, with new dialogues set up. People from various sectors of civil society were participating in these discussions as advisors and observers. A permanent presence of supporters from around the world had been established in Chiapas with the peace camps.

But the CND was encountering difficulties as fighting among various factions increased. As different factions tried to take control of the boat, it stood still in the water. The MLN had not inspired the unity the EZLN had hoped for. Knowing that civil society's voice was crucial in building a Zapatista movement, the EZLN reiterated the need for a space where the work needed to build a new world could take place. The difficulties with the CND and the MLN, however, showed a need to look for a new way to move forward.

In June, 1995, the EZLN took on a massive project. In order to understand better how to move forward in the absence of a place such as Aguascalientes, they proposed a consultation with the people of Mexico and Zapatista supporters around the world through a plebiscite. The Zapatistas posed a series of questions about how they should move forward, and with this placed their fate in the hands of those who share their dream.

With this, the EZLN reaffirmed the importance they put in the participation of civil society, and also reaffirmed their commitment to a democratic process. They recognized that they could not move forward towards a new world without finding new ways for people to participate and further discussion among those who would build it.

Organizations from many sectors of society—the CND, workers' organizations, women's organizations, students' organizations—were called upon to assist, and all sectors of society were asked to participate—the people of Mexico, the CND, independent social organizations, the political opposition parties, citizens' organizations, non-governmental organizations, unions, students, squatters, workers of the fields and the cities, indigenous Mexicans, housewives, intellectuals and artists, the religious community, the elderly, women, men, children, and international supporters.

During the next three months tables were set up throughout Mexico, and over 1,000,000 Mexicans responded. Internationally, over 80,000 people from 45 countries sent in ballots. The respondents had reaffirmed support for Zapatismo and the desire to seek a new world. The success of the project renewed and affirmed the EZLN's commitment to being part of the creation of a movement to build a democratic project from which a new society could be built.

"Our blood and our word have lit a small fire in the mountain and we walk a path against the house of money and the powerful. Brothers and sisters of other races and languages, of

other colors, but with the same heart, now protect our light and in it they drink of the same fire.

The rich dream still about extinguishing the first light. It is useless, there are now too many lights and they have all become the first."

CCRI, *Fourth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle, Jan. 1, 1996*

From here, the Zapatistas proposed continued discussion about how to form a broad opposition front. The EZLN proposed that many Aguascalientes be built in centers of resistance everywhere as meeting places between the EZLN and civil society. With numerous Aguascalientes, it would be harder to divert and destroy the force of this discussion. In response to the huge amount of international support, the Zapatistas also proposed to look for a way to continue this discussion on how to fight neo-liberalism globally.

With the start of 1996 several Aguascalientes were opened. Four were inaugurated in Chiapas, and solidarity groups in other parts of Mexico and the world also opened such centers. On the New Year's celebration, celebrating two years since the declaration of war, the EZLN announced the formation of the Zapatista National Liberation Front (FZLN). This is a broad opposition front based in the EZLN.

This front is not a political party, it is not about gaining electoral power, but about seeking a means to achieve the democracy about which the EZLN has spoken so eloquently. This front is for all sectors of society, but is based in the EZLN and in Zapatismo. It is a way to unite the varied forces that are struggling for democracy, liberty, and justice so that these forces can coordinate and organize their actions and programs.

The FZLN, however, would have a base not just in Zapatismo, but also in the EZLN. Over the past two years of talking and listening, there had emerged a pattern of people looking to the EZLN for direction. In response to this reality, while still maintaining that civil society must take leadership, the EZLN formalized their direct and active role in this movement. Energy and interest in this Front has been immense. People around Mexico are participating in the project as it grows.

In the first weeks of 1996 other Zapatista efforts also bore fruit. On January 3, a National Indigenous Forum was convened with representatives from Indigenous communities throughout Mexico, and out of this meeting came proposals for improving the lives of the indigenous people of Mexico. This came when the EZLN dialogues with the government on indigenous rights were entering their third and final phase. Bringing the input of the Forum into the final stages, the Zapatistas were able to strengthen their position and received an

offer from the government that the CCRI chose to accept. The government offered a degree of autonomy to indigenous communities in regards to judicial, educational, cultural, and other areas.

Although serious concerns were expressed by the EZLN about the lack of concrete changes on questions of land reform and whether or not these agreements would actually put into action, on paper these are significant advances for the rights of indigenous people. When the EZLN ratified the government's proposal, however, they made clear that civil society must raise these demands beyond what the government will allow and fight to make sure the demands are met.

On January 30, they announced the convening of an International Encounter for Humanity and Against Neo-liberalism, a project meant to build the Zapatista movement on a global level. Five continental gatherings in the Spring were to be held in preparation for the Intercontinental encounter in July.

The American Continental Encounter, held at the Aguascalientes in La Realidad, Chiapas, was a huge success. Over 400 rep-

Against the international of terror, representing neo-liberalism, we must raise the international of hope, above borders, languages, colors, cultures, sexes, strategies, and thoughts, of all those who prefer humanity alive.

representatives from several countries attended. Preparatory discussions were held about combating neo-liberalism on economic, political, social, and cultural levels. The voice of every participant was welcomed, each person being given space to present a position paper. The encounter ended full of energy and inspiration for the Intercontinental Encounter this summer.

Independent of the direct work of the Zapatistas, resistance has continued to increase dramatically in Mexico. According to government statistics there were an average of 4.8 demonstrations every day during the first two months of 1996 in Mexico City alone. On May 1 of this year, despite the official cancellation of the Worker's Day demonstration in Mexico City, over 40 non-governmental unions came out anyway, resulting in a march that took four hours to pass by a single observer.

"Against the International of Terror, representing neo-liberalism, we must raise the International of Hope. Hope, above borders, languages, colors, cultures, sexes, strategies, and thoughts, of all those who prefer humanity alive.

"Dignity is that nation without nationality, that rainbow that is also a bridge, that murmur of the heart no matter what blood lives it, that rebel

irreverence that mocks borders, customs and wars.

"Life is what they owe us: the right to govern and to govern ourselves, to think and act with a freedom that is not exercised over the slavery of others, the right to give and receive what is just."

EZLN, *First Declaration of La Realidad, January 30, 1996*

The continued participation of civil society in the FZLN and in the international dialogues is crucial, not only for the survival of the EZLN, but also for the survival of the Zapatista vision. Those of us who have been inspired by this vision must take an active role in seeing it expand.

Although the Mexican government has been forced by the will of masses of people to negotiate for peace with the EZLN, it continues to show that its interest is in destroying this movement. Over 60,000 troops surround the Zapatistas, and a low-intensity war is waged daily in Zapatista communities. In recent months, 50 women have been raped as acts of political terror in Chiapas, including Cecelia Rodriguez, the IS representative of the EZLN. Foreigners who support the EZLN are harassed and sometimes deported by the government. Under the guise of "the war on drugs" the Mexican and US governments are pumping troops and weapons into this area.

At the negotiating table, the government will not discuss EZLN demands as national demands, despite the overwhelming international support for this movement. Numerous people whose only crime is supporting and struggling for the Zapatista vision, are held captive in Mexico's prisons. Javier Elorriaga Berdegue and Sebastian Entzin Gomez, accused of being Zapatistas, received thirteen and six year sentences respectively for crimes of "terrorism, sedition, and rebellion." This is a chilling reminder of what the government can do to those who struggle for democracy.

"And all of you, what are you going to do?"

Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos, February, 1994

It is our voices and our vision, together with all of the voices of civil society, that can bring this dream of a better world into reality. By raising their voices, the EZLN have inspired millions of others to raise their own. They have remained firm in their basic demands and loyal to their democratic methods. The Zapatistas, who knew how to listen, have begun to speak.

Living in the US, where much of the wealth that spawns neo-liberalism also resides, we must look at how we can bring the Zapatista vision home. We must understand the demands of democracy, liberty,

and justice in the context of our own lives, and also learn to recognize the multi-faceted reflections of neo-liberalism, so that we can destroy it where it lives. We must also learn to unite what we build with what civil society everywhere is building as they decide they have no choice but to fight or die. We must

rise to the challenge of struggling for democracy through a democratic procedure.

The Zapatistas rose up with arms, realizing that other methods of struggle had gotten them nowhere. But the power that they have over the troops which surround them is not just in their firepower. Having claimed the power and justice of their demands, they have relied not on the number of deaths, but on the number of lives dedicated to realizing their demands. They listened to civil society, the people without whom there can be no real change and have heeded their call to seek a peaceful path to democracy. Seeing beyond the destruction the conquistadors wrought, and that continues today through PRI dictatorship, neo-liberal policies, and economic exploitation, the Zapatistas recognize that it is the unity of our struggles that will bring about change. Their commitment to democracy has given a once small and unknown indigenous army the chance to become something much bigger.★

Bubbles is a co-editor of the book *Zapatistas: Documents of the New Mexican Revolution*; has been active in organizing solidarity for the EZLN over the past 2 1/2 years; and is a member of New York Anarchist Black Cross.

Autonome Antifa (M) Facing Trial in Germany

BY AUTONOME ANTIFA (M)

The largest trial against autonomist antifascists in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany is scheduled to begin on August 14, 1996. Seventeen antifascist activists from Gottingen, in southern Lower Saxony, will be tried for being members of the Autonome Antifa (M), charged with being a criminal organization according to §129. This law is intended to fight organized crime, similar to the RICO laws in the US.

Looking at the conditions of the trial, it is clear that a real defense is impossible and that the defendants have received a sentence before the trial has even begun. They will be financially ruined, regardless of the outcome of the trial, and their lives interrupted for up to several years.

The state attorney's office has scheduled 131 trial dates in the first year of the trial. Attendance at all dates is mandatory for each defendant and his or her two (compulsory) lawyers. The trials will be held three days a week in a town over 150 miles from Gottingen. The travel expenses and lawyers costs for these 131 days are estimated at over 4 million DM - almost 3 million US dollars!

The importance of this trial goes beyond the fate of 17 individuals. This trial could mean the criminalization of the Autonome Antifa (M) and the end to its politics. The successful prosecution of the group would have significant meaning for the German left. The possibilities for legally organized political work, including demonstrations and other forms of grassroots politics, would be severely limited. A guilty verdict would set a precedent, clearing the path for an expanded use of §129. Other similarly organized groups, like the groups in the Antifascist Action/Nationwide Organization (AA/BO), would be potential targets for criminalization.

This trial could sharply confine antifascist resistance and make political work outside the confines of electoral politics vulnerable to new forms of repression.

Since the break-up of the USSR and the annexation of German Democratic Republic by the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) in 1990, the FRG has intensified its politics of international aggression and domestic repression. German economic and territorial interests are being fought for with military means for the first time since the end of Nazi-fascism in 1945. Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union are the targets for the conquest of new markets with favorable conditions for German business.

The flip side of the coin is domestic repression. The left is the object of a wave of criminalization intended to wipe out opposition and raise the price of resistance against the current system.

INTERNATIONAL AGGRESSION

For the first time since the end of World War II, German soldiers are engaged in a war area. For the third time in this century, German forces have been sent into the former Yugoslavia. The first two times ended in world wars and were an integral part of German expansionist plans in Eastern Europe. In Bosnia, the path is being cleared for future German military presence in the rest of the world.

Turkey, too, plays an important economic and military-strategic role for the FRG. Germany is the largest weapons importer and second largest trade partner for Turkey. Turkey's war against Kurdistan could not be continued much longer without German weapons and military expertise. Weapons from the former East German army and military and police training by German forces are just two ways in which this war is supported by the FRG.

DOMESTIC REPRESSION

The support of the war against Kurdistan is carried out within the FRG as well. The ban of the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) in November 1993 is used to criminalize Kurdish organizations across the board. Just speaking out for freedom for Kurdistan is frequently enough to be charged with support of or membership in the PKK and to be banned as well.

The German left is also experiencing a wave of criminalization. In July, 1995, a series of raids and arrests was carried out against the underground magazine *radikal*, the Berlin group K.O.M.M.I.T.E.E. and the controversial group Anti-Imperialist Cells (AIZ). The Autonome Antifa (M) has been the object of investigations since 1991.

THE AUTONOME ANTIFA (M)

The Autonome Antifa (M) grew out of the autonomist movement of the 1980's with a new concept. Some of the original goals were to break out of the isolation of the leftist movement, to go beyond single-

The largest trial against autonomist anti-fascists in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany is scheduled to begin on August 14, 1996. Seventeen antifascist activists from Gottingen will be tried for being members of the Autonome Antifa (M), charged with being a criminal organization.

issue politics and to bring revolutionary antifascism into broad circles of society.

Coalition demonstrations, AgitProp theater, information and discussion forums, historical and art exhibits, and other cultural events make up the praxis of the Autonome Antifa (M).

The Autonome Antifa (M) is most often associated with the coalition demonstrations against fascist training centers. The years 1992/1993 were witness to fascist pogroms in Hoyerswerda, Solingen, Molln, and Rostock.

During this time, the neo-fascists stepped up their activities in Lower Saxony as well. Attacks on people of color and leftists - like the murder of Alexander Selchow on New Year's Eve 1990/1991 and countless other everyday terror acts—were not uncommon. Especially the fascist Free



German Workers' Party (FAP), banned in Spring 1995, was on the uprise.

One characteristic of these demonstrations is the so-called black block, a part of the demonstration where the participants mask themselves to protect themselves from potential fascist and police observation and attack. The black block became a symbol for the coalitions, for it showed the political diversity of the action—from radical antifascists to youth groups to political parties.

The black block ensures that the media does not ignore the participation from autonomist groups and makes it more likely that their political contents be reported.

Using the mainstream media as one way to reach the public has always been a part of the politics of the Autonome Antifa (M). It is a double-sided sword, however. Whereas antifascist positions are made available to a wider audience through the

opment of an alternative to the current system is only possible within an organization. The Antifascist Action/Nationwide Organization grew from this discussion in 1992 and the Autonome Antifa (M) has been a member since then.

INNER SECURITY

This political work is under attack and is part of a development towards more observation, more control and repression of the left in the FRG. 1996 is election year and one hotly debated issue is "inner security", in which §129 plays a special role. §129 allows basic rights like protection of privacy to be abused through observations and tapping. With §129 an individual defendant does not have to be proven to have committed any particular crime, but rather just has to be proven to be part of the group charged. It is a classic "guilty by association" law.

Historically, §129 has been most frequently used against leftist groups, not against the Mafia or against fascists. It is used to build up political pressure against leftist groups and to defame political actions as unpolitical "criminal acts."

NOW IS THE TIME FOR AN INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN!

The outcome of the trials against the Autonome Antifa (M) will have a significant meaning for the left in Germany. If the Autonome Antifa (M) is successfully prosecuted, it means a strengthening of reactionary forces in the area of "inner security" and reduction in possibilities for grassroots political organizing outside of electoral politics.

International publicity and activism is needed NOW to build up pressure to stop the criminalization. A broad solidarity campaign is growing within the FRG, independent of the specific politics of the Autonome Antifa (M).

JOIN THIS CAMPAIGN AND HELP DEFEND ANTIFASCIST RESISTANCE!

- ★ become an international trial watcher
- ★ publicize the trial in the media
- ★ organize an information forum
- ★ raise funds for legal costs
- ★ take part in an ongoing solidarity campaign
- ★ contact us for more information

Autonome Antifa (M)
March 1996
organized in AA/BO

Join the North American Solidarity Campaign!

In North America a solidarity campaign is being coordinated by Minneapolis Love & Rage.

To get involved contact:
Love & Rage
1929 S. 5th Street
Minneapolis, MN 55455
612-288-0405
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Citizens of the Market: Neo-liberalism in America's Cities

BY ROY SAN FILIPPO

Over the last fifteen years America's poor have become more criminalized, through the gutting of programs protecting social welfare. The new policies offer nothing to poor people but increased stigmatization and prison. This shift over the last fifteen years is the result of the deliberate implementation of neo-liberal economic and political strategies similar to those advocated by such organizations as the Trilateral Commission, the IMF and the World Bank for the Third World.

I take neo-liberalism to be a series of radical-statist, free market policies that strengthen the coercive powers of the state, while allowing greater freedom to capital. This includes the strengthening of the police and military apparatus of the state, a decline in social services and social welfare programs to the poor and a lessening of regulations and taxation of capital. These policies have devastated communities throughout the Third World and led to an increase in deaths from starvation, entirely curable diseases and a transfer of capital from the poorest segments of the globe to the richest.

Neo-liberal policies have many names. Some refer to them as "structural adjustment," other call them "austerity measures." But they have uniformly meant the immiseration of the working class and peasant populations who are subjected to them.

Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) in New York City are part of this neo-liberal strategy. Although BIDs are a relatively new social policy, in impact, they are not new at all. In fact, BIDs highlight the historical poverty of social welfare politics in the United States but with a neo-liberal twist. The rise and the impact of the BIDs, both in New York and nationally, illustrates the character of the American welfare state: a two-tiered system that provides extensive cash transfers and in-kind benefits to the rich and middle class and strict market discipline for the poor.

Indeed, the American social welfare state as it existed from the 1930s to the 1980s was already an excellent framework from which to launch a neo-liberal attack on the poor. However, the Grand Central Partnership (GCP), the BID that is examined here, is unique to the extent that it clearly highlights the brutal impact of capital running unchecked against one of society's most vulnerable segments, the homeless population.

BIDs enable business owners in designated areas to incorporate themselves in order to perform certain municipal functions. They collect fees from business owners in the district and often contract out their services to the city. The current New York State law for the establishment of BIDs was passed in 1989 in order to promote business activity, improve the deteriorated condition of municipalities around the state and generally "improve the well-being of the people of the state."

BIDs are empowered to "provide for district improvements located on or within a municipality or district-owned or leased

"Persons in modern industrial societies find themselves under increasingly authoritarian structures in both political and economic spheres of life. The state continues to play a vital role in the application of neo-liberalism."

property." These include construction and installation of landscaping and parks; construction of improvements to enhance the security of persons and property within the district; and "provide for additional maintenance or other additional services required for the enjoyment and protection of the public and the promotion and enhancement of the district...including...services to enhance the security of persons and property within the district."

It is under this last clause the BIDs have been empowered to establish private security forces and to run and operate homeless

shelters, homeless outreach programs and job training programs. Under the BID law, state and municipal government cede a great deal of control over to capital, allowing market forces to determine public policies that should be based upon conceptions of social and economic justice.

THE IMPACT OF THE BIDS: THE GRAND CENTRAL PARTNERSHIP

The GCP is particularly notorious for its abuses under the BID law. A lawsuit was filed by the Coalition for the Homeless in US District Court in Feb. 1995. The suit claimed that the GCP used the guise of a job training program and the promise of meaningful jobs to profit from the labor of hundreds of homeless women and men who worked thousands of hours at sub-minimum wages. Furthermore, this cheap and largely defenseless pool of labor enabled the GCP to land contracts from the city and private businesses for "outreach services" by underbidding competitors who paid their employees at lawful wages. In particular, the GCP was contracted by a number of Manhattan banks for "outreach workers" to discourage homeless individuals from hanging around bank ATM cash machines.

The "job training program" that the GCP operates is known as Pathways to Employment (PTE). Despite the fact that the GCP represents the PTE as a job training program, the lawsuit charges that they have never assessed any of the employees as to their job experience, training or rehabilitation needs in any meaningful way. Nor has the PTE program provided any job training or on-the-job supervision.

Second, the GCP told the individuals in the PTE program that upon the successful completion of the program at sub-minimum wages, that they would definitely receive a minimum wage job in one of the enterprises within the GCP. Very few employees in the PTE have received such positions, but instead have been "allowed" to continue to be super-exploited at \$1 to \$1.50 per hour.

Felicia Hart, a plaintiff in the case, was one of the homeless people given a minimum wage position. However this occurred only after she had worked 1,600 hours at sub-minimum wages for the GCP in an administrative and "outreach" position. This is more than twice the required number of hours that the GCP had told her that she needed to be promoted to a minimum wage position. Ms. Hart's promotion occurred only after she testified in support of the homeless outreach program at a community board meeting. Ms. Hart worked at least eight hours a day for the PTE and often as many as 16 hours a day for a wage that never reached over \$1.50 per hour.

In addition to the gross exploitation of homeless labor, the GCP has consistently engaged in direct violence against homeless persons who refuse to leave bank ATM machines or other sites. It has also been negligent in the running of the drop-in and homeless shelter at St. Agnes. This has allowed violent and abusive conditions to exist, resulting in the rape of two homeless women on separate occasions, the use of drugs within the premises of St. Agnes by the security staff, and consistent violent attacks and robberies of homeless persons by other homeless persons.

On April 17, 1995 I witnessed two GCP "outreach" workers violently awaken a sleeping homeless man near "Tudor City." Tudor City is a homeless encampment near the Tudor apartment complex, a few minutes walk from the United Nations building. This occurred while I was on patrol with "Streetwatch," a New York based organization that monitors police and private security forces' treatment of homeless persons. The two GCP workers approached a homeless man who was asleep in a cardboard box, pulled the man out of the box, threw his blankets to the side and told the man to leave the area. This and other quite illegal actions appear to be common practice amongst a small portion of the GCP "outreach" workers.

"Tyler," a homeless man and frequent resident in the Tudor city camp, was at one



point a GCP "outreach" worker. He explained that a group of 5-7 outreach workers were there to deal "problems." That is to say, homeless individuals who refused to leave ATM or other sites for the outreach services at St. Agnes, or simply another part of town which the GCP had not been contracted to "keep clean." When homeless people refused to leave ATM sites, "we would sometimes threaten 'em," Tyler admitted. "After that, most people leave."

When asked if anyone was ever assaulted, he replied that it occurred "sometimes," but it usually "didn't come to that." Since this interview was conducted, a number of other former outreach workers have approached Streetwatch. It is clear from their statements that harassment, threats, and violence are policy for the GCP outreach program. Under the guise of an "outreach" program, the GCP was able to create a private security force of homeless individuals who were paid approximately \$1.00 per hour to assault and threaten homeless persons at ATM sites within the GCP district or other districts who had contracted out to the GCP for their (anti)social work.

THE NEO-LIBERAL STRATEGY ABROAD AND AT HOME

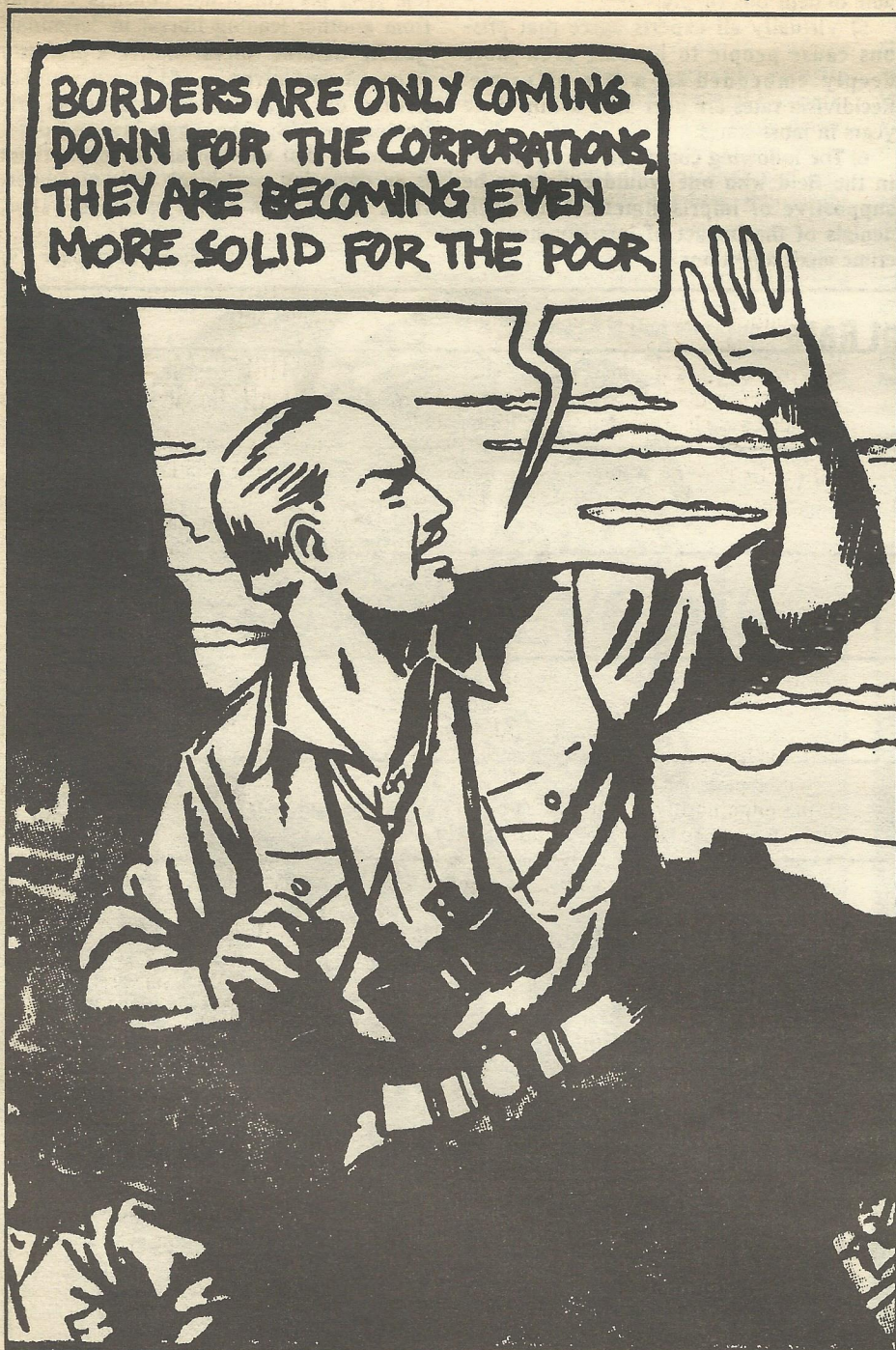
The rise of BIDs in New York should be understood in the context of the neo-liberal economic strategy that the advanced capitalist states have been exporting to the Third World for the past 20 years. This strategy has consistently succeeded in eliminating existing services and economic regulations designed to lessen the impact of capitalism on working people around the world.

Economic pressures from the IMF and World Bank and military pressures from the US have succeeded in dramatically lowering, preventing, and eliminating social welfare "safety nets" (and consequently living standards for the vast majority of humanity). This has been done through implementing austerity measures, privatizing national industries, and disrupting trade unions and institutions that might in some way attempt to tip the balance of power more in favor of working people.

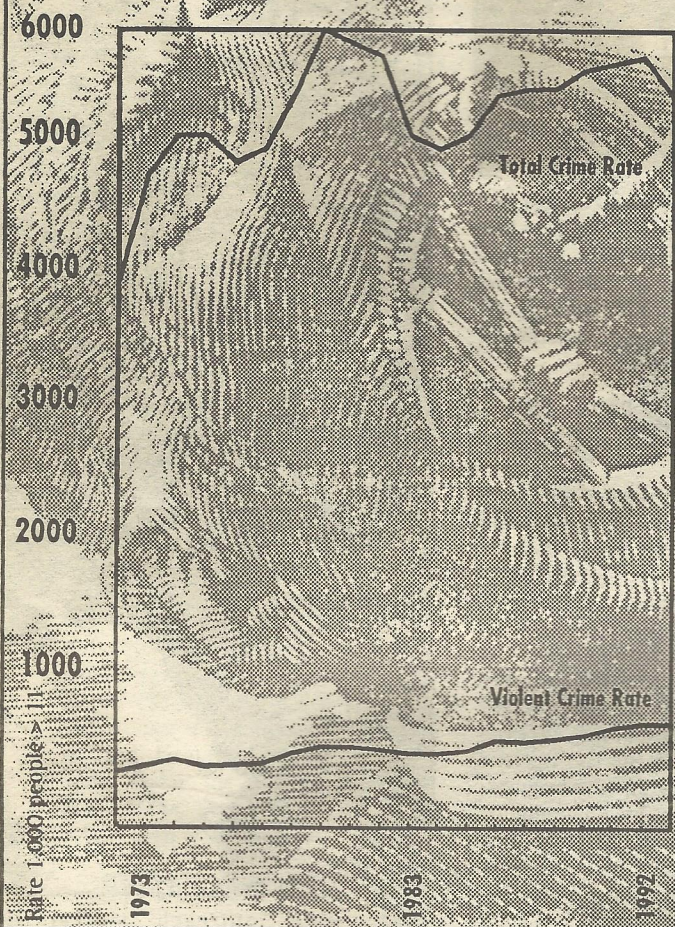
In the US, the election of Ronald Reagan and the successful imposition of that administration's social and political agenda did not just mark a dramatic shift from the New Deal's conception of social welfare politics. It also marked the triumph of the neo-liberal politics at home, with their emphasis on "free markets," an end to social safety nets, and the militarization of society.

The application of neo-liberalism in the US began in the 1980s with the enterprise zone proposals of the Reagan administration. Enterprise Zones are "free market zones" in economically depressed areas. In these enterprise zones, massive tax breaks are given to companies who start businesses. In addition, a host of regulatory laws are lifted as part of an effort to "unshackle" capitalism from the control of the state. In the debates that surrounded the Enterprise Zone legislation, the Reagan administration went as far as to propose the elimination of

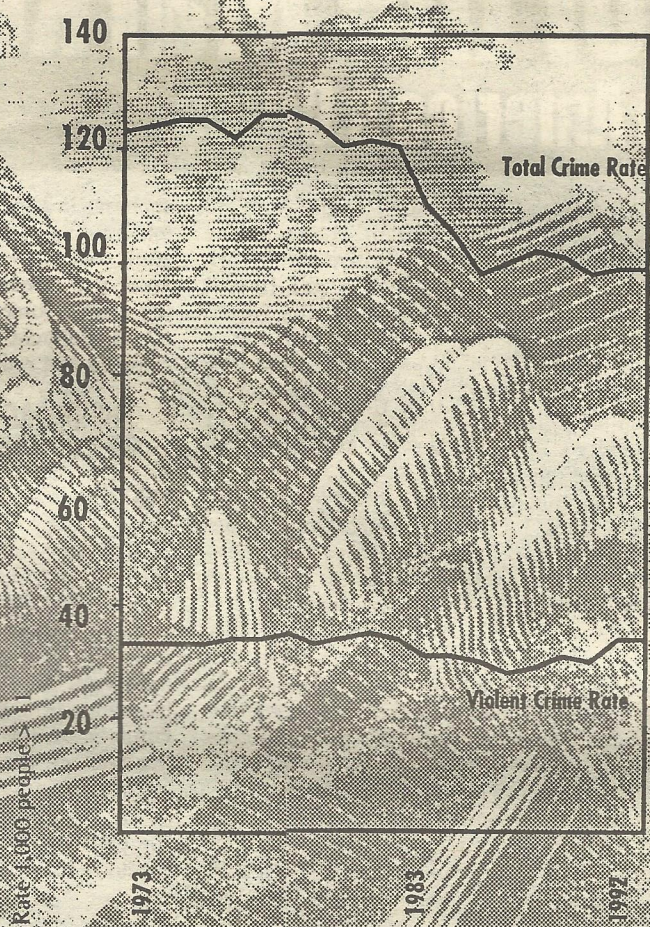
(Continued to page 19)



Graph 2. UCR Crime Rates



Graph 3. NCVS Crime Rates



Black Imprisonment, Continued

(Continued from page 6)

from the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). About 20 years ago it became clear that only a portion of crimes are actually reported to the police and that if we wanted a more accurate count, we would have to conduct scientific surveys of the population and ask people if they had been victims of crime. This is what the NCVS does.

Since the UCR and the NCVS measure crime in different ways, they present different views of crime. For example, the UCR only contains crimes that are reported to the police, by some estimates only 40% of the total. (In 1992 there were about 34,000,000 crimes reported to the NCVS and 13,000,000 to the UCR.) On the other hand, the NCVS does not include the crime murder (since its victim can't report it) nor crimes for which there is no reporting victim, like most drug-related crimes. Also not included are all white collar crimes, like the savings and loan frauds, and much more.

Let's look at each. But first let's look at murder since this is the easiest to measure and thus is the crime we know most about. About 25,000 people were murdered in the US last year. The murder rate in the US was about 10 (per 100,000 population) in 1930 and about 10 in 1990—almost no change at all in 60 years. Similarly, the murder rate in 1993 (9.3) was just about what it was in 1973 (9.4)

HAS CRIME BEEN INCREASING?

Graph 3 on page 16 shows crime that is measured by the NCVS. As you can see, since 1973, when the NCVS was initiated, the index of all NCVS crimes has decreased rather steadily while the violent crime index has stayed constant. Graphs 2 shows crime that is measured by the UCR, also since 1973. Here an uneven pattern of increases and decreases is present for all crimes while violent crimes increased steadily and dramatically.

CRIME AND IMPRISONMENT

Few matters are as clear as the answer to the question: "Is there a relationship between crime and imprisonment?" Virtually everyone, from criminologists to wardens to social scientists to specially appointed task forces, answers the question the same way: "No." We would like to sketch just some of the arguments which illustrate this lack of relationship.

1) Let us consider the data presented above. We can see that over

the past 20 years one measure of crime (the NCVS) has decreased by 26% and the other measure (the UCR) has increased by 47% and the imprisonment rate has increased by 200%. In the addition, consider the fact that the UCR (Graph 2) increased from 1973 to 1980, decreased from 1980 to 1985, and then increased about the same amount between 1985 and 1990. These changes took place while imprisonment rates spiraled equally upward during both of these intervals (Graph 1). When all of this is added together, it is clear that putting enormous numbers of people into prison has not reduced the crime rate.

2) Consider the funnel effect, which demonstrates why most crimes don't even come into contact with the criminal justice system. Joan Petersilia, former president of the American Society of Criminology, and an employee of the conservative Rand Corporation, in an article entitled "Building More Prison Cells Won't Make a Safer Society," notes: "Of the approximately 34 million serious felonies in 1990, 31 million never entered the criminal justice system because they were either unreported or unsolved." Thus, she continues, only 10% of all crime ever entered the courts, about half of these resulted in convictions, and about a third resulted in imprisonment—less than 2% of the total amount of crime.

3) Over half of all murders are committed

by people known to the victim. In addition, virtually all murder is committed in fits of passion that are immune to rational consideration of consequences. We are not saying that murderers should not be incarcerated. We are saying that incarceration will not prevent murders. Similarly, it has been demonstrated again and again that the death penalty does not deter murder. As noted above, the murder rate has remained more-or-less constant over the past 60 years, through periods of little imprisonment and through periods of massive imprisonment; through periods of the use of the death penalty and through periods when the death penalty was not used.

4) Consider the question of supply. There is a virtually unlimited supply of people who will commit crimes associated with drugs. As soon as one person is removed from the labor market, another replaces him or her. Prisons will never be able to dent this supply.

5) Virtually all experts agree that prisons cause people to become even more deeply embedded in a life of crime. Recidivism rates are over 50% within three years in most states.

6) The following comments are by people in the field who one would expect to be supportive of imprisonment. Thus their denials of the impact of imprisonment on crime merit attention:

★ By a criminologist: "Incapacitation appears to have been only slightly more effective in averting crimes in the early 1980s than in the 1970s, despite a near doubling of the US prison populations in less than ten years."

★ From the Correctional Association of New York: "The state's new policies have been staggeringly expensive, have threatened a crisis of safety and manageability on the prison system, and have failed to reduce the rate of crime or even stop its increase. After almost ten years of getting tough, the citizens of New York are more likely to be victims of crime today than in 1971. Moreover, the largest rise in crime came at the end of the decade, during 1980-81, well after the introduction of more severe sentencing practices."

★ Even the Director of Corrections of Alabama understands this situation: "We're on a train that has to be turned around. It doesn't make any sense to pump millions and millions into corrections and have no effect on the crime rate."

★ Finally, from Robert Gangi, current Director of the Correction Association of New York: "Building more prisons to address crime is like building more graveyards to address a fatal disease."

WHAT DOES IT ALL MEAN

We have examined imprisonment, crime, and the relationship between the two. What can a reasonable person conclude?

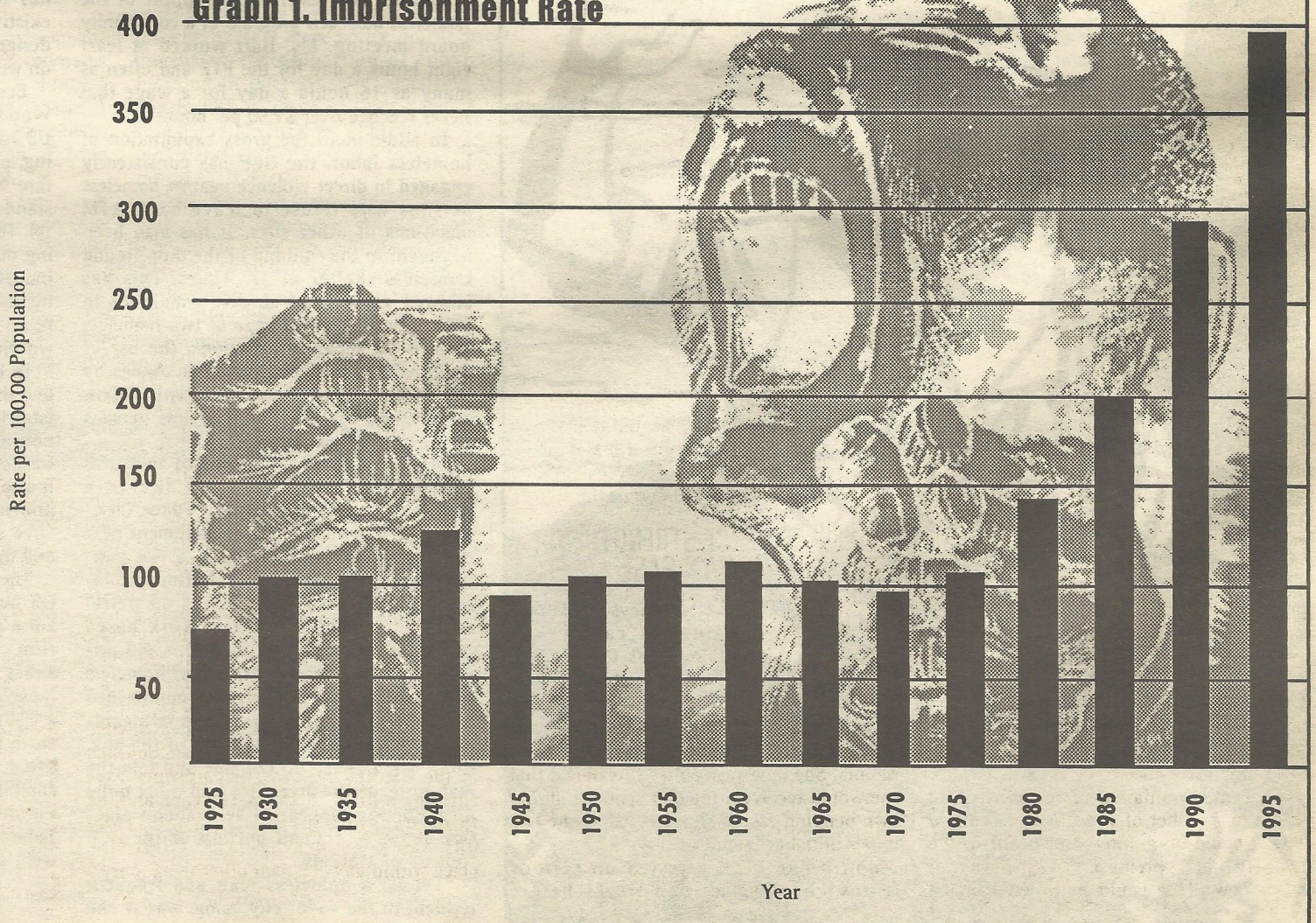
Elliott Currie has written an insightful book on crime and imprisonment. In this book, Currie poses the question: why does the US keep pumping billions of dollars into the CJS, which everyone, he acknowledges, knows doesn't work: "If we know as much about crime as I think we do, why haven't we already acted on that knowledge more consistently and constructively." In other words, Currie is asking why the US continues to pursue imprisonment strategies that don't work.

The only answer that Currie can find for his question is that the US doesn't understand what the research is showing. This is an extraordinary answer which shows where liberals must wind up on such a question. Here is a system that is spending \$74 billion a year and Currie thinks it acts the way it does because it cannot find someone to explain what the research is saying. Let us try another possible answer.

Currie and many others get stuck and can move no further because they assume that the purpose of the criminal justice system is to prevent crime. Consider a quote from another leading liberal in "criminal justice" reform, Norval Morris, a professor of law at the University of Chicago who has written excellent articles and books critiquing the CJS: "The whole law-and-order movement that we've heard so much about is, in operation, anti-black and anti-underclass. Not in plan, but in operation." Thus,

(Continued to page 19)

Graph 1. Imprisonment Rate



Strikes Sweep Ontario

(Continued from page 1)

largest section at 40,000) There was even an organized panhandlers group.

THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO

The third city chosen to host events was Kitchener-Waterloo, with participation also coming from the town of Cambridge. Here the action was named the "Battle of Waterloo," after Napoleon's famous defeat. The organizing was once again massive, and the local media's reporting once again hysterical. This time there was, on the organizing level, more input by community groups. After having their request denied by the city, the anti-poverty group OCAP went ahead with a tent city anyway. They also had a march the night before through the rich part of town. The police had apparently gone through beforehand, warning residents an angry mob was coming to get them.

The day of the strike saw all of the ser-

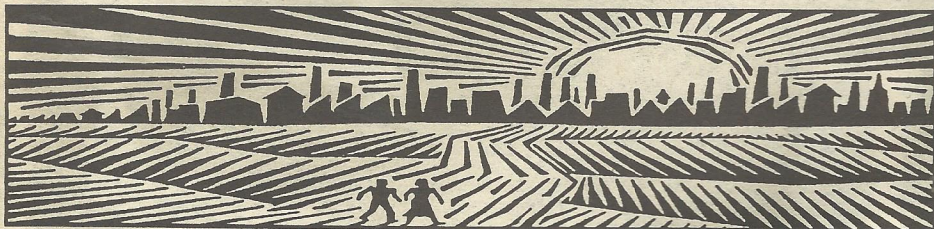
vices suspended that had been stopped at the other two "Days of Action." This time however, there were three marches that joined as one at City Hall, where 40,000 people rallied.

PETERBOROUGH'S NEXT...

The city of Peterborough will be the next site in June, on the one year anniversary of the Tories being in power in the Province. The Labour Council for Toronto had asked to hold the next strike there, as Toronto holds the seat of Power in Ontario. Toronto is also capable of mobilizing great numbers for its protests due to its size and history.

Increasing numbers of the major unions, such as the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) have been calling for a real and protracted general strike. There are questions as to how long these significant undertakings will continue on their current course.

Those in power can be assured that presently after these strikes the next business day always comes. They wouldn't be able to say that under an indefinite Provincial General Strike. For now, Peterborough's next. ★



Death Penalty, continued

(Continued from page 1)

showed that the conditions at the Supermax are in violation of the Eighth Amendment prohibition of cruel and unusual punishment. The report specified that the 24-hour solitary confinement, the brutality in what was called the pink room, and the lack of medical and mental health standards were unconstitutional. The Dept. of Justice may press charges against the Maryland Division of Corrections if recommendations in the report are not acted upon.

PENNSYLVANIA AND MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

Only a little over a year ago, in Jan. 1995, Pennsylvania's 185 death row inmates, including Mumia Abu-Jamal, were transferred to SCI-Greene, a newly constructed supermaximum security control unit. Since the 1983 death sentence was imposed on Mumia Abu-Jamal, there has been an onslaught of repressive legislation, and a dramatic increase in the prison population, executions, and control units. Mumia's case represents a larger phenomenon. In 1995 alone, the nation's 54 executions were an annual record since the 1976 reinstatement of the death penalty.

Mumia Abu-Jamal has a case pending in the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. This case is an Appeal of a Post Conviction Relief Application (PCRA) hearing, argued in Pennsylvania Common Pleas Court. Judge Albert Sabo ruled against a new trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal in the PCRA hearing in Sept. 1995.

Public attention was drawn to Mumia's case when Gov. Ridge signed Mumia Abu-Jamal's death warrant in June 1995, setting the execution date for August 17. He signed the warrant just before the Post Conviction Relief Application was filed in the Common Pleas Court. Since that time, on the legal front, a stay of execution was forced from Judge Sabo. Mumia's legal defense requested that Judge Sabo recuse himself, to prevent Sabo from ruling on his own decision in the original trial. Sabo refused to recuse himself from the case, and denied Mumia a new trial in Sept. 1995.

On Feb. 9, Mumia's legal team filed the appeal of this decision to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. The District Attorney was given until May 13 to file a response to Mumia's appeal, but has been given a series of extensions. Subsequently, oral arguments may be heard, and then the Court will make a decision, which could take up to the end of the year.

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court could respond in number of ways. An evidentiary hearing could be granted and heard in the Pennsylvania Supreme Court; a new trial with a new judge could be ordered in the

Common Pleas Court; a new trial could be denied, but the death sentence could be dropped to life imprisonment, or the death sentence could be upheld.

If there is a denial of a new trial, a habeas corpus filed in Federal Court will challenge the state's handling of the case, and possibly open up the case for an evidentiary hearing based on denial of Mumia Abu-Jamal's constitutional rights. Limits on habeas corpus filings for death row inmates were established in April 1991, when the US Supreme Court, in *McCleskey vs. Zant*, established "insurmountable barriers" for more than one federal habeas corpus appeal of the constitutionality of convictions or sentences of state prisoners, particularly death row prisoners. In Mumia's case, the granting of the stay of execution in August by Judge Sabo halted the execution without filing the habeas corpus in Federal Court.

The change to a life sentence from a death sentence is not customary, and may be avoided by the court in its attempt to avoid legitimizing any concept of "Political Prisoner," or "special treatment" in Mumia's case. Life imprisonment now means life imprisonment without parole in Pennsylvania, as has been established in

It was the ruling class that killed Ajamu, and it's the ruling class that wants to kill Zion, Khalfani and Mumia Abu-Jamal.

many states such as Virginia and Maryland.

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court is widely known for its corruption and political instability. Sandra Schultz-Newman, a Justice on the Court, has received campaign funds from police associations, and her husband had donated \$10,000 to Gov. Ridge's campaign. Two years ago, Justice Rolph Larsen was impeached, and was known to use racial slurs to refer to Chief Justice Nix, who is of African descent. He was also convicted on drug charges and known to be involved in sexual harassment. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court is now revisited with Mumia's case. The Court denied a direct appeal to Mumia in 1989, and for unknown reasons, two justices recused themselves from consideration of the appeal.

NEW EVIDENCE STRENGTHENS MUMIA'S CASE

On May 22, Mumia's attorneys filed for a new hearing of Mumia's case in the Pennsylvania Common Pleas Court based on newly obtained evidence. A witness in Mumia's original trial, Veronica Jones, has submitted a sworn affidavit revealing she was pressured by police to testify against Mumia. She now says police threatened that she would receive a tougher sentence in her own pending case if she testified as she had in her initial account.

Jones had been arrested on serious felony charges just two weeks before



March in Hamilton against the Conservative government's spending cuts. The golf-club-toting creature is a replica of Ontario Premier Mike Harris.

Mumia's original trial, in which she was expected to testify. In jail, detectives visited her and told her that if she identified Mumia as the shooter, she wouldn't have to worry about her charges. She had initially told the defense she had seen two men running from the murder scene. The police had pressured her to testify that she saw no one running from the scene. She now supports her original testimony, and explains she was under fierce police pressure, as the detectives stood in the back of the courtroom as she testified in the original 1982 trial.

Mumia's legal team wants a new hearing in the Pennsylvania Common Pleas Court, so this new testimony can be included, as it confirms the defense claims of prosecutorial misconduct and witness coercion.

EXECUTIONS ALL OVER THE US

Mumia Abu-Jamal's case is much like many other cases currently being denied rehearings as the number of executions in the US has been preparing for lift-off. The state-imposed death of Ajamu Nassor in Dec. 1994 is a case in point, which has two more politically active men awaiting state murder in two different Indiana prisons. The cases of Zion Yisrayah (s/n Tommie Smith) and Khalfani Khaldun (s/n Leonard McQuay) are tied together by Ajamu Nassor's death (s/n Gregory Resnover).

Ajamu and Zion were co-defendants stemming from a pre-dawn raid on their home in Dec. 1980. The raid left Zion wounded and a white police officer dead. Ajamu and Zion were charged with killing the police officer when in fact the officer was shot in the back while facing Ajamu and Zion. The only people behind the officer were other cops. Even the governor of Indiana and the prosecutors of the case have publicly acknowledged that the cop was shot in the back and that neither of the guns found in the house could have fired the fatal shot.

Nevertheless, Ajamu and Zion were sentenced to die. A few days after Ajamu's execution on Dec. 8, 1994, a corrections officer, Phillip Curry, was killed in the Control Complex at Westville, Indiana, where Ajamu had been executed. Khalfani Khaldun was charged with the murder, despite lack of evidence, and the state has promised to seek his death if convicted. Prior to these charges Khalfani was scheduled to be released in two and a half years.

Zion Yisrayah's death warrant has been signed for June 1996, for the same week as Flint Gregory Hunt's in Maryland.

This year signifies an unprecedented time of brutality and state-sanctioned bloodshed in the US. The nation's first prisoner executed by a firing squad in 19 years, and the third hanging in the US since 1965 (Delaware's first hanging in 50 years) took place within days of each other in January.

ORGANIZING AGAINST DEATH

On April 20, a rally against the death penalty was held at New Jersey State Prison in Trenton. The rally to "Raise 1000 Voices Against the Death Penalty," was organized to stop New Jersey's planned executions before they start. Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin of the Anti-Authoritarian Network of Community Organizers (AANCO) has put out a call to organize for a moratorium on the death penalty.

A mass march was held in DC on May 19 and 20, to culminate the "Million Letters Campaign" for Mumia Abu-Jamal. According to the Assistant State's attorney, the US Department of Justice has jurisdiction to investigate civil rights violations of state court proceedings. The mobilization is targeted at the US Justice Dept. to intervene in Mumia's case. On the morning of May 20, "A Million Letters" confronted Attorney General Janet Reno, demanding Dept. of Justice action to stop Pennsylvania from executing Mumia.

On May 22 a press conference was held in front of the Maryland Supermax, calling to shut down control units and stop executions. Speakers at the press conference addressed the inhumane conditions at the Supermax, and the scheduled execution of Flint Gregory Hunt. ★

"The real secret is that I'm free now—they just ain't dug it yet. They have tried to cage me in every way they could, they tried to kill me in the street, and every attempt they've made has been a bitter failure for them."

--Mumia Abu-Jamal

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CUNY Struggle Continued

(Continued from page 1)

insult to injury, after these cuts were passed, Governor Pataki unilaterally imposed another 12% cut to the approved CUNY budget without legislative approval.

THE SCHOOLS SHOULD SERVE THE PEOPLE!

SLAM! has one basic criterion for judging our actions: Do they empower students? CUNY Students have no real power within the university over our education. This is because the university system is a part of the larger society that is set up to deny poor and oppressed people power over our lives. In the context of CUNY the demand for student power is a challenge to the power of New York's ruling elite over its most oppressed communities.

The struggle against the budget cuts and for student power cannot happen without the same process happening in our neighborhoods, our workplaces, and even our personal lives. Historically the student movement has played a role in catalyzing such liberation movements in other sections of society. Understood in this way student power doesn't mean directly taking over the university this year or next, but developing the political self-reliance and activity of students, developing a new generation of organizers and creating lasting spaces of counter-power that can nurture a broader revolutionary movement.

THE MOVEMENT LAST YEAR

In spring 1995 student organizing against the CUNY budget cuts exploded into a truly mass movement. A new organization, the CUNY Coalition Against the Cuts, brought together the movements on the various CUNY campuses into large citywide demonstrations.

The largest march was on March 23, 1995, where over 20,000 students mobilized at City Hall. The fliers for the march called for "Student Strike Against the Cuts: Shut the City Down!" The Coalition did not get a march permit, and didn't allow any politicians to speak.

The plan was to march to Wall Street, to disrupt those that are determining CUNY's fate. But 8,000 cops blocked the marchers and in the chaos of the situation, cops maced and beat some students. The march was penned in by the cops, never leaving City Hall. But there was no mistaking that a new autonomous student movement had emerged. Before March 23, CUNY Coalition meetings attracted a few dozen people.



CUNY Students Take the Struggle into the Streets on March 23

pendent radical students, as well as members of an alphabet soup of revolutionary organizations. Some groups participated in a principled way, doing work to build the movement on the campuses. Others' participation can only be called disruptive, while some others came around when they thought things were 'hot' but then disappeared just as quickly when it came time to actually do protracted, unglamorous work.

The CPE coalition meetings adopted a delegate structure, where each campus group was required to have open, democratic meetings and elect delegates to represent their positions in the citywide meetings. During the early meetings, the International Socialist Organization (ISO) removed themselves from the coalition to focus their energies on their new anti-death penalty campaign. This clearly hurt the organizational abilities of the coalition as the ISO did much work last spring. Some other Leninist groups left, due to their disagreement with the delegate structure adopted. They opposed this structure because it

But no mass movement emerged at CUNY this spring. There was certainly activism and mobilization against the budget cuts, and a respectable core of organizers did a large amount of work. What was missing was the response from the rest of the student body, which contrasted sharply with the climate on campus just a year earlier. Last year when the citywide demonstration was called, it became the buzz on the campuses—students and faculty were all talking about it and took it up as their own. This year organizers put up thousands of fliers and did lots of outreach, but on the whole students walked by without paying much attention.

WHAT HAPPENED?

The student indifference to the movement this year can only be explained as a reaction to the failure of the movement last spring. The fact that the cuts went through had two effects. The most obvious is that many students weren't able to stay in

to compromise with PSC on two major questions in order to gain their endorsement. The compromises were (1) to allow Democratic party politicians to speak, and (2) to do the march a week later, almost at the end of the semester. These compromises were made in hopes that more students would come to the march if faculty supported it and didn't hold tests on that date.

But even with the endorsement of the faculty union, the May 8 march was even smaller than the March 23 demo, which SLAM! had organized on its own terms. This fact shows that the low activity of the movement was not due to SLAM's unwillingness to compromise with liberals. Even with the endorsement of liberals, students didn't get involved. The low level of mass movement came more from demoralization due to the ineffectiveness of past movement efforts.

TOWARD STUDENT POWER

We need to build a student movement that can seriously attempt to stop the budget cuts next year. To figure out how to do that, we need to study the history of the student movement, and movements for social change generally, to see what had worked and what hasn't worked historically. We need to build a mass movement. It needs to be autonomous, meaning that it can't rely on Democratic politicians or on faculty endorsements to mobilize the student body.

One lesson we take from spring '96 is that when the movement is in a low period, there is no short cut that will jump-start the movement other than ongoing, patient political organizing. Alliances with liberals won't do it, nor will flashy militant tactics that don't involve thousands of students. We need to be aware of where students are at, and plan our strategies based on that.

The most positive accomplishment of this semester was the creation of SLAM!—a CUNY-wide radical student organization based on democratic campus groups. This didn't spark a mass movement right away, but it will be crucial when the movement starts to pick up again. This will ensure that the movement can grow quickly, and stay in the hands of students themselves, not Democratic Party politicians, manipulative Leftist groupings, or liberal faculty.★

For more information on the CUNY movement:

Student Liberation Action
Movement (SLAM!)
212-642-2549

The Spheric
Student Community News Service
695 Park Avenue
Room 207 T.H.
New York, NY 10021
212-772-4279

The Spheric is an excellent CUNY-wide independent student movement newspaper.

There is no shortcut that will jumpstart the movement other than ongoing, patient political organizing. Alliances with liberals won't do it, nor will flashy militant tactics that don't involve thousands of students.

After March 23, hundreds of people regularly came to the meetings. Something new was in the air.

But while this upsurge in student participation was going on, confusion and disagreement among the core organizers started to tear apart the coalition. Different people were blamed for the tactical blunders of March 23. Despite the ability to mobilize tens of thousands of students against the cuts, organizers didn't have a clear conception of what needed to be done to actually stop the cuts from going through. The CUNY Coalition dissipated toward the end of the spring 1995 semester, unsuccessful in its mission to stop the budget cuts.

'96: PICKING UP THE PIECES

In Fall 1996 disunity continued among the core organizers. And more importantly, a change in attitude was coming over the student body as a whole. This change was vaguely sensed but not fully comprehended by most of the former coalition organizers through the Fall semester. Efforts began to rebuild a citywide coalition along the lines of last spring's CUNY Coalition.

Before the start of the spring semester a new coalition was quickly formed and named the Coalition for Public Education (CPE). It initially consisted of many inde-

duced their ability to take leadership over the movement without doing actual work on the campuses to build student power. Rather than do the work, they hit the door.

While all this was going on, the coalition was also developing an action plan for the spring semester. A radical and exciting action plan was agreed on with total consensus. The plan was for a series of four actions: (1) a joint demonstration with striking service workers, (2) a mass march like the one last spring on March 21, (3) a civil disobedience action, and (4) a Mayday march on Wall Street.

With a rebuilt coalition, a democratic structure and many activists committed to building the movement on the campuses, expectations grew that the movement could be even larger and more radical than last spring. Organizers believed that with the Governor's announcement of the new round of budget cuts, the mass movement would quickly rebound on the campuses. While this analysis was understandable considering the explosion of the movement last spring, as events unfolded it proved to be incorrect.

STUDENTS ON THE MOVE

SLAM's initial plan was based on this vision of broadening student participation.

school because they couldn't afford it or their programs had been cut. The second effect is the demoralization. It was this that organizers underestimated.

Students did everything from traveling to Albany to lobby and protest the state government, to working tirelessly on campus all year, to mobilizing tens of thousands of people at a citywide demonstration and getting attacked by the cops. But the budget cuts still went through. Students accurately realized that if we weren't able to stop the cuts last year, there was no reason to think we could do it this year with the same tactics.

The citywide demonstration this year on March 21 drew 2,000 high school and college students—only a shadow of the march last spring. Originally SLAM hoped March 21 would be a joint demonstration with USS and PSC. The coalition proved unworkable, as the PSC was unwilling to unite with students unless we gave them blanket approval to invite Democratic Party politicians to speak at the rally and make voting a central focus of the action.

The small size of the March 21 demo and the lack of the movement's growth afterwards led to general disillusionment. Many SLAM! activists started to believe that the movement would grow if we were willing to compromise with PSC. Desperately wanting the movement to grow, SLAM! decided

Neo-liberalism

(Continued from page 15)

environmental and minimum wage laws. Enterprise zones and BIDs are both part of the neo-liberal attack on social safety nets for society's most vulnerable segments. Democrats have also adopted the enterprise zone idea, however they refer to them as "empowerment" zones. But it is capital that is empowered in these zones, not the populations who must work in increasingly horrendous conditions.

The most extreme expression of the ideological break between the Great Society and New Deal programs on one hand, and the neo-liberal strategy of the past fifteen years occurred in the aftermath of the 1992 Los Angeles rebellion. After the rebellion, White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater said, "We believe that many of the root problems that have resulted in inner city difficulties were started in the 1960s and 1970s Great Society Programs."

Thus, according to the Bush administration, the 1992 uprising was not caused by the gross exploitation and oppression of the Black and Latino communities, but was caused by the welfare state, a problem easily solved by eliminating it.

Lyndon Johnson's program of a "hand up, not a hand out" for the poor was replaced under the Reagan administration with the neo-liberal policy of "not a hand up, not a hand out." Even the most rudimentary protection of the poor by the visible hand of the state would be left to the invisible hand of the market, and the social control of the welfare state is replaced by the social control of a police and surveillance state.

The enterprise zone proposal broke with traditional social welfare legislation in that it attempted to replace in-kind benefits (public housing, job training programs, Medicare, etc.) and cash transfers (AFDC) with policies designed to unfetter the market. However, this policy reinforced the spirit of the US welfare state which, since the Social Security Act of 1935, has provided a social democratic welfare state for the rich and middle class and the elderly and free market capitalism for the poor.

In addition to the tax breaks and holidays of the enterprise zone proposal which amounts to *de facto* cash transfers to corporations, one of the most prominent enterprise zone initiatives gradually grew into a huge social pork barrel of tax cuts to middle class constituencies, rather than a supply side program to "aid" blighted urban areas.

Thus the "Urban Aid" Bill of 1992 was soon to be referred to as the Revenue Act of 1992. US Senator Wellstone (D-MN) illustrated this point when he spoke in support of an amendment to this legislation that would cut \$2.7 billion in tax breaks for corporations and invest it in urban renewal: "...Mr. President the reason ... I am proud to introduce this amendment with Senator

Bradley—is that it has to do with priorities and what, once upon a time, we used to call the urban aid bill, because it was born in response to the desperation in our cities—as exhibited, powerfully exhibited, by what happened in Los Angeles—really evolved into a different kind of legislation."

This "different kind of legislation" which Senator Wellstone was referring to would include tax cuts to people holding Individual Retirement Accounts, would repeal the luxury tax on yachts, private airplanes, furs, and jewelry, and would reinstate passive loss tax deductions on real estate losses.

The BID law has also allowed the most privileged segments of our society to increase profit while exposing the most vulnerable segments of our society to even greater market discipline. The GCP has grossed huge profits from its outreach program. The City of New York as well as private firms pay the GCP for these services, which are performed largely by homeless individuals who are barely compensated for their labor. In a political and ideological climate in which the state has been steadily removing social safety nets and job training and placement programs, capital is more than willing to provide these services for a cost, especially when the self-policing of one's own BID proves to be such a profiting enterprise. And they have a readily available, increasing, and largely defenseless pool of labor to draw from.

CITIZENS OF THE MARKET IN A POST-NATIONAL AGE?

Analysts of the contemporary period have been proclaiming the declining significance of the nation-state. Capital, it is now said, is increasingly running the world. While this last statement is certainly true, the declining significance of the state does not follow from this fact. Persons in modern industrial (and post-industrial) societies find themselves under increasingly authoritarian structures in both political and economic spheres of life. The state continues to play a vital role in the application of neo-liberalism.

While the state is providing less social protections for the majority of the population, a small minority of the population receives a vast amount of social protections in cash transfers, tax-credits and the like. But they are also receiving in-kind benefits such as an increasingly militarized national security state to keep those communities adversely affected by neo-liberal policies in line.

It is no coincidence that as the Reagan administration began applying neo-liberal policy to America's inner cities, incarceration rates skyrocketed. Meanwhile, state tax policies radically redistribute income upwards, providing a social democratic welfare state for the privileged while destroying even the most minimal of social safety nets and leaving the majority of the population to be disciplined and productive citizens of the market.★

Black Imprisonment

(Continued from page 16)

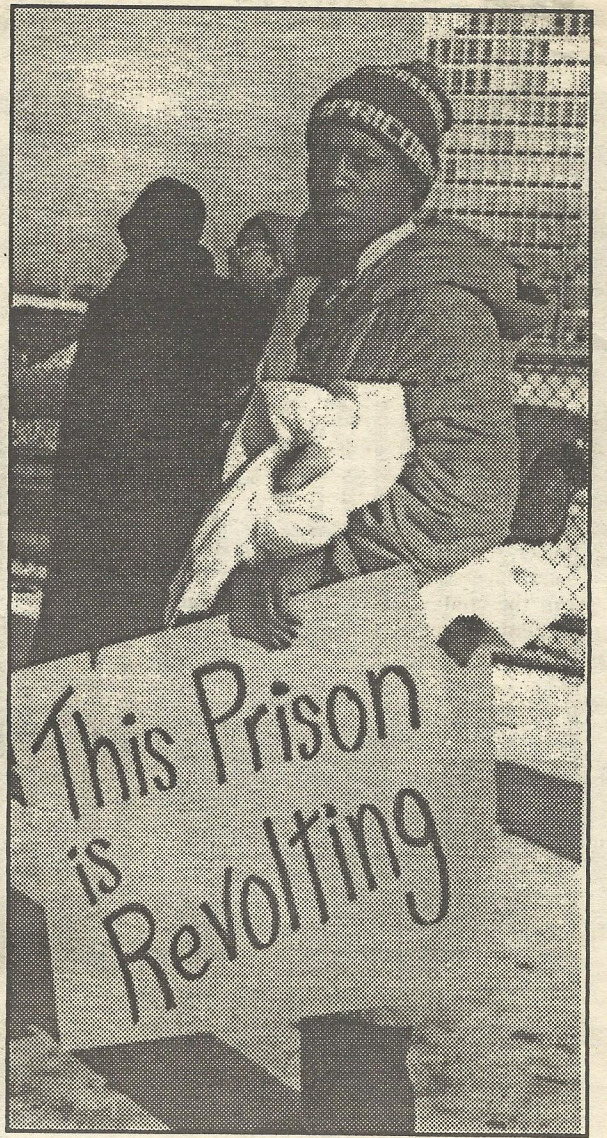
also according to Morris, the direction of the CJS is an accident.

If liberal critics of the CJS would just turn the problem around and not ask why the CJS fails at its stated purpose but rather ask what purpose a system like this could have, then they could find an answer.

Remember what events preceded the growth in imprisonment that started in 1972. That year followed in the midst of the FBI's COINTELPRO program; the assassination of dozens of leaders of the Black Liberation Movement and the imprisoning of hundreds more; the assassination of George Jackson on August 21 1971, and the rebellion at Attica on September 9 - 13, 1971. Then just a few months later, the imprisonment rate started to spiral upwards, and has not yet stopped doing so. Furthermore, 1972 was also the year that the first Control Unit was opened—as one wing of the US Penitentiary at Marion.

When this historical context is added to the statistics about crime and imprisonment and the rampant racism of US society, it seems clear that the hypothesis that prisons are institutions for control of people of color is a far more viable one than the notion that prisons are an effort to prevent crime. In fact, the only support for the latter hypothesis would appear to be the assertions of some of those run the prison system and politicians.

It seems worthwhile to elaborate on this point. There is no viable evidence that prisons prevent crime. There is an abun-



opposed by other progressive people. When we have asked why they disagree, they note that crime is a serious problem, and we have to offer some solutions. We couldn't agree more that crime is a serious problem, and that solutions are needed.

But prisons have nothing to do with preventing crime. They haven't; they don't; and they can't—ever. Until we all understand this and have the courage to put for-

"The hypothesis that prisons are insitutions for control of people of color is a far more viable one than the notion that prisons are an effort to prevent crime."

dance of evidence, a small portion of it presented above, that prisons don't and can't prevent crime. In addition, every serious analysis of the history of incarceration reveals the same historical thrust: prisons and other systems of punishment are for social control, not crime control.

For example, in 1939 Rushce and Kirchheimer wrote a very important book showing that the systems of imprisonment throughout history were simply reflections of the economic systems that existed at given times. These systems were not about crime prevention; they were about the relations of production. Michel Foucault, in his seminal book, *Discipline & Punish*, has shown that the evolution of state punishment had little to do with crime and everything to do with the exertion of the state to maintain power: "...one would be forced to suppose that the prison, and no doubt punishment in general, is not intended to eliminate offenses, but rather to use them."

CEML believes that one of the main functions of progressive struggle is to counter the prevailing ideology. If this is correct, then fighting to establish the real purpose of the "criminal" "justice" system is meaningful work. At the same time, it is not easy work, to say the least. Many progressive publications show no understanding of or interest in these issues.

We in CEML have often posed the slogan "Not One More Cell," only to be

ward the notion that we need real solutions, not diversions which are nothing more than racist attacks on people of color, we will not be able to move our pursuits for a human society any further.

This gives us still one more reason to fight against law and order hysteria and the racist use of imprisonment in our society. Rather than devoting our resources and energies to proven failed strategies like the use of massive imprisonment, we should instead pursue those strategies which will build a truly human society and thus prevent crime. These strategies include struggling to eliminate white supremacy and poverty while building an economy that meets human needs rather than the desires of profiteers. Rather than creating a nation of prisons we should be allowing the emergence of a nation of human beings.★

This article, written in April 1995, originally appeared in Walkin' Steel: US Incarceration. Walkin' Steel is a production of the Committee to End the Marion Lockdown, PO Box 578172, Chicago, IL 60657-8172; 312-235-0070. The original article contained additional charts and graphs as well as extensive footnotes which we were unable to reproduce due to space constraints; write to CEML for a complete copy of the article with footnotes.



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