

Anarchist Panther

The Good Readings Zine



To Catch a Panther You Must **FRAME IT**.
 Stop the Lyching of Mumia Abu-Jamal!
 By Any Means Necessary!

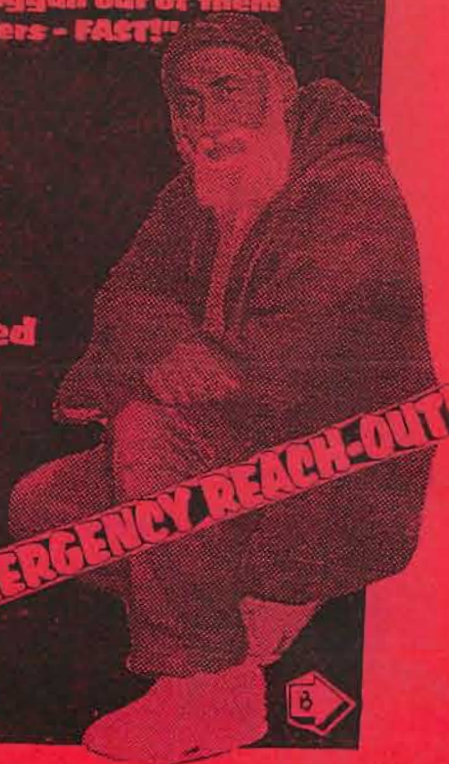
Political prisoners know that, historically, Black life in Babylon, USA has been a Crap Game where the dice is always, ALWAYS loaded. Black Liberation Army Soldier Albert Nuh Washington was not afraid to expose the Real Krime, turn over the tables, and draw on his skillful weapons of liberation in order to arm our people with the effective knowledge and ways of Resistance. Thus, COINTELPRO said, "Get that niggah out of them slave quarters - FAST!"

**29
 Years
 in
 Prison.**

**Diagnosed
 with
 Terminal
 Cancer.**

**Free
 Nuh,
 Now!**

EMERGENCY REACH-OUT



Patience. Love. Kindness.
 affect. Do it presidents
 respect. **RIGHT ON!**
 The presence of Zapatismo is
 Anti-authoritarian. **Partherson**
 within Babylon! **RIGHT ON!**

This Zine may contain any of the following: (AL) Adult Language,
 (V) Violence, (F) Fun, (N) Nudity, and (X) Who Knows What
 * Children under the age of 18 permitted, without parental consent

Hōw i am şæeing it

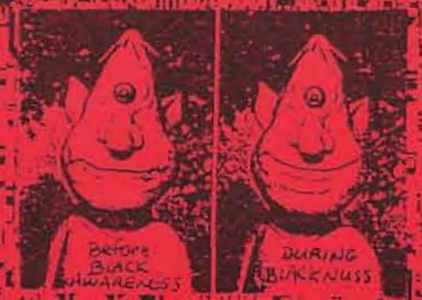
You are an Activist, a revolutionary, even, one who must strive really persistently in order to understand so much in your struggle just to be free. And it is at any moment in your life that you can choose to begin. Maybe you have begun already. Whatever it is let's keep going.

You must delve, risk delving into previously prohibited and unexplored terrains of life: political, economic, sexual, spiritual, psychological, aesthetic - and bring to the fore their functions, their meanings, the influences in human development in YOUR development.

You must not become or remain paralyzed by the fear of taking and questioning any facet of life, your life and life around you - and taking it to its roots to uncover the fullest story behind its existence, its function. We, on the average, have experienced one, maybe two perspectives from which to view, define, organize and change life, our selves, others. At some point we settle on only (or obsessively) one - one perspective, and become very conservative in defending and upholding its "correctness."

BLACK IS ONLY ONE PERSPECTIVE

The natural curiosity, questioning of unknowns, and the opening to unstructured, spontaneous learning experiences are the hallmarks of an infant, a little child. When a person chooses to use only one focus, one perspective in life, the curiosity, questioning and opening is repressed. She or he becomes a midget cyclops. Whatever it sees seems "natural."



Black revolution, black nationalism, black history and the like, represent merely one perspective. The midget cyclops is one-dimensional and so, "black" becomes the "only" perspective from which life is viewed, defined, organized and manipulated or negotiated. We have, can and still must utilize a black perspective in dealing with the racist, genocidal conditions here in Amerikkka, if not the world. But it, like most all else, has its limitations.

Other perspectives are available and necessary for Freedom Fighters (and anyone, like survivors and students of life in general) to utilize in order to expand and enrich one's own personally conscious and potentially powerful participation in struggle in life per se. But perspective here, is more than just understanding what you're up against (The Enemy), or what you're striving for (political and/or religious goals). There's so much more involved, it is much more complex than we could have ever imagined, as you will begin to see.

...the black movement we were involved in was not a movement in itself, it was a movement to change the world, to change the way we lived, to change the way we thought, to change the way we felt, to change the way we were...

...it was not just about the struggle, it was about the people, it was about the love, it was about the hope, it was about the future, it was about the present, it was about the past, it was about the world, it was about the universe, it was about everything...

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Albert 'Nuh' Washington was an active member of the Black Panther Party and later of the Black Liberation Army. In 1971 he was shot and arrested in California and in 1975 he was convicted - together with Herman Bell & Jalil Abdul Muntaqim - of the murder of two New York City police and sentenced to life in prison.

Several campaigns to overturn the sentence of the 'New York Three' have been unsuccessful. They have now spent three decades behind bars. In December 1999 Nuh was diagnosed with terminal liver cancer and given ten months to live. Because New York State law prohibits 'compassionate release' for 'convicted murderers,' he will continue to serve his sentence until he dies.

FUCK THAT!

What is now in our hands is a warrior, a beloved one, one who has given his whole life to the liberation of our people and revolution throughout the Babylonian Empire. If death is inevitable, then let us face it, that of others and our very own. Yuri Kochiyama said recently that she is now engaged in another tremendous battle. This one with

P.C

Perspective is and essentially must become for each of us an active multi-dimensional awareness of one's self as being part of an infinite continuum of change, of changing relationships and processes of development. You are a multitude of different processes and relationships that are personal, social, psychological, sexual, biological, planetary, etc. This requires you to search for the kinds of information - experiences which leads to such an active awareness of your dynamic tie-in to ALL. *Dynamic* in the sense that your personal life, your personal decisions and actions are significant in this space (Amerikka, World, your living room) and time ('cosmic creation, evolutionary and social historical). It is here that the relationship of learning and understanding to freedom manifests itself in bold relief. Your personal freedom and power is expanded and enriched the more you learn and understand (and act on) the processes, relationships and dynamics of your life.

BLACK LIBERATION: END-ALL DESTINY or WAY-STATION?

It is important to see your involvement as something much greater

and grander than Black Liberation. To fully grasp, in ever-greater degrees just what this involvement means is to open you up to an new multi-dimensional perspectives on reality, on life, and on new possibilities. You will sense a profounder understanding of your possibilities and responsibilities as relates to you, your personal powers and contributions in social change.

Here you are on the Eve of the Twenty-First Century, witnessing from a safe distance or maybe in the midst of the whirlwind of a revolution for freedom. How do you *see* things how do you *see* yourself as *involved* and why is this perspective so essential?

THE FUNCTION OF PERSPECTIVE OR VISION HELPS THE FREEDOM FIGHTER TO GRASP HIS/HER SITUATION ... IN ITS FULLER DYNAMICS.

Learning the meaning of a) what's going on inside of you, b) around you, c) and the interrelationships between the two in space and time.

Dynamics. You are a human being first, a person. YET there is more to you, much more. You are of 'African'

"The Negro youth must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teaching, they will be Dead Revolutionaries."
-SA Raymond Byers, FBI

descent, yet there is still more to you. You are a Freedom Fighter. But what does that mean to you? How does your definition and understanding of this identification orient you to life and living life in the faith that human action can resolve the contemporary problems of your life and world?

You are more than just a Freedom Fighter caught up in the oppressive, racist system of a soulless babylonian technological empire. This increasing realization of just what your greater involvement is gives you new understanding of greater realities, possibilities and responsibilities as relates to you, your personal place and contributions in change.

I HAVE MADE A DECISION.

I WILL BECOME A
FREEDOM FIGHTER

The dangerousness of making and sticking to such a decision is obvious, generally speaking. This is Babylon, USA, the Capitol of World Anti-Freedom. And it is intent on stopping ANY opposition to its rule, by any means necessary. If you're a black opponent, then you're in double-trouble. SO, you owe it to yourself, your Self, to fully grasp the dangerousness of your situation and the meaning of the monumental decision you have made. (A)


Welcome to this the Second Issue of Anarchist Panther. This, like the first, gets most into what all this mean when I say Anarchism. Well, I take full responsibility for anything printed on this 'ism' here. So, you can actually call THIS anarchism MY ANARCHISM, because, the fact is... its mine, my brand, from my understanding. And yes, it IS an outlaw brand cuz even a lot of anarchist groups and individuals gonna give me the short ruff about its clash with what the purists say. Hey, thats the way it goes.. Huh! I ended that first zine with a long-ass title: Quilombo for the Advancement of Anansiatic Postmodernist Anarchist Struggle. Hm. Joking at first. But serious, too.

Quilombos: communities of resistance. Think of the slave trade, think of slavery. The imposition. The resistance. Don't matter who is the intended or actual victim, aint no one going down as in a gentlemen's agreement. There's fear, trauma, shock. There's outburst, irrational, murderous rage. There's self-mutilation. There's all kinds of shit. My point, though, is that there are always those who manage to TAKE OFF, head for the hills, the woods, the swamps...AND SET UP SAFE HAVENS, COMMUNITIES OF RESISTANCE. All throughout the story of black struggle, from here to Brazil to Australia, folks have organized fight-backs. These are your OUTLAWS!

P.C

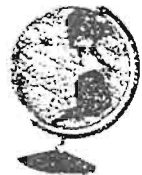
These are the ones who just wanted to live, wanted to be free from that bullshit.

Today, we have plenty of groups and organizations proposing solutions and directions to liberation. They all talk like they got ultimate truth and that if you ain't got the sense to follow them then you're lost. They, too, are all outlaws, in a sense. IN THEIR MINDS they oppose the system, the whiteman, capitalism. But they exclude and restrict so much of their own (our own) people and their own emotional child-like-ness and vitality that their spirit is hardly inviting to others who might normally be interested in liberation. In their exclusions and restrictions they ain't too much different from the forces that we fight. So they can be looked at as LOYAL OUTLAWS, LOYAL (TO THE SYSTEM) OPPOSITION. They oppose the system but their ways of thinking and behaving ain't much different. We need communities of resistance that are willing to confront our own internalized oppressions, the things that make us loyal opposition. We need communities of resistances that are not trying to corral folks into the ranks of their Ultimate Truths, but understand that there are all kinds of truths that are liberatory.

My idea of developing quilombo/communities of resistance is that they must be non-political in the traditional sense of requiring rigid adherence to a One-Truth that excludes and competes with all others. They must, therefore, be INCLUSIVE OF DIFFERENCE. It is also more of a state of mind than a territorial thing but it maintains all active ingredients like Acceptance, Caring, Love, Risk, a sense of elusive, sometimes runaway space for Safe Haven, Support, Preparation, Rejuvenation, Recovery, and Graduation. These are the sort of things that can make communities of like-minded people produce/activate invincible resistance and transformative powers. It resembles a Narcotics Anonymous space that's bent on Revolution but requiring that same purposefulness, anarchistic openness & acceptance, and action. Quilombos can embody that vision of a future world (worlds), and can help make sense of the many complex concepts, ideas and practices that promote ALL KINDS OF SELF-DETERMINATION & REVOLUTIONARY OUTLAWRY. Hal 

WORLD & NATIONAL REPORT

Germany agrees to pay 5.2B to slave laborers



NEWS WIRE SERVICES 12/18/99

BERLIN — Germany sealed a historic agreement yesterday to pay \$5.2 billion in compensation to Nazi-era slave laborers and other long-forgotten victims of World War II. President Johannes Rau appealed for forgiveness from those who suffered in work-to-death programs or were taken from their homes to labor for Adolf Hitler.

"We've reached the end of a truly bloody century, a century in which Germany has caused suffering mostly to the European people, but also to the whole world," Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder said. "This is a small contribution to making amends for some of the worst human rights abuses committed."

Negotiators gathered here to endorse Germany's offer to pay labor victims, as well as to settle other claims for Holocaust victims who haven't been covered by some \$60 billion in payments since the war.

"This is the first serious initiative to acknowledge the debt owed to those whose labor was stolen or coerced during that time of outrage," Secretary of State Albright said. As many as 20 million people could be eligible for the fund, and most are non-Jews from Eastern Europe. Until now, German industry has never paid anything for using millions of Nazi-provided, forced and slave laborers to replace Germans sent to fight the war.

About 65 top German companies, many facing legal action, have joined the fund. They include giants, such as Siemens and Volkswagen, as well as banks and insurance companies that may have profited.

Activist folksinger, *Lares Tresjan*, pictured at far right and a part of the S.L.A.M. and friends affinity group at the July 3rd Liberty Bell action, died this February and has moved on to the Ancestral Bell-Raisers of the Spirit World. Thank you for loving us and being with us and giving us your gift of song and dignified, spirited struggle against oppression.

All power thru people like you.
All power thru the people! *LARES LIVES!*



And if it is a despot you would dethrone, see first that his throne erected within you is destroyed.
For how can a tyrant rule the free and the proud, but for a tyranny in their own freedom and a shame in their own pride.
— Khalil Gibran

Declaration of Independence A MYSTERY TO MAN ON STREET

October 1974

BIRMINGHAM, Ab. (UPI) — Thirty-five students in a Springville High School government class recently circulated a "petition" on downtown streets to measure public reaction to the document.

The "petition" was really a copy of the Declaration of Independence. The students asked approximately 700 persons to read the document. Only 308 agreed to read it and only 92 recognized it as the Declaration of Independence.

Some thought it was a radical paper written by a communist or a hippie group, and one man said the Central Intelligence Agency should throw the students' teacher, Wayne Nobles, in jail for circulating such literature.

One man said he hoped "whoever wrote this is not running for political office. If he is, and gets elected, the country will be in the same shape it is now."

Three men agreed to sign a petition, under the document because they believed it was against the government. They said a massage parlor they owned had been closed recently by officials.

Aging and other health matters of the elderly. And after a period of denial, she has decided to take it on as courageously as she has the General Revolution, for Aging and death are truly just aspects of Revolution. Nuh is clear. It is the moment of Che, of Martin, of Kwesi Balagoon, of Malcolm, of Red, of Frankie Ziths, of Breeze, of Martha Pitts and others. At a time when the movement has not recovered from its destruction, from its demoralization, from its pain and festering wounds, we face our imprisoned comrades. If there is anything we can do now for Nuh, let it be a rededication to building a truly REAL, powerful movement; a movement that grows on love, honesty and struggle. We knew that this day would come, those of us "on the street," when our imprisoned ones would die imprisoned. And it hurts. It hurts because we know that we did not do enough, that we did not do enough to recover from our own punishment, that we drifted back to old, safe haunts, whether political or criminal. And now thirty years later, aging under a wicked oppression, our heroes die. An essential pillar in the

My thoughts...

Anarchism is the critique of the human story which centers around the concept of liberty in social development and social affairs. It is the radical notion that human beings in social settings, both simple and complex, can arrange and conduct their relationships in such a manner as to bring about equality, direct democracy, peace, harmony and prosperity for all involved. What makes Anarchism stand out from other political and social philosophies is that it has the most profound faith in People and demands, of its activists, that the means for bringing about such a revolution must reflect the end-goals. It demands the most undying love for people of all the activists philosophies that I am aware of (humble me). It demonstrates this by the social practices of self and group challenges to overcome any oppressive tendencies to control, manipulate and hurt others. It also demonstrates this by encouraging others of oppressed communities and groups to oppose these same social-cultural tendencies while re-affirming and re-enforcing their better inclinations to govern, cooperate and share themselves, their own lives with care, thoughtfulness, concern for others, a sense of humor, etc.. It rejects the "common-sense" of relying on "higher" authorities of god-complexes, knowledge/corporate/military complexes and multifarious dope pushers. * [This writing is definitely NOT anti-religious or anti-spirituality, but it does challenge the uses of those mind-sets by the powers-that-be and their multi-colored wanna-bes.]

Black Anarchism

Black Flag #206, 1995

Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin was twenty years old when he received a double life sentence for Hijack. A grassroots activist, former Black Panther and author of "Anarchism and the Black Revolution". He talks to Black flag about about the past, present and future of the Black Revolutionary Movement. What anarchism has to offer it and why he rejects the role of "token" Black Anarchist.

I started analysing my philosophy and my life. Thinking about my experiences in Eastern Europe I started looking at an alternative method, theory and strategy of revolution. All these in a manner of speaking, led me to anarchism. I was not happy with local anarchists in the US - they were too middle class, white and it was pretty much a countercultural scene. But this didn't stop me working with other anarchists around the world who had written to me. I desired a new way forward for the black revolution - which had been smashed by the state and finished off by reformism and neo-colonialism. The original writing around my book came from this. Kropotkin influenced me most - I was engaging in all kinds of debate, hostile and friendly. It made me reevaluate what I had been involved in, particularly the authoritarian problems in the BPP and SNCC in its later stages, and the black movements of the 70s and 80s.

Anarchism in the US has always been an immigrant thing - the Jews, the Germans of the original International Working Peoples Association, the Italians of the 30s and 40s and so on. Why it should suddenly seem threatening that there was a black anarchist I don't know. Blacks and hispanics will surely constitute the backbone of the US anarchist movement in the future.

My prison writings called for an international anarchist resistance movement and a new international Working Peoples Association. This won me a following in Europe, Africa and among Australian aborigines. I was made an honorary member of one of the Aboriginal tribes. I distributed stuff in Nigeria. I don't know what impact it had, but I have to believe someone read this stuff. Since the fall of communism even more people are looking at anarchism as a serious

alternative, as set out by past and even some current movements. Especially if we were to speak to more so called ordinary people. The real political conversion came from contacts with

anarchists around the world. In europe there was a campaign to get my freedom, by the Anarchist Black Cross (Stuart Christie, Albert Meltzer and Miguel Garcia) and Help A Prisoner Oppose Torture in the Netherlands. This sharpened my beliefs and made me more serious about anarchism as a force for black revolution. I never saw myself as a token black anarchist, but as someone to apply anarchism to the black community.

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Anarchism is concerned with questions and challenges. At its center, its core, is the concept of liberty or freedom and an uncompromising belief that people can govern their lives without Government, man-Gods, Master-narratives, pigs, politicians, etc.. Nothing about human society is permanent. It, therefore, has stories of origin, development and change. Its a People thang. Therefore, questions and challenges to human potential are more important than providing Answers and Blueprints which give the idea or illusion of Correctness, Permanence or Superiority.

Anarchism asks such outrageous questions as: Why do we even NEED government? Police? Prison? Bosses? Political Parties? Landlords? Money? Then, it proceeds in questioning these very things that have always BEEN in our lives, in hopefully JARRING us into seeing their ultimate ABSURDITY and the need for their destruction. It questions the "common-place," the "Common-sense," the "givens." And then on to the creative play of the direct actions of practical projects, outlaw projects, living experiments that RESIST THE MONSTER everyday in the Everydayness of Life. Anarchists are supporters of such efforts and creators & nurturers of their own life-affirming resistance.

These are all on-going, spontaneous ways for helping people to actualize the simple but profoundly wonderful belief in their own self-determining, self-governing, and mutually aiding abilities to create and sustain a better life. DIY: Do-It-Yourself!

Anarchists are individuals who have somehow recovered a sense of the preciousness and grandeur of their individuality and sociality. Understanding that I am We and vice-versa ("I am I"), anarchists see freedom and social responsibility as two sides of a coin or as a unity of Great Opposites. Based on that, anarchists promote all that fosters, nurtures and protects the evolution of this grand unity. FREEDOM - especially freedom from authority, authoritarianism in organization of society, mind-set, household, church, girl-friend/boyfriend relationships,

etc., etc., - is the best condition for fostering, nurturing and protecting that Unity that allows for the "FREEDOM TO..." create, build, love, etc.. RESPONSIBILITY - acting on a sense of decency, honesty, service, review, reciprocity and justice with others. The ability to "respond" to one's life connections and situations with such an elementary orientation. SPONTANEITY - or those FREE ACTIVITIES before the onslaught of authoritarian oppression - is that manifestation of the Child who discovers in her own way (through love, work as play, and learning/experimentation).

Love, work & experimentation are the well-springs of life. They should also govern it.

- Wilhelm Reich

Anarchists accept the responsibility of being facilitators and mirrors for others in their lives and oppressive environments. We are engaged with people in order to help US ALL see

the multi-constructed spectacles we are trapped in.

FACILITATORS do not "lead," they HELP (anarchism rests on the principle of no-strings-attached mutual-aid and communication)

MIRRORS allows people to see themselves DIFFERENTLY so as to see the "traps" we walk into and participate in creating. Anarchists facilitate the discovery of their own and People's ability to escape and empower themselves through our own thinking and initiatives or insurrectionary projects.

Anarchists are careful watchers and fighters against hierarchical, authoritarian, sexist, racist, misogynist, chauvinist practices and tendencies. ALL POWER THRU THE PEOPLE! are the watch-words. Thus, how individuals and groups are structured, what decision-making mechanisms are used, how people (including

revolutionaries) treat people in both their political and personal lives, are of the utmost concern. This is not talking about us operating 1984-style Big Brother on each other. This is a call for us to stop separating our personal lives and hidden pains from our politics, and religious and cultural practices.

Anarchists encourage HOPE based on information, inspirations, memories and all manner of on-going free (empowering) activities which, in themselves, deconstruct and de-colonize internalized social, psychological, spiritual, political, economic and public spectacles. Thus, it is imperative for anarchists not to unconsciously nurture their own despair and community despair, but to demonstrate in all kinds of creative ways that WE/People truly have the power to unplug from the MADNESS through rediscovering our humanity in Love, Free Work, desire for and openness to Pleasure, now information, liberatory situations, and uncompromising struggle against...

THE BABYLONIAN u.s. PIGOCRACY.


Anarchists have to demonstrate NOW that a free society is possible and that their activities and behaviors demonstrate that "human nature" CAN definitely RISE to the occasion.

Anarchists believe that revolution is a joyous, Do-It-Yourself fun process as well as serious and sober. Anarchists faith is in People, and leave it there. Not "Have faith in the people, have faith in the Party." Have faith in YOU and DECIDE that you want to hook up with others in a group or collective based on the dignity of your humanity as a thinking, feeling and FALLIBLE person. (Real people we talkin' bout.) Anarchism is the belief that you don't need 'narc muthafucks telling you how to be free, when to be free, where to be free, and WHY to be free...

I use the word "muthafucks" because only a muthafucks would do or try to do those things. That m/f could be your local militant, parent, preacher, lover, teacher, politician, friend, psychic, boss, landlord, banker, UN, IMF, NAFTA, G7... WHATEVER!

Anarchism is open-ended theories of human & social possibilities for ever-evolving freedom & social responsibility through now challenging, creative thinking, lifestyle, and economic & social arrangements. EXPERIMENTATION IS KEY. Whether called Utopia, Paradise, Heaven-on-Earth, such desires and possibilities can be constructed as long as human beings desire to struggle against all odds in their beliefs that present realities and traditions (that hold such realities in place) can be changed.

ALL POWER THRU
THE PEOPLE! ^{Open to new}

My other writings dealt with how the movement should have a predominant class struggle tendency. I never thought lifestylists would still be in the ascendancy - we need to go further than rebellion. Letters to prisoners are especially important, to reach them at certain stages and to talk to them about this. The main thing is the contact with the black movement. I got particular support from the Australian Aborigines. It is important for anarchists to make contact with the black movement, even if you don't agree with them, as it may be possible to change their politics. They may adopt some core of anarchist politics and go deeper and build their own autonomous formations - they don't need white people telling them what to do. BF: Can you tell us about the organization you are part of? LKE: Well, it's called the National Federation of Black Community Partisans, and it's an anti-authoritarian organization of black radicals. It's non political in that it doesn't support parties. It's revolutionary in... 

There are just some of our many political prisoners in Babylonian dungeons. We cannot forget them.



Don't Read the Boss Press! Read the **INDUSTRIAL WORKER!**

Constructing a Martyr: The Case of Joe Hill and Mumia Abu-Jamal



Tens of thousands of people in the United States and throughout the world, including some prominent intellectuals and artists, protest an imminent execution of a well-known radical. A fast minute stay allows reconsideration of the murder charge.

While this scenario fits the recent efforts to gain a new trial for the African-American activist and journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal, it also corresponds to the efforts 30 years ago surrounding Wobbly balladeer and organizer Joe Hill. Both Abu-Jamal and Hill generated support groups that not only claimed their innocence, but also challenged the nature of criminal justice system and the role of the state in railroading dissidents and oppressed sectors of the US populace. In highlighting the parallels and noting the differences, I want to explore the self-filling aspect of constructing a martyr and the way that construction reflects the strengths and weaknesses of oppositional social and political movements.

A brief review of the historical contexts and specific charges behind each case should provide a concrete framework to analyze the martyr construction and movement deconstruction. Joe Hill's arrest in January of 1914 in Salt Lake City for the murder of a store-owner and his son followed IWW activities in Utah mining camps. While it seems that Hill played no major organizing role in those camps, he certainly was known by Wobblies and other workers because of his

contributions ("Mr. Block," "Casey Jones" and "Pie in the Sky") to the IWW little red song. The fact that the police neglected several other suspects who were wounded the same night that Hill was suggests that Hill's connection to the IWW figured in the authorities' decision to prosecute Hill. Mumia Abu-Jamal was, if anything, better known to the Philadelphia police because of his involvement as a teenager with the Black Panthers and later support of MOVE, the black nationalist commune that was bombed by the Philadelphia police. Although the charge against Hill was circumstantial, the Philadelphia prosecution had a murder weapon and a wounded Abu-Jamal at the scene of the crime. In both cases, however, there was a clear political animus against the defendants.

That political representation became the basis on which several support groups began constructing their martyr image for Hill and Abu-Jamal. For Hill, the IWW already had fought numerous legal defense campaigns, from free-speech fights such as the one in San Diego to murder charges growing out of labor conflicts in Colorado and Massachusetts against Wobbly leaders like Big Bill Haywood and Joseph Eitor. Moreover, the IWW was at the beginning of its largest growth in the West and Southwest when Hill was arrested. Thus, there was a collective experience and movement prepared to do battle immediately for the unjustly accused Hill. Abu-Jamal's defense came much later after the 1981 murder and conviction. It acquired national significance only after Abu-Jamal had achieved notoriety as a radio commentator and the election of a Republican Governor in Pennsylvania committed to executing those on death row.

Instead of reviewing further the particulars of the prosecution's case against Joe Hill and Mumia Abu-Jamal and then refuting those particulars, I want to focus on the process by which Hill and Abu-Jamal gained martyr status (albeit Abu-Jamal may avoid full martyr status by escaping the death penalty). Suffice to say that in the case of Abu-Jamal, E. L. Doctorow's recent op-ed article in the New York Times provides an eloquent and impassioned critique of the prosecution's charges. In the case of Joe Hill, biographer Gibbs M. Smith offers a less

poetic, but equally compelling, criticism of the prosecution's charges.

Certainly, justice denied is the first and foremost component in the construction of martyr status. However, in presenting both Hill and Abu-Jamal as one-dimensional victims of a vindictive state, supporters rob these historical figures of their lived experience as active political dissidents. Thus, in the quest to enshrine Hill and Abu-Jamal as innocent martyrs in the cause of justice, supporters obfuscate the complicated and messy process of social struggle.

Two glaring examples of this on-going martyr construction in the case of Joe Hill are Philip Foner's historical brief, *The Case of Joe Hill* (1965) and Bo Widerberg's 1971 film, *Joe Hill*. Both Foner and Widerberg tend to portray Hill as an innocent victim, eliminating in the process any ambiguity and complexity in history and the character. While Foner's book laboriously piles fact upon fact, successfully contradicting many of the judicial findings, the film casts Hill as a rather romantic and heroic figure. The one-dimensionality implicit in these portraits not only does an injustice to the complexities of Joe Hill, but also to the history of those radical immigrant laborers like Hill who challenged the structures of authority in early twentieth century America.

Widerberg's film in particular constructs certain scenarios which, although maintaining Hill's martyr status, misrepresent the actual radical nature of that challenge. One of those scenarios is the aftermath of a vigilante beating in the San Diego free speech fight. This sequence is vividly framed by an American flag which Hill and his comrades are forced to kiss while singing the Star-Spangled Banner. In the very next scene we see Hill being instructed in how to shoot a pistol. Widerberg's historical license in framing these scenes can perhaps be attributed to the political criticism of American aggression in Vietnam during the time the film was made and to the dramatic needs of narrative cause and effect. Although biographies of Hill provide some substantiation for the vigilante affair (actually on his way to San Diego) and use of an American flag in

running the vigilante gauntlet, there is nothing to suggest that Hill took up arms only after his beating.

In fact, there is evidence to suggest that Joe Hill not only could use a gun before the events in San Diego, but also participated in armed revolutionary activity in Mexico around this time. In a letter to the IWW newspaper *Solidarity*, Joe Hill commented on the need for force in the Baja insurrection: "Workers may find out that the only 'machine' worth while is the one which the capitalists use on us when we ask for more bread for ourselves and our families. The one that works with a trigger. All aboard for Mexico." (Quoted in Smith, *Joe Hill*, 55.)

In citing Hill's possible participation in armed revolutionary activity, I'm not trying to offer a counter myth to that of the passive innocent victim. Rather, I'm underscoring the point that historian William Preston made some time ago in his *Labor History* review of Melvyn Dubofsky's study of the IWW: "History that ... makes myths of the men and movements the country once feared and destroyed is a traitor to the past."

This treachery to the past is also evident in the complete dismissal of any possibility that Mumia Abu-Jamal could have killed a cop to defend his brother against a brutal beating. Anyone familiar with the trajectory of righteous (and macho) anger and indignation that fueled the self-defense rhetoric and tactics of the Black Panthers and MOVE would have to acknowledge that individual members might, on rare occasions, use force to protect themselves or their loved ones. In the aftermath of Rodney King type incidents against African-American males, someone with a background like Mumia Abu-Jamal might shoot a cop, especially one physically harassing a brother. To say this in no way vindicates prosecutorial misconduct or the morally repugnant use of the death penalty; rather, it once again underscores that victims of injustice like Mumia are not cardboard and passionless spectators of history.

The concern with social agency and history is ultimately at the core of both constructing martyrs and deconstructing movements. While erecting martyrs may

help to mobilize sentiments against illegitimate authorities and towards a community of solidarity, such a mobilization runs the risk of fetishizing victimization. Thus, supporters of the martyr's cause can become obsessed with what seems to be an inexorable logic of history and the state to claim innocent lives and the need to aspire to heroic heights to withstand the nightmares of history. While there is justification for fearing the state, to be traumatized by history or try to transcend its boundaries by mythic projections is to surrender one's present and future.

The Wobblies built a movement whose community of solidarity relied on vibrant cultural and social networks. Nonetheless, their ability to sustain themselves against the repression of the state failed because their movement too often required heroes who had to eschew the complicated and pedestrian building of everyday resistance and mutual support. Yet the Wobblies did manage to construct a dynamic counter-culture that threatened an oppositional politics feared by authorities. (See my forthcoming article on the IWW in the Winter 1996 issue of *Radical History Review*.)

The movement around Mumia is, at best, a movement of moral outrage against continuing injustices in the so-called criminal justice system. It relies less on networks of solidarity than on media events and transitory rallies. Perhaps, one cannot expect that in an age of the society of the spectacle, much of political life, even those projecting a putative oppositional politics, can rise above the media and momentary blip. Nevertheless, if we truly wish to "save" or "free" Mumia we will have to find a way to situate ourselves as historical actors whose drama is in making the mundane itself a just cause.

by Fran Shor, Wayne State University

Can the activists at least ask the DAM questions that this article poses???

QUILombo



My anarchism is postmodernist and rooted in the BlackBottom. It IS a black anarchism, but it ain't nobody's anarchism. It Comes From MY subjugated knowledge - being that I have raised it from the periphery or the margins of ignored thought. It holds to some traditional tenets yet rejects the bible-ization of @-texts. It appreciates the founding thinkers and activists yet refuses to put them on pedestals that makes them more than human and infallible. It is open to other takes on life, reality, and revolution and so rejects narrowmindedness and turning anarchist spirit into hardened dogma. It is irreverent towards any TEXTS AND PERSONS viewed as or believed to be. SO PROFOUND (past and present) THAT THEY CANNOT BE QUESTIONED (black and euro-centric, naturalist and sexist, political and philosophical essentialisms). It is ever changing and I like it like that.

The word, ANANSI, is simply dealing with the african diasporic folklore hero-trickster. Anansy the Spider. He's a trickster, she's a joker. Spin right and he's panther, spin left and she's a human being. This is the trans-species, shape-shifter Anansy. THUS, I am Anansy the Outlaw Panther Spider who will play with forbidden ideas and concepts as much as with people and who will even PARADIGM-SHIFT to SEE a lil' further, UNDERSTAND a lil' deeper, EVOLVE a lil' fuller, FIGHT a lil' harder and sometimes just be STOPID SILLY cause life is just like that. This niggah is playful, tricky, angry, willing to assert, submit, fool, tug, push, pull, holler, scream, kiss passionately and hit destructively as needs be or as I feel... TO COMMUNE, TO LOVE, TO WIN, TO DESTROY, TO HAVE FUN, TO LOVE TO WIN against the Babylonian Monster.

Single women in Nigeria told to get married or get fired

LAGOS, Nov. 19 (IPS) - The Islamic Sharia (laws), introduced in the northern Nigerian state of Zamfara, has begun to take its toll on single female civil servants who have been given a three-month ultimatum to get married, or get fired from work. Lawal Jengebe, a top official at the Taita-Matara Town Council in Zamfara, announced the plan when the State Governor Ahmed Sani visited the area as part of his campaign to enlighten citizens on the controversial Sharia which he introduced on Oct. 27.

Jengebe said apart from the council employees, single women and divorcees have also been directed to get married in line with Islamic Sharia principles, which abhors prostitution.

Ironically, Sani had assured Nigerians, as well as representatives from Libya and Saudi Arabia, who attended the introduction of the controversial laws in his state on Oct. 27, that the laws were binding on Muslims only.

Jengebe said the council would assist its female employees willing to get married with beds, mattresses and household utensils.

Rights groups have condemned the introduction of the laws, which, among others, call for the amputation of limbs for those flagging for consumption of alcohol and stoning to death for committing adultery.

Gov. Sani's colleagues from the predominantly Muslim states in the north have contemplated introducing the laws, but backed off following the controversies surrounding its adoption in Zamfara.

Meeting in the northern Nigerian city of Kaduna at the weekend, the governors said they decided to put on hold the decision to introduce the Sharia in their states to allow tension to cool and to educate people on the merits of the laws.

Bukar Ibrahim, Governor of the northern state of Yobe, who spoke on behalf of his colleagues, said they had temporarily halted the decision to introduce the laws in their states due to the controversy generated by its adoption.

While not condemning the adoption of Sharia, Lateef Adegbite of the Nigeria Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs, warned states that have adopted the law not to impose it on adherents of other religions.

Adegbite, who has always advocated the introduction of Islamic law in Nigeria, urged states in which Sharia becomes operational to observe the spirit of religious tolerance by making adequate provisions for non-Muslims in the practice of their faith, including settlement of disputes.

Those who maintain outright opposition to the application of Sharia (laws) are reminded that Nigeria is a federation, a Democratic and a multi-religious state and not a secular state as

being erroneously peddled," he said. However, Christians, who make up half the country's 140 million population, are enraged by the adoption of the laws. The Bible Society of Nigeria, for example, has described the decision to introduce the laws in Nigeria as a retrogressive step into the next millennium.

Gaus Musa, General Secretary of the Society, said at a recent news conference in the commercial capital of Lagos that, the society regards the Sharia as an instrument of division in Nigeria and a tool for confusing the country's judicial practice.

The National Prayer Movement, a Christian organization, warned that the introduction of Sharia in Zamfara may lead to a religious war.

"Due to fear of being harmed, non-Muslims and non-indigenous of the State have been migrating to other states," claimed the movement's general secretary, Oluwaqubemiga Olakunle.

Commenting on the Taita-Matara council's decision to order single women to get married or be kicked out of office, the

Constitutional Rights Project (CRP), a Lagos-based non-governmental organization (NGO), said the move is unconstitutional and violates the rights of women on the grounds of sex.

Yinka Lawal, CRP's lawyer, told IPS in Lagos this week that: "I believe it is a calculated attempt to make the state (Zamfara) Islamic."

He said the CRP would be glad to provide legal service to women who might be affected by the order of the local council.

Meanwhile, Eastern Union, a cultural group in Ilorin, the capital of the Middlebelt state of Kwara, has instituted a legal action restraining the governor of Zamfara state from implementing the Sharia and another order declaring the proclamation unconstitutional.

However, pro-Sharia activists in Ilorin invaded the court on Nov. 10 to protest the suit.

The court declined to grant the order, arguing that the laws, derived from the Holy Koran, have already been introduced in Zamfara.

WOMEN WHO LIKE THINGS THE WAY THEY ARE

"Women who say they're contented just having a nice husband and two beautiful children—fine! I'm glad. Of course, I always wonder what happens if one of the children isn't beautiful... and if housework is so rewarding, why don't men do it, too? But this Movement isn't about getting some woman to leave her husband. It's about social justice."

Flo Kennedy
Black Rev. Fem
Baaad! · '74



NTOZAKE SHANGE

... structure of our own point to entry and participation in the struggle, dies. Nuh is clear. He continues to believe in the Impossible, that we and participation in the struggle, dies. Nuh is clear. He continues to believe in the Impossible, that we can build a movement and win. He believes it because he sees the victory in our eyes and in our hearts. It was enough reason for him, as a young man, to take a stand and declare himself A REVOLUTIONARY. A REVOLUTIONARY THROUGH AND THROUGH. Let us be there for Nuh, the Stagolee turned Panther/Black Liberation Army Soldier. If his days be weeks or months, we will reach out to him.



TOZAKE SHANGE

Report Says Isolation Takes Toll on Terrorism Suspect

By BENJAMIN WEISER

A Harvard Medical School psychiatrist who specializes in the effects of solitary confinement on prisoners has concluded that a defendant accused of having links to the suspected terrorist Osama bin Laden has been so mentally devastated by his imprisonment that he may not be able to assist meaningfully in his own defense, newly disclosed records show.

The examination of the defendant, Wadiah el-Hage, which was conducted at the request of his lawyers, comes as a federal judge in Manhattan has shown increasing concern about the impact of the highly restrictive jail conditions under which Mr. el-Hage and five other terrorism suspects are being held.

The government, which asserted that Mr. el-Hage and the others might still be involved in planning

acts of terrorism, had invoked a rarely used rule to hold the suspects in isolation, barring them from virtually all contact or communication with outsiders.

But Dr. Stuart Grassian, who examined Mr. el-Hage for four hours on Sept. 3 in the Metropolitan Correctional Center in lower Manhattan, said that more than one year of virtually complete isolation has taken a devastating mental toll on Mr. el-

Hage, who last lived in Arlington, Tex.

"His day is almost entirely empty of structure or variety," Dr. Grassian wrote, "and when he thinks, he finds himself endlessly ruminating on the injustice and indignities he must endure."

The doctor's 13-page report, made public on Monday, cited repeated strip searches and constant surveillance of Mr. el-Hage by guards, his

inability to remain in touch with his family or to practice Islam, and the "continual ringing of the telephone near his cell and the flashlights shining in his face at night."

On Monday afternoon, federal prosecutors, who have resisted relaxing the terms of the suspects' confinement, made an unexpected concession, telling Judge Leonard B. Sand of Federal District Court in Manhattan they were willing to allow Mr. el-Hage to move to a larger cell and to have another defendant in the terrorism case as a cellmate.

"The suggestion of not requiring

isolation of the defendants," Judge Sand said, "which I am hearing for the first time today, is something that should be explored. It seems to be a constructive notion."

The psychiatric report on Mr. el-Hage is part of a mammoth bail application newly filed by Mr. el-Hage's lawyers. The application was released after Judge Sand unsealed several pages that contained grand jury testimony.

The filing, totaling more than 400 pages, offers a wealth of new detail about Mr. el-Hage, whom prosecutors say was a former personal secretary to Mr. bin Laden, who is blamed for the bombing of two

American Embassies in Africa in August 1998. The filing charges that Mr. el-Hage helped Mr. bin Laden set up front companies in Africa, and participated in his broad terrorist conspiracy to attack American citizens abroad.

Mr. el-Hage has been charged with perjury, in addition to the conspiracy charges. He has not been accused of a direct role in the embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania, which killed more than 200 people and wounded thousands.

The new filing shows that Mr. el-Hage, who has pleaded not guilty, admitted going to work for Mr. bin Laden — "It was bin Laden's idea," he testified before a grand jury on Sept. 24, 1997 — but only in what he contended were legitimate business ventures.

Mr. el-Hage's lawyers, Sam A. Schmidt and Joshua L. Duvel, argue in their papers that the available evidence contradicts the government's assertions that Mr. el-Hage was involved in violent acts that prosecutors have previously cited as a basis for holding him before trial.

"Until the government comes out with something, whether sealed or in public to show otherwise," Mr. Schmidt said yesterday, "I think there's no basis for the judge to find that he's presently a danger to the national security, or to the communi-

ty." The government has not yet responded to the latest filings, but Judge Sand appeared to welcome the prosecution's surprise proposal of a cellmate for Mr. el-Hage.

That, the judge said, raised the question of "whether something could be arranged" to transfer Mr. el-Hage out of New York, and to place him "in general population in some other institution."

Judge Sand also suggested that Mr. el-Hage's case could be separated from the others, which are scheduled to begin next fall, and tried sooner.

In his report to the judge, Dr. Grassian recommended loosening the restrictions on Mr. el-Hage, saying his inability to assist in his defense could make it difficult for him to "present himself well to the jury who will someday judge his honesty and character, and decide his fate."

Citing an incident last June in which Mr. el-Hage leapt from his chair in court and charged the judge, Dr. Grassian cited Mr. el-Hage's "growing frustration and anger, his increasing sense of helplessness and injustice" as contributing factors.

Mr. el-Hage had described the outburst as "entirely unplanned and impulsive," Dr. Grassian added, and said he felt "utter frustration and humiliation" about it.

Flipping the Script -- Young African Americans Identify with Tupac Amaru's Revolutionary Acts

Date: 12-20-96

By Michael Datcher



The hostage crisis in Peru has special resonance for young African-Americans thousands of miles away. They see in the swift reversal of roles -- hosts becoming hostages and servants becoming masters -- what might have been and what might yet be in the United States. PNS correspondent Michael

Datcher is a Los Angeles-based freelance writer and contributor to "Tough Love: The Life and Death of Tupac Shakur".

LOS ANGELES -- The scene: a dinner party at a heavily guarded ambassador's residence. Suddenly, the waiters reveal they are members of a feared revolutionary group. The question: guess who is REALLY coming to dinner?

It's after midnight, but a friend has called from Sacramento to discuss the Tupac Amaru hostage seizure in Lima. We both wanted the situation resolved without harm to the hostages, but ran up his phone bill talking about what social conditions prompted such an act and the connection between the Peruvian rebels and the black revolutionaries in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s.

It's not much talked about, but I believe many African Americans like ourselves -- young writers, artists and activists -- had similar reactions. It's a

troubling commentary on our relationship with the country whose name we bear.

We can identify with the rebels because we understand that the hostage-taking is but one battle within a drawn-out war for valued resources. In Peru, an extremely small ruling class controls wealth and power while the vast majority of citizens struggle to feed their families. One guerrilla told Japan's NHK news that the action took place because "the administration is ignoring the plight of 50 million hungry Peruvians." It is safe to assume that Tupac Amaru soldiers know some of those hungry citizens by name, and some by blood relation. Their action must be viewed in this context.

Day by day, it is the rich who keep the poor hostage, keep them from joining the party. Last week, the poor flipped the script, moved from captive to captor. This is war-like behavior, but this is a war -- even when the

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FIGHT THIS MADNESS
YOU
CANNOT
NOT
KNOW
OUTLAWS FOR REVOLUTION

Send him some words, send him some love. Let it surround him like a Mama's arms, like a lover's arms, like a comrade's warm embrace. Nuh, we love you and we promise you: we gonna kick this pig's ass. We gonna love. We gonna win! All Power Thru the People!

Write to:
Albert Nuh Washington
#77A1528
Great Meadow Corr.
Facility
P.O.Box 51
Comstock, NY 12821

programme and attempts to use the black communities as a base. It's somewhat based on affinity/direct action movement (that) I raised in "Anarchism and the Black Revolution." Ideology is one of black autonomy, a conglomeration of black revolutionary and anti-authoritarian politics. You don't have to be an anarchist to join. The black authoritain tendency differs from us in that we are not xenophobic, we don't want a nation-state, but advocate other solutions. We do not simply aim for power, but to empower the masses. BF: A lot of your ideas in the book advocate mutual aid solutions to the pressing problems of the black community, with community organization supplanting the state and driving it out. How do you envisage this situation of dual power? LKE: Our ideas of dual power means that an opposing force would battle with the State, but on the Community's terms, not the State's. Dual power is not an end in itself. It is an effort to de-legitimize authority and fight... PAGE 1

'Black Riders show resistance is possible'

Revolutionary Greetings!

I'm Comrade Aryana,
Minister of Public Relations
for the Black Riders Liberation
Party—

a revolutionary communist
organization out of
South Central L.A.

The Black Riders Liberation Party was formed in 1996 by Blonds and Crips in the California Youth Authority college class. As their political understanding grew, especially being inside the belly of the beast, they were able to see up close how oppressive and dehumanizing the system of capitalism is. They recognized the need for a political party that was going to represent the needs and desires of Black people inside Amerikkka's neocolonies, the ghettos.

In late 1996, Chairman Taco was released from prison. Immediately he began to recruit and organize, working especially in areas like South Central and the Jordan Downs in Watts.

Because the Party recognizes that historically the ones with nothing to lose have been the ones to move first, we put emphasis on revolutionizing Bloods and Crips. Realistically, who's going to get up and fight first? The man who's comfortable and warm in his bed or that man that's uncomfortable and cold on the floor?

One thing we have to realize is that the gangs are already soldiers, and already have a war-like mentality from years of gang warfare. We just have to turn all that anger and rage at the real enemy, the oppressive state, instead of at each other!

On Saturday, Nov. 17, 1997, the police from the 108th Precinct were called into the Jordan Downs housing project to help save a man's life. Instead of helping to save his life, they helped to take his life.

He had been feeling suicidal by recent deaths in his family. They shot him over 11 times in the chest and legs because they said he lunged at them with a butter knife.

After the murder of Daryl "Chubby" Hood we initiated the Watch a Pig program, which is standing a legal distance from the pigs and making sure they don't brutalize the people.

The whole idea of the Watch a Pig program is to show the people that resistance is possible. Which is one of the many programs we do in the community. Because



of the confrontational politics Black Riders practice, we experience extreme repression. Which we welcome. Because it lets us know we're doing our job.

Comrade George Jackson said concerning repression that "repression is indeed a part of revolution, a natural aspect of antithesis."

Can power be seriously challenged without a response? Will the robber baron, the tycoon, the fuhrer allow us to seize his privilege without resistance? Can we steal it away from the greatest bandit of all time with sleight of hand alone?

The Black revolutionaries are doomed men and women. We are the ones who've been criminalized and dehumanized. As Frantz Fanon would say, considered the wretched of the earth.

When the pigs see us they shoot first and ask questions later. Historically, Black revolutionaries have always received the most repression. They assassinated Malcolm X.

And in the 1960s and 1970s when the whole country was enthralled with the movement and there were revolutionary groups everywhere, it was the Black Panther Party who was labeled Amerikka's number one threat. And eventually, through fascist programs like COINTELPRO, it was smashed.

In 1971, they assassinated Comrade George Jackson and the list goes on and on.

We as revolutionaries, especially Black revolutionaries, are in a position where we are getting hit. We can't allow this oppressive capitalistic system to keep hitting us and not get hit back. We are not dealing with nice people who will throw down their guns and submit because we outnumber them from the vantage point of history and established power. They know one armed man can control a thousand.

People's war is not polite and is anything but proper.

What the Black Riders Liberation Party is asking of Workers World and the rest of the movement is to recognize that we are under direct fire in the ghettos and to support the Black Riders, to not let the state isolate and alienate us like they have other Black revolutionaries in the past.



Nandi

Lil' Bobby Hutton
Teen Black Panther Man
Martyred, 1968



Image by ROBERT PRINCE
Eugene's anarchists:
spawned by a cross of
street youth and woods
warriors.

The new anarchists

BY GEOV PARRISH

In Eugene, a youth-fueled movement breaks windows to ask the big questions.

"Morality is just another form of social control." -- Feral Faun, in the Eugene-based 'zine *Revolt!*

It is a Friday night in Eugene, Oregon. I'm in a converted warehouse that now houses an organic drink bottler and the epicenter of Eugene's new anarchist movement: a coffeeshop called Out of the Fog.

Contrary to the stereotype of menacing, bomb-toting anarchists, the place is friendly and it's hopping. Out on the patio, a DJ spins records while a young man with dreads dances wildly, oblivious to tables inches away. Inside, with the obligatory caffeine, juice, and pastries, the walls are lined with tributes to our decaying, unjust society: articles on irradiated food and nearby tree sits to stop clear-cut logging; petitions to stop the execution of death row inmate Mumia Abu-Jamal; a tableau on cooperative coffee growing in rural Mexico; flyers for imprisoned anarchist activist Rob Thaxton and for a community-wide nonviolence training; schedules for an anarchist free school; and much more.

At our table, a young adult—who doesn't want to be identified for fear of reprisal from Eugene's police—animatedly describes working as an alternative media reporter and being arrested in Eugene's now-infamous June 18 riot. A call is put in to three teens who might want to talk—they were among the rock-throwers that day. It turns out two are not home—they're off at a Friday night meeting of a martial arts class at the new anarchist free school that's been organized this summer. Back at the table, we're drawing a crowd; everyone knows someone there, and everyone has a story. To properly describe the anarchist cause, a young man named Exile dashes home to get his copy of the 'zine *Black Clad Messenger* ("Actualizing industrial collapse!"). Another young man, Kook, offers his own 'zine, a tract ranting about the outrage of the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia. It's a scene unlike anything in Seattle, a place where societal outcasts are at home, a sort of politicized Cheers for folks with tattoos, dreads, or facial piercings.

Eugene—Oregon's second largest city—has been a countercultural haven for at least the last 30 years. Home of the University of Oregon and a large contingent of resettled ex-hippies from California, it is a sometimes uneasy mix of loggers, southern Willamette Valley hay farmers, university professionals, Hyundai workers, and young idealists of all stripes. And it is a mostly tolerant city that, in the last year, has been polarized by a relatively small group of anarchists advocating intentional, targeted property destruction as a response to gentrification and the ills of modern society.

Nineteenth-century capitalism failed to see that life is *social* and Marxism failed and still fails to see that life is *individual and personal*. - Martin Luther King

Seattle, like Eugene and most other cities, has always had at least a few anarchists. Here, there are some visible anarchist institutions: Left Bank Books, Books to Prisoners, Copwatch, the late Black Cat Cafe. Dating back to the early-century heyday of the Wobblies, the Northwest has always been one of the country's strongest bases of anarchism. At its core, anarchism is neither intrinsically violent nor disorganized. It has a relatively simple premise: government, all government, is inherently coercive and violent, and like all institutions will act primarily to expand its own power. Anarchism is, in its purest form, hostile both to the left, with its reliance on government social programs, and the right, with its emphasis on military spending and government social control. All government has got to go. Ambiguity over how, and what it's to be replaced with, is one reason there are so many subsets of anarchism.

In the last year, a new, more militant anarchist strain asserted itself in Eugene. A movement of at least several dozen, mostly young--teenagers and people in their early 20s--activists emerged around John Zerzan, longtime local anarchist writer and theoretician. Zerzan is the author of books that are deeply controversial in anarchist circles: *Elements of Refusal*, *Future Primitive*, and others. He is a leading advocate of primitivism, which goes far beyond matters of how the state is or isn't constructed, considering technology and most of what we consider civilization to be deeply pathological and needing to be eliminated. This short-on-details passage from *Elements* is typical: "Upon the utter destruction of wage-labor and the commodity, a new life will be situated and redefined, by the moment, in countless, unimagined forms. Launched by the abolition of every trace of authority . . . concepts like 'economy,' 'exchange,' [and] 'production' will have no meaning. (What is worth preserving from this lunatic order?)"

Last fall, primitivist anarchists hijacked an antisweatshop demonstration, romping through a downtown Eugene Nike store, breaking windows and overturning displays. A campaign of random minor property destruction--graffiti, broken windows, and the like--plagued new upscale businesses in the lower-income Eugene neighborhood of Whitaker. One of the upscale businesses, the Blair Island Cafe, closed, prompting anarchists to declare victory. And then came the June 18 "riot."

The June 18 disturbance grew out of a scheduled "Reclaim the Streets" protest coinciding with demonstrations around the world against G-7 economic powers meeting in Cologne, Germany. The idea was to occupy a downtown Eugene intersection for a couple of hours with a block party: music, dancing, speeches. What happened was that after a while the crowd got bored and a faction of it took off. Some 200 people started roaming from business to business in downtown Eugene, with rocks being thrown through the windows of particularly reviled businesses (such as a local bank associated with underwriting clear-cutting). In a few cases, cars were jumped on, and one frustrated motorist in the blocked traffic

attacked a protester with a wrench. Police essentially followed the crowd but did not interfere until it began to disperse in a park near Whitaker. Then police launched volleys of tear gas and began arresting people--20 arrests in all. The police action prompted another couple of hours of marching and looting before the whole thing played itself out.

As riots go, it was relatively mellow. One African-American transplant to Eugene from back east notes, "Where I come from, riots have body counts." All told, there was about \$20,000 in property damage. But the event sparked outrage among local politicians and in the local paper and talk shows, and revealed a deep split within Eugene's normally inclusive activist community.

"They've pissed a lot of people off," says Cindy Noblitt, one of the city's most visible left activists. Referring to the anarchists' campaign of low-key property destruction, she continues: "John Zerzan is a very divisive and negative fellow." Noblitt sees the specter of anarchists forcing others to toe their line or face their consequences as not only hypocritical, but ultimately ineffective: "I don't believe they can pull off a revolution that's going to destroy the system without some level of popular support. I don't believe that using coercion to build a noncoercive society is going to work."

The anarchists, for their part, are not only unapologetic about the events of June 18, they are positively giddy. An article in *Black Clad Messenger* describes how ". . . [protesters] took it upon themselves to engage in an offensive attack against capitalist domination of humans and nature. . . . The unity and cohesion of the marchers, and their feral embrace made them unstoppable by local authorities."

In person, John Zerzan is surprisingly mild-mannered and friendly. The day before we met, he held court for four hours for a recon crew from *60 Minutes*; CNN, the BBC, *The Wall Street Journal*, and the *LA Times* had all called the 55-year-old Zerzan hoping to find a story about the next big youth movement. His idealism sounds almost Republican. "The question is," he asks, in advocating destruction of modern civilization, "what sort of a world do we want for our children?"

To the extent that there is sympathy among Eugene's activist community for the anarchists' tactics, it comes because of fear and anger over the gentrification of Whitaker. To Zerzan, the revolution is local. He not only defends property destruction as necessary and inevitable--and relatively minor compared to the organized violence of Eugene's police--but points out that without it, the anarchists and the issues they raise would be ignored. Insofar as the effectiveness of property destruction in preventing gentrification is concerned, Zerzan's response is simple: "Show me something else that works." PAGE 4

BOTH FLO KENNEDY AND
ABBY HOFFMAN SAID
THE SAME THING:
IF YOU AINT GONNA HAVE
FUN MAKING THIS
REVOLUTION,
LEAVE THE SHIT ALONE!



FROM RICHARD
AVEDON'S
THE SIXTIES:
"ABBY HOFFMAN,
YIPPIE, CHICAGO
SEVEN CONSPIRACY
TRIAL, SEPTEMBER
25, 1969"

MILITARY EXERCISES TERRORIZE CIVILIAN POPULATION

by Ian Williams Goddard

The Washington Times (A1, 6/6/96)
reports that:

Nine Army helicopters swooped into
Pittsburgh in
the middle of the night this week and
turned parts of
the city into war zones, complete with
sounds of
explosions and gunfire that frightened
residents
and sent one pregnant woman into labor.

One witness reported that the
helicopters fired into a warehouse. He also
observed a helicopter knocking over a
large barrel with the backwash from the
its propellers indicating that the
helicopters went much lower than FAA
regulations would permit. Real and
simulated explosions were used to recreate
war-type conditions.

Over 100 people called the Pittsburgh
Police Department soon after the siege
began around 10 p.m. last Monday. The
operations, conducted by U.S. Army
Special Operations Command, were to
have continued all week but were called

PAGE 5

the ruling class strategy of using black congressmen, etc. It is a counter power to oppose every aspect of the State's ability to have power over and police our communities. That's the intention, it's not meant to be (a) permanent situation. The movement must be the people.. BF: What's your opinion of MOVE and what relations do you have? LKE: We have good relations. Some consider them the first black anarchist formation. Regardless of some of the peculiarities of their politics (i.e., deference to John Afrika) their politics are anarchist, including environmental and animal rights platforms, they're against government as an institution, in favor of autonomous communities, co-operative lifestyles and society. The problem has been conservative anarchist-purists who refuse to accept it, except in Philadelphia. MOVE were the first organization since the BPP to advocate black armed self-defense and I have great respect for them... PAGE 6

NoClitt doesn't buy it. "I don't think [the anarchists campaign of property destruction] had that much of an effect. I think gentrification [happens] less because nice businesses move in than because of general good economic times." And she then dismisses gentrification as not that important an issue anyway, not like the loss of old growth forests.

Throughout the last year, Eugene's police have been the anarchists' best recruiting tool, repeatedly proving their point about the oppressiveness of the state. Resentment dates from an infamous incident in June 1997 when nonviolent downtown tree sitters had can after can of pepper spray emptied on them.

Brenton Gicker, a 15-year-old anarchist whose fingerprints were on a flyer left at last fall's Nike protest, had his family's house subsequently raided by 13 EPD officers who searched the house for seven hours, seizing computers, literature, clothing, school work, and personal items of all of the family members as "evidence" for participation in a protest where nobody was hurt and nothing was stolen. The family is considering a lawsuit against the city.

How does a 15-year-old--or dozens of teens--become involved in a

radical, angry political movement? "Just taking a look at the state of the world," Gicker says, "anarchy is appealing. [The last year's police response] has totally validated my anti-authoritarian perspective."

Why Eugene? This summer's anarchist resurgence comes in part from the recent history of radical forest encampments and tree sits to prevent old growth clear cuts. A network of such encampments has sprung up throughout the Northwest; the most visible is just outside Eugene, at Fall Creek, and is in its 15th month.

At the Out of the Fog coffee shop, activist Dean Rimerman proudly narrates now the "new school" of working class youth from the streets of Eugene got their first exposure to the woods and to anarchism,

decentralized community and decision-making at Fall Creek. He contrasts it with the "old school" tree sit of middle-class hippies at Warner Creek, also near Eugene, way back in 1995-96. The combination of street youth and woods warriors, according to Rimerman and others, has made both for tougher forest protests and helped account for Eugene's unique position in spawning an antitechnology anarchist movement.

It's fairly clear what's next: Seattle. Just as the June 13 protest was inspired by the international economic order, the World Trade

Organization talks in Seattle in November will be drawing the anarchists as well as busloads of others from Eugene. Anarchist contingents for the WTO protests are already being organized, and they will be heavily influenced by primitivism. The visibility of the Eugene movement and its success in raising the question of how best to respond to the desensitizing march of techno-progress has galvanized anarchists across the nation, including here in Seattle. Wesley Everett of Left Bank Books says that "Many anarchists and everyday working people sympathize with the actions of Eugene's anarcho-ecoteurs. They understand the gesture."

While the Eugene movement has spawned community institutions like the free school and a new cable access TV show, it is primarily oppositional. For Zarzan, the issue of what should replace our techno-civilization is almost irrelevant: "What do you replace cancer with?" he asks. "The bottom line is, how bad do you think it is?"

The presence of a tolerant university community and a radical environmental movement helped spawn primitivism, but the questions it raises and its appeal to young idealists are just as relevant in a larger city like Seattle. In an alienating society, what do we have to offer youth that's more constructive than breaking windows? Answers to that question aren't easy, but we had better learn to articulate them soon. **A**

off due to the large number of angry citizens.

Army spokesman Lt. Col. Ken McGraw said that similar urban warfare training has been conducted in other major cities including Los Angeles, Dallas, Miami and Detroit. He said "In the past we received complaints, but we received more complains on this one than for any other exercises we've conducted."

Col. McGraw also stated that the Army notified police and citizens in the "immediate vicinity" of the four training sites several HOURS before the pseudoassaults on those communities. Are you ever out of the house for several hours? I know I am, and obviously many

people were out and did not get this warning in time to avoid being terrorized.

Can you imagine getting a message like this: "Do not panic. In a few hours your neighborhood will be turned into a urban warfare training zone for the U.S. Army. Please remain calm and try to avoid explosive devices." Something is very wrong here.

TOYS FOR THEIR MILITARY MASTERS

Not only is it outrageous to give only a few hours warning, the Army's actions gave citizens no choice in the matter at all. It shows utter disregard for the sovereignty and dignity of the people and their

communities. It turns the people and their properties into toys for those forces increasingly aligned to wage war on the people through such pretexts as the "War on Drugs."

We've heard about "black helicopters" conducting operations around populated areas. We've also heard conspiracy theories that such operations are a preliminary feature of a conspiracy to subjugate the US population to control by the United Nations. While that may be a stretch of the imagination, it is indeed a fact that the US Army has been conducting urban warfare training in major cities across the nation and people who speak out are assumed to be crazy because there is a virtual media blackout.

Is this an act of intimidation? Is it an effort to teach people to tolerate military occupation? I don't know, but these seem to be questions that should be raised. Always question authority.

It is comforting to know that we need not worry about black helicopters filled with jack-booted thugs descending our communities, because as Col. McGraw informs us, they are dark olive green helicopters not black.

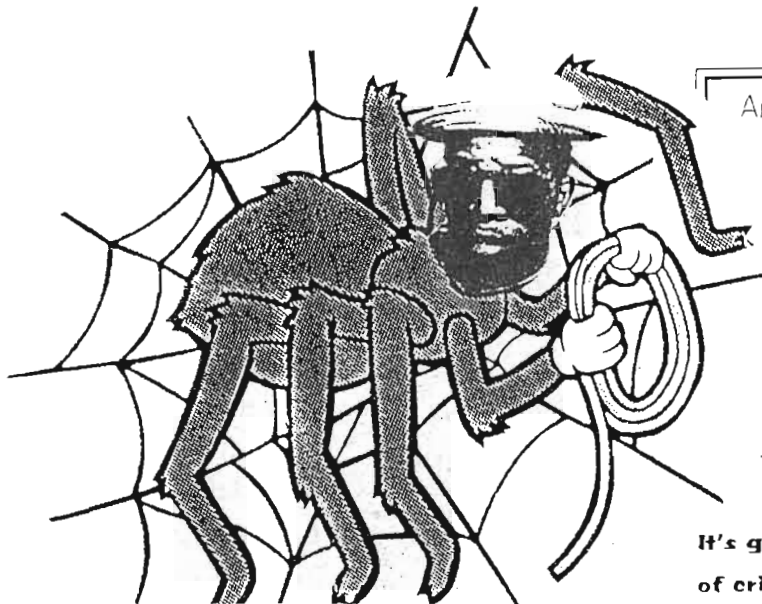
June 6, 1996

Copywrite: Ian Williams Goddard
GODDARD'S JOURNALISM

They have all the essentials of an anarchist political formation. BF: Do you have contact with the black anarchists in prison? LKE: There's a lot of contact with black activist prisoners, as well as a great deal of interest. They're looking for a new direction. From my personal experience, letters from Europe, Africa and Australia kept me going, and put prison officials under the gun and prevented worse things (from) happening. In many cases the US Left don't write. BF: Generally, from your writings and talking to you, you're very optimistic about prospects for anarchism, and black revolution. LKE: I've been at this 15 years and more people than myself have come forward. The Federation is small in number but high in quality. We have veterans of labor, student and community movements, as well as ex-prisoners and 60's struggle veterans. We're not going to get trapped into single issue campaigns. I had no idea of this Federation - people came to me after my speaking tour. People are looking for answers. (Excerpts from the Interview)

**Black Flag:
What's your
opinion of
MOVE...**

**Lorenzo
Komboa Ervin:
We have good
relations. Some
consider them
the first black
anarchist
formation.
Regardless of
some peculiarities
of their
politics (i.e.,
deference to
John Arika)
their politics
are anarchist,
including envi-
ronmental and
animal right
platforms...**



Anarchism as

ALL POWER
THRU
THE
PEOPLE!

Hey, you know who I am. Lotta rumors about me. True, false. Does it matter? You figure it. Those who know say that I personally collaborated with Bro. Franz Fanon during the Algerian War of independence. In fact it was I who suggested the title of the now classic work, *Wretched of the Earth*. Franz dedicated the first edition to me. Anansi The Revolutionary Public Intellectual, but, of course, you know the White Publisher Man deleted that shit in order to hide the strong anansaic influence on fanonian thought. My first cousin, Arawak/Taino Anansi gave the critical idea to the folks (lead by Uruyoan) to test those european invaders for godliness by sticking their heads under water for about a day or two.. If they came up still alive then, hey, RUN FOR THE HILLS. If not, then SPREAD THE WORD-START THE UPRISING TO EXPEL THEIR ASSES!

Puerto Rico Libre!

To Pg. W

It's good to be open to all kinds of critiques of one's own cherished positions. For example, no more powerful "CORRECT" slogan came out of the 60's than **ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!** It was the creative expansion of SNCC's historic call for **BLACK POWER!** It pinpoints, it locates struggles for new understanding in vision that are, at once, rooted in immediate communities and identities - and at the same time universal or available to all people, communities and groups who want the **POWER** to determine their own destinies. Thus, the Black Panther-inspired **ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!** led to: **Black power to Black people! Brown power to Brown people! Red power, Gay power, White**

power, Workers' power, Women's power, Asian power, Gray power, etc... I recently read an anarchist take on the slogan. It focused on the use and implication of the word 'to.' The implication was that the word 'to' means FROM some outside source TO the group in question. I thought about that tensely (tensely because it's critiquing MY group!) Hm? Shit, that's an interesting point. And I did ponder it from time to time over the next week or so. Good point! But what about the slogan that means so much to me? I aint giving it up, fuck that! Hm? Shit. This is where my post-modernist enhancement of anarchism comes into play. Radical postmodernism has the ability to take anarchism out of its own modernist eurocentric Enlightenment trappings. One important challenge is on the question and fact of Power. Historical anarchists have pretty much held that "Power corrupt and that absolute Power corrupts ABSOLUTELY." Power should not be conceived as totally corrupt, or as cen-

trally located in certain institutions (government, pentagon, Trilateral Commission) and individuals (the Rockafellas & Bill Gates).

Postmodernism, especially with Michel Foucault, has put forth that not only is **POWER** not inherently corrupt and centrally located, but that it's functional, can be used on many different levels and for many different purposes and that it is **EVERYWHERE**. Old world definitions of "power" fall by the wayside as inadequate.

Power takes on many forms.

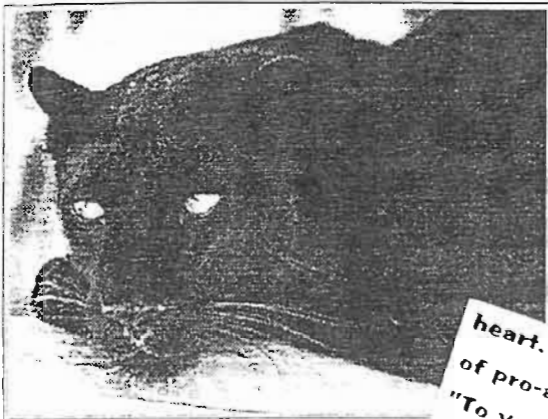


This is when feminist philosophy speaks of **POWER-OVER & POWER-WITH**. Hm? Power is viewed as capable of both oppressive and productive use. It

can be hierarchical (power-over or as a pressing-down on someone) and productive or power-friendly (power-with, as in networking or sharing.) It can dam-well be both and can manifest itself in any person, group or institution. Power-with seems to be the revolutionary way. So, in my dilemma, coming to agree with the linguistic criticism of All Power to the People!, I sought a way out. If I possibly had to reject my slogan, then what? People identify with it so strongly to this day.

Then, it hit me one day: If not **TO** the People, then why not **THRU** the People, implying that the people **ALREADY HAVE THE POWER**. Just gotta use it for your own interests and projects. **ALL POWER THRU -YOU!** Black Chicano, Women, Asian, Gay/Lesbian/Transgender, workers, students, senior citizens, etc... I learned many years ago that we already **HAVE** power. It's just we give our power or put it at the disposal of those in society who don't have our best interests at

To Pg. M



Black Panther's Wisdom Includes:

- Astral travel
- Guardian energy
- Symbol of the feminine
- Understanding of death
- Reclaiming ones power
- Ability to know the dark
- Death and rebirth

Anarchism as a
JARRING

heart. Here, it is put in terms of pro-active CHOICE: "To you" is external. "Thru you" is internal. The choice is ours. The why's & the how's. Thus, I would like to propose a simple change. Instead of ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE! We can say, **ALL POWER THRU THE PEOPLE!**

This makes me most happy, if you choose to accept it (smile) because I feel that I can retain the spirit of the slogan with yet another enhancement or evolution of its significance.

IN THE SPIRIT OF THE PANTHER & IN THE SPIRIT OF ANARCHISM

ALL POWER THRU THE PEOPLE!

A critical thinking tool that JARS the thinking/feeling/sensing processes because it audaciously QUESTIONS and challenges the common-place, the taken-for-granted, the majority-accepted. But @ is also something that values and promotes this JARRING as an on-going need-to-do; a good thing. There are things that one needs to do to JAR one's thinking when you're sort of comfortable with the way things are in the Babylon of our lives. As a youngster, when my parents told me

that I couldn't sleep with my Gramma anymore, it JARRED me, my thinking. It hurt my dam feelings, but it was part of the growing-up process. Why? Too old boy! As a teenager, Nationalism (via Malcolm, Stokeley Carmichael & H. Rap Brown) JARRED my political thinking, my habitual, social, behavioral patterns. These patterns expressed conscious and unconscious loyalty to "America, amerikkka, god shed his grace on thee..." In the Panther Party, it was marxism, nkrumahism, mao-ism, juche, etc. that again, was JARRING me, shaking more and more of my very soul as a product of internalized colonialism/racism. It encouraged me to think on deeper and broader levels about my situation, and jarrings opened the doors to new ways of thinking and experiencing our EVERYDAY realities. These jarrings can take us out of our lethargy, apathy, and that habitual "common-sense acceptance of THE WAY THINGS ARE. It means that we must always work on being humble, open; recognizing that

"...FEMINIST SOLIDARITY ROOTED IN COMMITMENT TO PROGRESSIVE POLITICS MUST INCLUDE A SPACE FOR RIGOROUS CRITIQUE, FOR DISSENT, OR WE ARE DOOMED TO REPRODUCE IN PROGRESSIVE COMMUNITIES THE VERY FORMS OF DOMINATION WE SEEK TO OPPOSE."

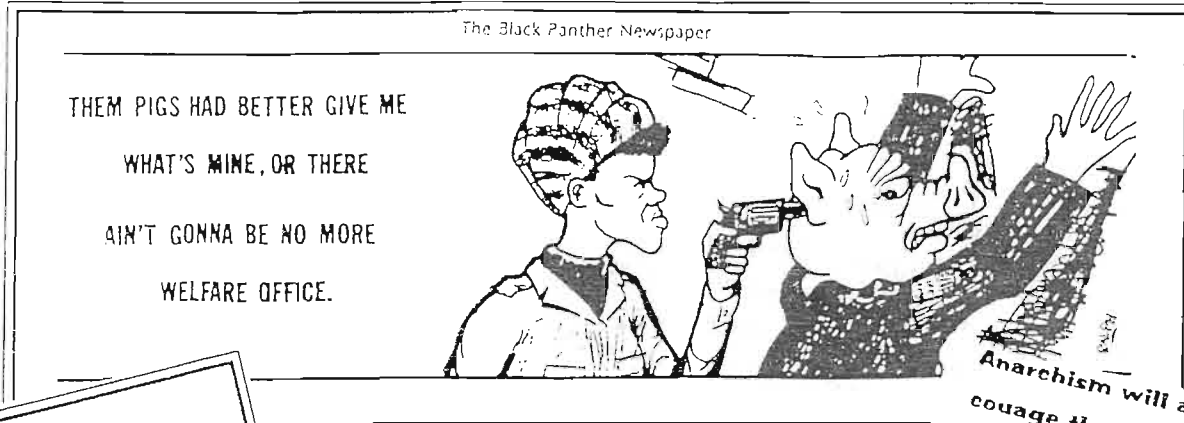
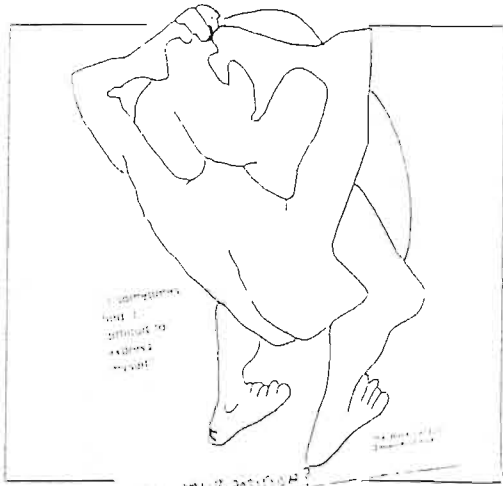
- bell hooks

any of our efforts to know, to find out whats going on and what to do are very limited, temporal, and imperfect. Thus, to be open and willing to explore other thinking processes, other experiencings are vital to our efforts to survive, grow and overcome the counter-efforts & plots of the Pigocracy to kill us as an Opposition. When you find that shit (in the so-called movement) aint been going right for so many years, when our movements (AND OUR ONLY HOPE LIES THERE) are as corrupt and full of shit as these lying politicians, when you can't even find a bit of comfort in your lovers (movement ones NOT excluded), friends, families, places of worship, etc.. -

Te Pg. N

REMEMBER THOSE WHO HAVE MADE THE SACRIFICE SUPPORT POLITICAL PRISONER WORK WITH URGENCY!

"There are things that one needs to do to JAR one's thinking when you're sort of comfortable with the way things are in the Babylon of our lives."



Anarchism as
 OPENING UP SPACES
 FOR SPONTANEITY,
 RESISTANCE, DIVERSITY,
 & UNADULTERATED LIFE

Anarchism as
ANTI-AUTHORITARIANISM

then, its time to say **FUCK IT!**
 and search for the blind spots.
 If you aint got a clue to the
 blind spots, then at least...**AT**
LEAST be open to other takes
 on what those spots might be.
 There are times when we have
 to be **JARRED** in order to wake
 our arrogant asses up. So, I of-
 fer this @Panther to anyone
 who'll read it and hopefully
 get something from it, destruc-
 tive of the situation we stuck
 in now, and constructive
 of many, **ANY** new openings
 or springboards to life-
 affirming revolution.


Anti-authoritarianism chal-
 lenges the very **IDEA** of
AUTHORITY and the seemingly
 natural inclination' to accept
AUTHORITY. The authority of
 ideas, religions, ideologies,
 Master Books, as well as the
 authority of persons & beings:
 gods, kings, queens, popes,
 politicians, parents, profes-
 sors, militants, property-
 owners, judges, wardens,
 cops, doctors, etc...
 Postmodernism says, "Aint
 nona this **NATURAL**." We so-
 cially construct these things in
 trial and error to make sense

of our lives, our relationships,
 our fears, our madness, our
 unknowns. So, us anti-
 authoritarians say,
 Man/Leader/Nation - if not
 'natural' then who's words are
 they? Who's their **AUTHORS**:
 Who was **NOT** their author and
 how did such seemingly mar-
 velous constructions affect the
 realities of the **NOTS**?



Anarchism will always en-
 courage the questioning and
 challenging of **WHO'S IN**
CHARGE? IN CONTROL? IN
POWER-OVER? from the eve-
 ryday to the hidden institu-
 tional structures of society.
 Automatically, one asks:
WHY IS LEADERSHIP
NECESSARY? AND WHAT KIND
OF LEADERSHIP? Just ask the
 dam question! It aint natural.
 Who gets hurt? Silenced?
 Invisible? Shuffled? **YET,**
 some m/f is there to
REPRESENT you, your chilluns
 & loved oned, and all your so-
 called needs & desires.
 Anarchism creates, looks for,
 supports, nurtures examples
 of anti-authoritarianism in
EVERYDAY LIFE.

Question Authority, Dammit!

No matter how bad it looks,
 how bad it feels, there are
ALWAYS spaces, even if in the
 cracks and crevices of this con-
 crete madness, of **FREEDOM,**
FREE ACTIVITIES. These take
 the form of pleasure & resis-
 tance. Subversive pleasure as
 resistance - and resistance, 



Three faces of youth activism in New York: Kofi Taha, Monifa Bandle, and Sandra Barros. The Village Voice

1. Do not feel certain of anything.
5. Have no respect for authority of others, for there are always contrary authorities to be found.
6. Do not use power to suppress opinions you think pernicious, for if you do the opinions will suppress you.
7. Do not fear to be eccentric in opinion, for every opinion now accepted was once eccentric.

Bertrand Russell



Tina Modotti: Woman with Flag

some forms of resistance, organized, conscious resistance that is based in/on the pleasure of affirming life. Anarchists know that there are always these opening up of spaces all over the Babylonian Control Grid. Everyday acts of resistance (including spontaneity & unADULTerated life). Isolated one from the other, and maybe even from self-

reflection against the larger political picture, but always happening. Whatever new law, whatever new enforcement the System and traditionalists of the Amerikkkan Way use to suppress it, IT finds new, unexpected, creative avenues to re-emerge. People want to be free, to live - WITHOUT THE BULLSHIT!

Paul Goodman, in defining anarchist revolution, says something like this,

"The moment when the structures of authority are loosened, so that free functioning can occur. The aim is to open up areas of freedom & defend them."

Anarchists know that there are always spaces opening up of spaces all over the Babylonian Control Grid. Everyday acts of resistance.

A STRONG PEOPLE NEED NO LEADER ... ZAPATA

Anarchism as

AUTONOMY
/ SELF-
DETERMINATION

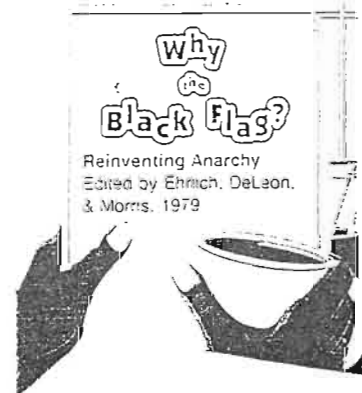
When anarchists speak of autonomy as a principle in & of itself, it does not factor as a

cog in some Master Political Scheme. People of a house, block, neighborhood, community, region, nation determine (in the final analysis) its own destiny. Community control, local democracy, direct democracy. Lenin & Stalin's angry nations & regions have come back to haunt the former Soviet Union. So have Washington & Lincoln's angry

nations, peoples and regions. Autonomy cannot be handed to a people as a benevolent measure of the ALL-SEEING, ALL-CONTROLLING Vanguard. Autonomy as a principle is Power thru the People! applied locally, so locally that you can first start with this precious Individual. We're talking about a revolution where not only do you respect the right of "na-

tions" to determine their own destinies, but communities, groups and EVEN individuals! Have faith in the People must be backed by faith in the individuals who make up the People. Anything else is RHETORIC that hides ones DISBELIEF, DISTRUST & I'd say even, DISDAIN, for the very people one claims to represent.

To ig. P



The black flag is the symbol of Anarchy. It evokes reactions ranging from horror to delight among those who recognize it. Find out what it means and prepare to see it at more and more public gatherings. . . . Anarchists are against all government because they believe that the free and informed will of the individual is the ultimate strength of groups and of society itself. Anarchists believe in individual responsibility and initiative and in the whole-hearted co-operation of groups composed of free individuals. Government is the opposite of this ideal, relying as it does on brute force and deliberate fraud to expedite control of the many by the few. Whether this cruel and fraudulent process is validated by such mythical concepts as the divine right of kings, democratic elections, or a people's revolutionary government makes little difference to anarchists. We reject the whole concept of government itself and postulate a radical reliance on the problem-solving capacity of free

human beings.

Why is our flag black? Black is a shade of negation. The black flag is the negation of all flags. It is a negation of nationhood which puts the human race against itself and denies the unity of all humankind. Black is a mood of anger and outrage at all the hideous crimes against humanity perpetrated in the name of allegiance to one state or another. It is anger and outrage at the insult to human intelligence implied in the pretenses, hypocrisies, and cheap chicaneries of governments. . . . Black is also a color of mourning; the black flag which cancels out the nation also mourns its victims - the countless millions murdered in wars, external and internal, to the greater glory and stability of some bloody state. It mourns for those whose labor is robbed (taxed) to pay for the slaughter and oppression of other human beings. It mourns not only the death of the body but the crippling of the spirit under authoritarian

and hierarchic systems; it mourns the millions of brain cells blacked out with never a chance to light up the world. It is a color of inconsolable grief. . . .

But black is also beautiful. It is a color of determination, of resolve, of strength, a color by which all others are clarified and defined. Black is the mysterious surrounding of germination, of fertility, the breeding ground of new life which always evolves, renews, refreshes, and reproduces itself in darkness. The seed hidden in the earth, the strange journey of the sperm, the secret growth of the embryo in the womb - all these the blackness surrounds and protects. . . .

So black is negation, is anger, is outrage, is mourning, is beauty, is hope, is the fostering and sheltering of new forms of human life and relationship on and with this earth. The black flag means all these things. We are proud to carry it, sorry we have to, and look forward to the day when such a symbol will no longer be necessary.

Black Anarchism

The Babylonian Nightmare!



DO NOT FOLLOW FOR I WILL NOT LEAD
DO NOT LEAD FOR I WILL NOT FOLLOW

In fact, this anarchism is factually...
ANTI-REPRESENTATIONAL!
Only the People can represent the needs, desires and objectives of the People. No one can arrogantly just take that responsibility. This is what nationalists & revolutionaries overwhelmingly do.
They may have all the best intentions in the world, but this they have in common with the **RICH & POWERFUL**, the politicians, the preachers, and the celebrities.

"I WANNA BE FREE," that's where it starts. Then when we get to **DIALOGUE, NETWORK, ORGANIZE AND STRUGGLE**, it becomes **WE**. But this **WE** blossoms from I's who believe in oneself and who finally turn to face all the other **EYES** and embrace their collective power to change **THE WAY IT IS**.

Anarchism as a
LANGUAGE / IMAGE EXAMINER, AS A
DECONSTRUCTION PICCE:
FREEDOM, RIGHTS, NATION, DEMOCRACY,
REPRESENTATION, MAN, HUMAN BEING,
BLACK, WHITE, GOD, ETC.. WHATS THE STORY OF THESE WORDS? WHAT IS LANGUAGE? WHAT HAS BEEN ITS PRACTICE? WHO'S SPEAKING? WHO'S THE AUDIENCE?

Anarchism challenged me on taken-for-granted ideas and beliefs. You live, you learn. You ask questions. But the questions you ask depends upon the depths and vastness of your learnings and experiences, as well as your daringness to just simply **KNOW** or learn. At some point I started asking myself and investigating things such as:



When did the words...
REALITY, Africa, black, ~~negro~~, white, European, reason, capitalism, nationalism, civilization, etc....
come into usage, come into being?

How were they used, who benefitted, who suffered?

Black Power! **SNCC** said it. **Stokeley** spoke about the importance of an oppressed people defining their own realities and calling their own shots. Indeed, it is the beginning of their own process of self-definition and self-determination. "Black" as a word long suggesting **NEGATIVITY** had been turned around by a boisterous group of young activists to mean ... **POSITIVITY**. "Black" is sho-nuff beautiful, powerful .. **BAAAD!** Language, and with it, Image, had become new weapons in the hands of this so-called negro, giving birth to this New People. Even then in the 60's, activists were examining

words, the oppressor's language itself as part of the problem and part of the solution. Culture as a Weapon,

**BLACKTALK
BLACKWALK
BLACKDRESS
BLACKNESS**

The **DECONSTRUCTION** process had begun. Many individuals and organized forces were adding to the Mix. From the Last Poet to the Black Theoreticians of Revolution, Pan-Africanism, Islam, etc. Sometimes in union; sometimes in competition. But never before had such a national challenge to the cherished **Amerikkkan Way** been presented.

Anarchism as a postmodernist word/image/story examiner offers us ways to deepen and broaden the deconstruction of Culture (including language, image, representation, narratives and master-narratives, agency, etc..) as it impacts, infects, imposes on our very being. Deconstruction, feminism,

LANGUAGE as POWER

Neo African Literature, Janheinz Jahn, 1969

The slave captures in his own and the slave master's language, a culture the master did not create and cannot control, which he, the slave, has recognized as his own. But in the process the language is transformed, acquiring different meanings which the master never expected. The slave becomes "bilingual." That language he shares with the master and the language he has minted from it are no longer identical. The slave breaks out of the prison of the master's language. This provides a new point of departure.

To Pg. Q

THE ENEMY'S PLAN

By Tarik Haskins
Black Panther Collective/New York
5-9-95

First, let us be clear about who the enemy is. The enemy is the smallest minority. They are the most severely abused children who have formed themselves into groups: the FBI, klan, CIA, the police and others. Their objective is to commit Genocide against Black people by forcing every Black person to commit suicide. They have a seven (7) point strategy to accomplish the elimination of every Black man, woman and child.

One, they intend to - and they have been doing this for a number of years - use all forms of media (books, radio and television) to destroy our positive attributes. Specifically, they intend to do this by way of omission and commission. For example, Black people are mostly

left out of their history books except where it is mentioned that we were slaves. Their intent is to convey the message to uninformed Black people that, in fact, Black people are nothing, really not deserving to be mentioned. As we know, all alcoholics and drug addicts essentially see themselves as nothing, nobodies.

The smallest minority also use the radio, tv and the newspaper to convey messages to Black people with the objective in mind of training them to believe that Black people are stupid (the opposite of intelligent), untrustworthy (the opposite of trusting), contradictory (the opposite of being straight-forward), morally reprehensible, and ultimately train Black people to want to mentally and physically distance themselves from who they have learned to hate, i.e., other Black people. For example, *not talking Black* but instead *talking white* and wanting to integrate with whites is to have had everything

positive about Black people destroyed in one's self.

Two, they want to force us to destroy all our own positive attributes and in doing so, simultaneously make us do things that we feel bad about having done. Instead of accepting a Black person, they would rather make us reject him or her. They encourage such actions because they know that those who reject actually isolate themselves from all other Black people. They encourage Black people to lie to one another because it tears off a piece of that person's thought of him or herself as being a truthful person. Certainly, there are instances where after a Black person was forced to lie for the klan they went somewhere else and killed themselves (or their "self").

Additionally, the klan intends to make Black people destroy their image of themselves as being a courageous person, a person of certainty, independence, equality and of flexibility. And, as a consequence of having obeyed



the klan, Black people destroy their clear consciousness and thereafter are preoccupied with thoughts of what they've done. (Note: remembering is a form of conditioning, a form of repeating. Repeating is also a form of conditioning.)

Importantly, the klan intends to force our people to train themselves (while the Black person thinks he or she is actually training some other person) into believing that they will not win in a war against the klan. Black people are forced to tell each other, you can't win (against the klan). The hoped for result is that Black people believe themselves to be losers.

Moreover, the klan plans to destroy our social pillars: social pillars are persons who we think highly of. That is, a loved one (brother, sister, father, mother), a heroine or hero or a group we think highly of. What is destroyed is our high regard for the person or the group. The way it's done is by associating

- the person or group with something shitty:
- Mike Tyson - rape
- Anita Hill,
- Clarence Thomas - nasty display of disunity
- Malcolm X - peeping tom
- Marcus Garvey - thief
- Whitney Houston - suspected drug trafficker
- Sista Soulja - promiscuous
- Michael Jackson - child molester
- Geronimo Pratt - plotting to kidnap children

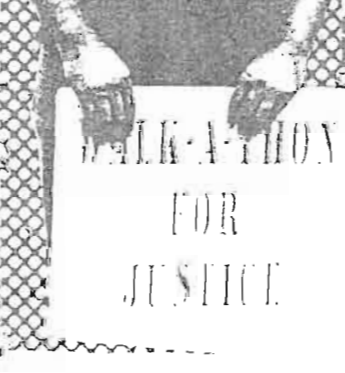
Three, the klan plans to force Black families to fight amongst themselves. The Jackson family ordeal is a noted case. The klan made one do something against the other and the family fought it out on international television. The unsaid portion of the plan was the hope of turning the fictional conflict into a real conflict wherein the family members would really be trying

to hurt and kill each other. Four, the klan also plans to force our national families, our organizations, to fight amongst themselves rather than fighting the enemy, and force our national families, our organizations, to betray members of the race. You recall that Khalid Muhammad said something against Jews and immediately afterward he was verbally attacked by Jesse Jackson of the Rainbow Coalition. In the wake of that happening, the largest post-reconstruction group of Black legislators (38 congress persons and one senator) voted yes on a resolution that called Khalid Muhammad a racist. This was preceded by actions by the NAACP.

Five, the klan intends to continue implementing the seven (7) D's against us: Disrupt, Divide, Divert, Discredit, and keep us in states of Dread, Dependence, and Debility (i.e., too scared, dependent on the klan and too weak to fight). 5

Tarik James Haskins
A short bio -
I am a former member of the Black Panther Party member who joined the Party subsequent to the intelpro engineered Party split. Regretfully, because of the enemies' efforts, I didn't participate in my most liked aspects about Party: The Free Lunch Program, the Free Clothing and The Free Health Clinic Programs. Additionally, I am a former Black Liberation Army Soldier

who spent over 17 years in Amerikkka's concentration camps as a prisoner of war. About two months before David Brothers courageously stepped forward to show his love for the people by opening the Harlem Branch of the Black Panther Party, I joined the Amerikkkan Marine Corps. It was while in the service, through direct experience and through studying, that I became fully aware that Black people in particular and poor people in general are the targets of boundless hatred. At that time I developed my present



belief that Black people's social and economic suffering can be traced to the fact that many people in authority and numerous individuals possess boundless hatred that they visit on Black people.
Accordingly, after having shade of the illusion that the amerikkkan dream should be pursued, after having become conscious of the fact that those who oppress Black people possess boundless hatred that can only be dissolved through personal therapy, on returning from being kicked out of the service

I almost ran to a Black Panther Party office to join in the struggle to remove our mothers, our fathers, our sisters and brothers out of harms way.
Black people's non-independent status--the fact that we are not economically independent and are politically subservient--is anchored in place by the application of force and violence by the oppressors. It is a force that destroys Black people's high self esteem and without high self esteem there is nothing

DON'T FORGET

your potential to transform your own life into something that inspires other people into action

Six, the klan feel that they must keep the world fooled about what the actual situation is in america. To accomplish this they periodically do "freedom" demonstrations. That's what watergate was about, and Billy Carter being in Libya and Mrs. Carter (a devout christian) cutting off her bra in public and giving it to a charity organization was about the same thing. These individuals seemingly were free to do what they wanted, even bring down a government. Similarly, that's what Iran-Contragate, Whitewater and the sexual harassment suit against the president is/was about. All of the above are "credibility-freedom" demonstrations that were/are performed largely for the international public and it confuses Black people who, on the one hand, see the enemy

killing Black men, women and children with impunity, but on the other hand, group of klans arrest members of another group of klans for merely lying.

Moreover, the klan feel that they must create and nurture an image of themselves as being saviors, the ones who are trying to save Black people from other violent Black people. Their response to publicized instances of police brutality is to give them the exceptional situation see one treatment.

Seven, the klan, who are the smallest minority, who are the most severely abused children in this society, feel that they must keep the race divided and they feel they must make the white population feel dependent on them - the fbi, klan, cia, the invisible government, the initiators of the cause and the effects. To this end the klan

perpetrated the two mosque demonstrations". Following one show, the klan said they went to the mosque in response to a call that said a robbery was in progress, and for no reason at all the ball-headed, militant muslims beat them up. In the next show, the klan went to a mosque and apprehended a man wearing a bullet-proof vest and carrying a gun. The salient factor in both incidents is that the klan, while playing the savior role, was victimized, attacked by mad mullahs for no logical reason. Additionally, there's the case of brother Colin Ferguson who was subjected to intense harassment by the klan and they then encouraged him to kill white people. Of course, that incident served to keep the races divided.

See the next page for my plan that outlines how to deal with their plan.

for Black people to fight for. Instead one puts all of ones energies into wishing one was like or into trying to become like members of the oppressor's race. However, this is not an insurmountable matter.
Yes, even though the oppressor has formidable things arrayed against us, we can still free ourselves. Importantly, too, revolutionaries like myself would like to contribute to freeing you from an

authoritarian mindset so you can join in freeing the people.

I am a proud member of the Republic of New Afrika and the Save Mumia Abu Jamal Coalition. I was a member of such earlier formations as the Black Panther Newspaper Committee, the Black Panther Collective, and the Black Power Conference's Political Prisoner-POW's Committee. At present I will work wholeheartedly with Black Power

advocates, Freedom for All Political Prisoners & Prisoners-of-War, and promote psychological revolution all during the course of the Revolution as an essential factor for victory. I believe that many socialists have failed but, like in Cuba, Socialism is the macro economic feature that we will see in the nations of tomorrow's world.

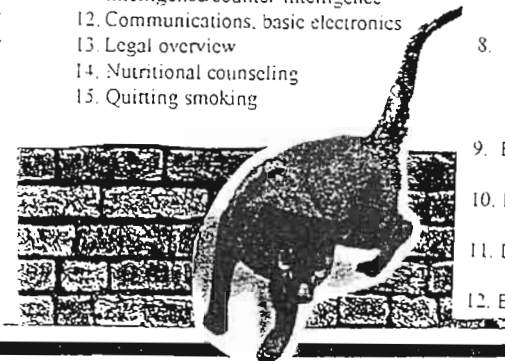
ALL THE POWER PEOPLE TO



PREPAREDNESS PERIOD:

Preparing To Be A Black Panther Or Any Bad-ass Revolutionary for Liberation

1. The study of the development and dissolution of the inferiority complex.
2. Counter-conditioning (training by association)
3. Hypnosis (learning relaxation techniques to feel good and to relieve stress)
4. Studying the B.L.A. Study Guide
5. Study Black (New Afrikan) and world history
6. Political science: study types of governments, the forming of governments and governmental operations
7. Economics: studying micro- and macro-economics and introductory accounting
8. Dictionary study
9. Grammar and speech (voice modulation and public speaking)
10. Weapons training
11. Martial arts - tactics - intelligence/counter-intelligence
12. Communications, basic electronics
13. Legal overview
14. Nutritional counseling
15. Quitting smoking

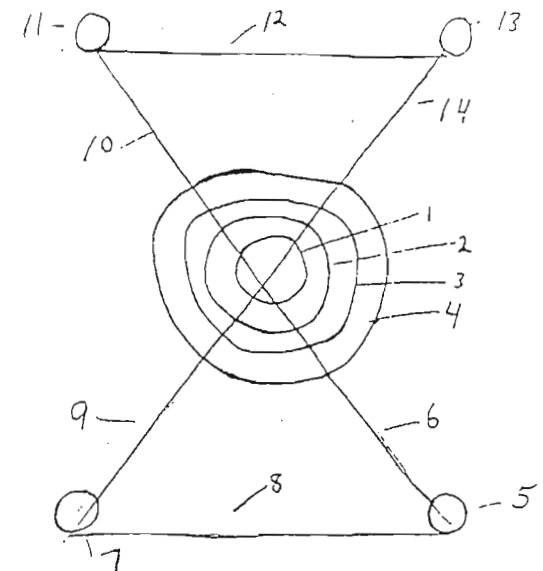


14 TC'S

14 TACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS THAT MUST BE DEALT WITH TO SUCCESSFULLY DO AN ACTION.

1. Identify target: individual or group
2. Identify location of action - develop a layout of area
3. Establish the target number, deployment and armaments
4. Establish and deal with target's method of signaling for help: calling, phone
5. Establish location of targets' help and number of help
6. Establish the route taken by the source of help
7. Determine the number of personnel and armaments you need. Employ diversions
8. Determine the pre-attack deployment of your personnel; determine the time to do the action and the sequence of operations
9. Establish pre-attack staging area
10. Establish route to target
11. Determine post action regrouping point
12. Establish the route back to a safe point

13. Determine what weather conditions would be best to do the action in and whether it should be done during the day or night
14. Go over each of the above to determine what your action would be should something unplanned for occur: decide whether to withdraw before accomplishing your objective.



DESCRIPTION OF A RACIST PIG

By Sam Flournoy

The head was rather chunky and formless like a banded blob of earth. Out of the face protruded a deformed grisly nose, like a dent in a piece of sheet metal. The skin was crusted and had a bluish tinge where fungus-like outgrowths of hair hung limply from the ruptured double chin. The forehead was low and narrow, savagely jutting out, and supported by a bushy jungle of ape-like brows. The eyes, recessive and like those of a diseased animal, were held together by blobs of formless flesh. The total conglomeration was highlighted by a patch of stubble, gray-

ing where it met the mutated outgrowths parallel to the nose, called ears. The structure in all its stagnant repulsiveness, was mounted on a cringed, broken, decrepit frame, from which thick, hairy, elongated stubs hung like two corpses from a gallows. Those were fused at the extremities to two claw-like mechanisms, from which grew mutations of once agile feelers, now lost in a fur-like jungle of coarse insulation. This derelict being was also reinforced by a pair of rubbery, synthetic, bony extensions, kept in balance by two elongated monkey paws, to which crust-



america is a slow-motion

RACE RIOT



WE DARED

"He who is not afraid of death
By a thousand cuts DARES
to unhorse the emperor."

GIVE NOT THYSELF TO DESPAIR
BECAUSE OF THOSE WHO HAVE FALLEN AND BEEN EMPRISONED
FOR WERE WE NOT A PEOPLE SPAT UPON
DEFILED BY THOSE WHO THOUGHT THEMSELVES SUPERIOR
AND DID WE NOT DARE

TO FIGHT BACK?

REMEMBER SINGING REVOLUTIONARY SONGS.
EATING COMMUNAL MEALS. PLAYING WHIST.
CHESS AND DANCING
AMONGST OURSELVES AND WITH THE PEOPLE
AS WE LEARNED TO LOVE ONE ANOTHER
AND STRUGGLE TOGETHER?

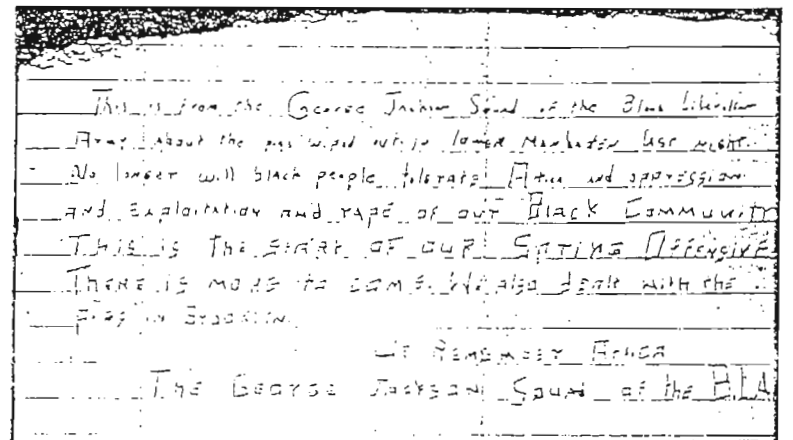
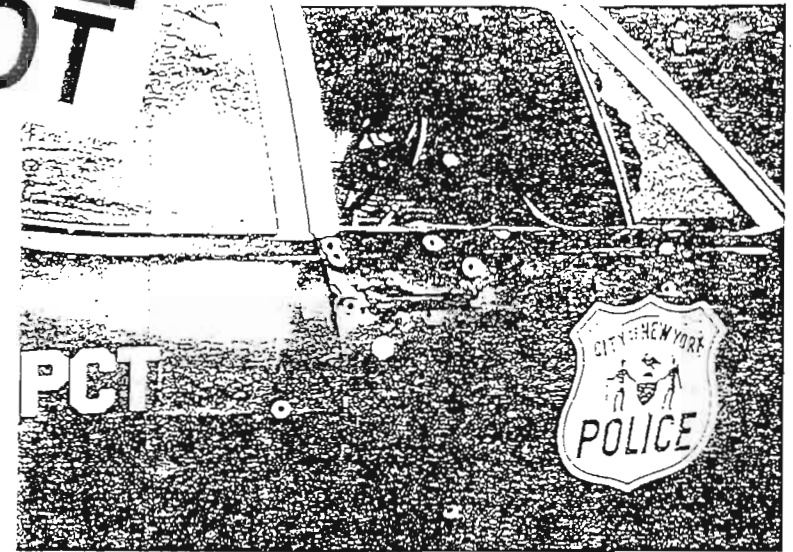
FROM OUR HISTORY AS A PEOPLE AND
OUR LOVE FOR THE PEOPLE, COURAGE GREW
THAT SENT SWAT, MAJOR CASE AND F.B.I.
TO OVERKILL US IN BODY AND SPIRIT

HEY. BUT DID WE CARE?

YES. AND THAT'S WHY WE DARED.

Albert Nuh Washington
March 12, 1993

Prepare to defend your community,
we are under attack.



TOP: Pursuing a couple of apparent traffic violators in this patrol car, Officers Thomas Curry and Nicholas Binetti suddenly found themselves the victims of a Black Liberation Army ambush. Together they absorbed sixteen bullets from a Thompson submachine gun; somehow, they survived, though neither is expected to fully recover.

BOTTOM: "The guns of liberation", after the shooting of Officers Foster and Laurie, this message received by United Press International introduced the Black Liberation Army.



ONE GANG
HAS PUT MORE
HOLES IN OUR
COMMUNITY
THAN ANY
OTHER.

The above is a description of
The United States Police Force.

ted, burned callouses clung in-tight raw little bunches, thus inhibiting complete freedom of movement. The function of this Pre- Neanderthal monstrosity was to act as guardian of the peace, and protector of law and order.

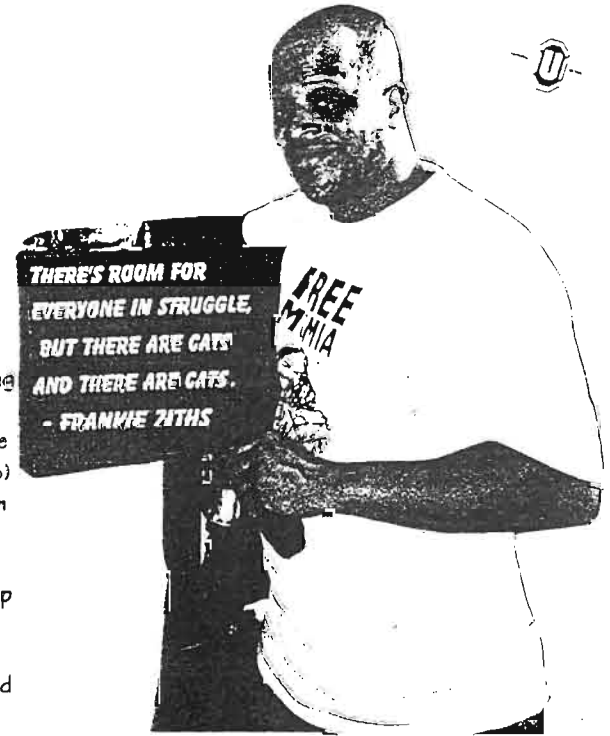
A former member of the Black Panther Party who joined the party at the age of 17 while he was a high school student at Plainfield High School in Plainfield, New Jersey. Ashanti was a field worker who sold the Black Panther newspaper, served as O.D. (Officer of the Day) at the community office, helped run the Free Lunch Program.

At the beginning of his high school senior year, Ashanti (Vice-President of Student Council) and Jihad Mumit (one of the leaders of the Black Student Union) were singled out by the police department as active Panthers and arrested with-the-intent-to-frame for the killing of a Plainfield cop. 14 months later they were both freed after the exposure of the frame-up. Ashanti again began to help others with the Panther work in his hometown. Later, he began to assist the Harlem office of the Party when the party was under heavy COINTELPRO attack and loss of many field workers and leadership. With the threat of the death penalty against several Black Liberation Army soldiers and an urgency to help free them, Ashanti accepted the offer to join the armed potential in late 1973. In May 1974, during the course of a bank expropriation in New Haven, Connecticut, several members of a BLA unit were captured. Ashanti was one of them. After 12 and 1/2 years imprisonment, he was released.

Since 1986, Ashanti has been active in assisting other organizations in political prisoner work. He helped organize the 20th Anniversary of the Black Panther Party in Harlem, New York (1986) and the Black Panther Newspaper Committee in the early 90's. He also helped organize the BPC, Black Panther Collective and he was an active participant until 1994. Since then and up to the present, Ashanti has put forth and acted on his "Anarchist Panther" politics in the interest of political prisoners, direct action and anti-authoritarian revolutionary practices.

He says that he is an anarcho-pantherista after the tradition of Panther/BLA ancestor Kwesi Balagoon, promotes a liberated sexuality and pro-feminism and the Lumpen underclass as a Revolutionary force. He has traveled to Chiapas, Mexico twice in the last 3 years in order to witness the closest example of a revolutionary post-modernist anarchist struggle (since the Spanish Civil War) - The Zapatista Movement. His future plans include to help launch the first Black Anarchist "Community of Resistance" or Quilombo in New York City and to explore the implementation of some Zapatismo in the making of a black and north american (rainbow) revolution against the Babylonian Empire.

The Panther is a black cat with nine lives.
We got eight more to go.
We say, Never die!
We say, We will win!



Aunt Zora's Stories Around the Open Garbage-can Fire

"Dad, they have given us a test at school today, and there is a question I would like to ask." The father replies, "Tell me my daughter, what is your question?"

ALL STRUCTURES MUST BE BROKEN. - Che Guevara

"Dad, the question is --- What is POLITICS?"

"Well child, let me explain. Let's start with our home. I am the one who brings home the money. Therefore, I represent **BIG BUSINESS**. Your mother administers the money; she represents **THE GOVERNMENT**. You, the oldest child, who has to be looked after, represents **THE PEOPLE**. Your little brother represents **THE FUTURE**, and the maid, who does household chores, represents **THE WORKING CLASS**."

The girl, still a bit confused, tells her father that she does not fully understand the explanation, and goes to his room that she shares with her little brother.

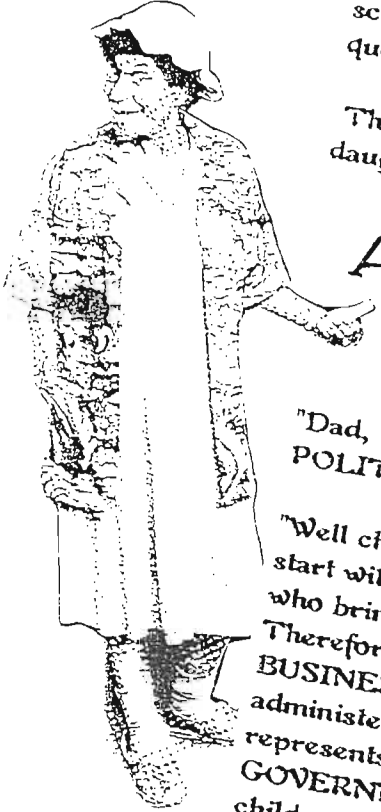
That night at midnight, the little one starts to cry, and his sister, still distraught, gets up from her bed, goes to the little guy's crib and notices that he is covered with shit. The daughter goes to notify her mother, but she is sound asleep. Then, she goes to the maid's room, but through a small crack in the door, she sees that her father is fooling round with her. Consequently, they

ignore her and she returns to her room.

The next morning, she tells her father, "Dad, last night, I finally understood what **POLITICS** is."

The father obviously happy, replies, "That is very good my daughter, now can you give me the explanation yourself?"

The daughter replies, "You see Dad, while **BIG BUSINESS** is screwing the **WORKING CLASS**, **THE GOVERNMENT** is sound asleep. Nobody pays attention to **THE PEOPLE** and **THE FUTURE** is full of **SHIT!**"



dominant group, for its own political reasons, refuses to define the confrontation in those terms.

In the 17th, 18th, and 19th century, Africans were captured and brought to the Americas -- as "slaves," not as "prisoners of war." Nevertheless, they and their descendants have been fighting sporadic, undeclared guerrilla wars ever since.

It is in these terms that we see the Black Panther Party for Self Defense

as a revolutionary organization that emerged to liberate black people who were hostages to poverty and powerlessness. In August of 1970, when Jonathon Jackson and three black prisoners took a California courtroom hostage in an attempt to free his brother George, they were flipping the script, moving from captive to captor.

The Tupac are known for having a certain flair. One gunman dipped his handkerchief in water to soothe the

eyes of Sally Bowen, a news correspondent held hostage, suffering from exposure to tear gas. (She and hundreds of women were soon released). Hours earlier, the rebels had lulled their future captives by dressing as waiters, banking on the cultural perception that in Peru servants are seen as docile nonentities.

Sam Greenlee's classic novel "The Spook Who Sat by the Door" (and the film of the same name), chronicles the development of a shrewdly organized,

Black Panther-like guerrilla movement in urban America. At one point, the organization's brilliant leader, Uncle Tom, explains to one of his soldiers why he is dressing up as a janitor. "A black man in a uniform with a broom can go anywhere in America," he says.

The following scene -- where the revolutionary "janitor" removes top secret papers from the desk where the government official sits, completely oblivious -- is one of the most powerful moments in the film. The group's entire military strategy is shaped by knowledge of the white American psyche, which sees the black servant as passive to the point of invisibility.

Ultimately, my affinity as an African American for Peruvian rebels arises from a common hunger for justice. "We Feel Ya," could be the new international revolutionary anthem.

My friend and I end our conversation talking about the Black Panther Party baby, Tupac Amaru Shakur, whose



Estacion Libre

mother named him after the Andean warrior who inspired the current revolutionary group. Had Tupac the rapper, with his bold revolutionary lineage, been born into a modern African American political movement to nurture his brilliance, today he would be getting his soldiers fitted in the latest servant's dress.

VICTORY GARDENS
Harlem - Maine Food Project
Athens ABC
Rfd #1 / Box 6025
Athens, Maine 04912

Blackout Books
50 Avenue B
New York, NY 10009
212-777-1967
blackout@panix.com
<http://www.panix.com/~blackout>

Free Mumia Coalition
212-330-8029

The JERICHO MOVEMENT
/New York Committee
P.O.Box 650
New York, NY 10009
212-475-9180
jericho_nyc@hotmail.com, and/or
Jericho98@usa.net

ProLibertad (& "El Coqui" newsletter)
Contact: Esperanza Martell
212-927-9065

ABC No Rio
156 Rivington
New York, NY 10009
212-254-3697

Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin
423-622-7614 Tennessee
Komboa@rocketmail.com

A living workspace for U.S. people of color activists located in Chiapas, Mexico to build unity with the Zapatista Indigenous Peoples Insurrection against the New World Capitalist Globalization. If you are interested in participating in one of our upcoming delegations, please contact us, ASAP, at e-libre@burn.ucsd.edu, or Estacion Libre PO Box 226758 Los Angeles, CA or contact ashanti/anarchistpanther 718-493-2734 anarchistpanther@hotmail.com

*New York Region Activists:
The next delegation leaves this August, 2000.*

Resistance in Brooklyn
C/o Meyer/WRL
339 Lafayette Street
New York, NY 10012
212-989-8222
Email: mmmsrnb@igc.org
(white anti-racist, anti-imperialist collective)

Big Red Media
443 12th St. #1H
Brooklyn, NY 11215
bigredmedia@hotmail.com

radical cultural, anti-racist, anti-imperialist

Sista II Sista
Freedom School for Young Women of Color
Voice mail: 212-592-3454

The Audre Lorde Project
85 So. Oxford Street
Brooklyn, NY 11217-1607
718-596-0342
Community Info Hotline:
718-596-0016
e-mail: alpinfo@alp.org

The Utopian
(Journal of Anarchism & Libertarian Socialism)
P.O.Box 387
New York, NY 10030
(Ex-Love & Rage)

Modern Times Collective--L.I. Activist Network
POB 7152
Garden City, NY 11530
mte@aao.net~www.aao.net~516-616-3151

AZUL (Amanecer Zapatista Unidos en la Lucha)
POB 200413
Newark, NJ 07102
e-mail: nyazul@juno.com

Black Radical Congress
New York Metro Local Org. Comm.
122 W. 27th Street, 10th floor
New York, NY 10001
e-mail: newyorkbrc@people-link.com
www.people-link.com/newyorkbrc

Lower East Side Collective Project Groups
212-774-4192
www.lescollective.org

New York Zapatistas
POB 157 Cooper Sta.
New York, NY 10276
212-561-0302
e-mail: 1026222034@compuserve.com

New Yorkers Against the Death Penalty
NYC/Downstate Group
@ Center for Constitutional Rights
666 Broadway, 6th floor
New York, NY
Contact Linda Thurston 212-61-6484

Atlantic Anarchist Circle
339 Lafayette Street, Rm. 202
New York, NY 10012
212-979-8353
e-mail: aac@tao.net

blu revolution center
POB 517
New Paltz, NY 12561
1-800-778-8461
914-658-8351

WSA-IWA New York
Libertarian Book Club
339 Lafayette St., 202
New York, NY 10012
Tel: 212-979-8353

Forever In Struggle Together
FIST
655 Fulton Street (#356)
Brooklyn, NY 12217
718-482-3160
c.fist@yahoo.com

New York City Police Watch
212-614-6454

SLAM! (Student Liberation
Action Movement)/USG
212-772-4261
Hunter_SLAM@yahoo.com

Malcolm X Grassroots Movement
POB 380058
Brooklyn, NY 11238
Voice mail: 212-561-0912
e-mail: mxgmny@hotmail.com

Leonard Peltier Support Group
POB 340779
Brooklyn, NY 11234
718-934-5501
cessanai@aol.com

Kop-Watch on the WEB
The Shadow (newspaper)
POB 20298
New York, NY 10009
e-mail: SHADOW@MediaFilter.org

Committee Against Anti-Asian Violence
191 E. 3rd Street
New York, NY 10009
212-473-6485 Fax: 473-5569

People's Justice 2000
212-473-6485 x105

Chinese Staff & Workers Assn.
212-619-7979

MUEVETE
(primarily Latino-Puerto Rican-
People of Color Youth Conference)
Kathy Moreno- 718-392-6503
muevete@hotmail.com

The Fire By Night Organizing Committee
PO Box 853 Stuyv. Sta.
New York, NY 10009
718-834-9077
Inr@blvthe.org
(formerly Love & Rage)

New Jersey ABC - BG
Paterson Anarchist Collective
PO Box 8532
Paterson, NJ 07508-8532
973-389-9496
pacjabc@hotmail.com
<http://burn.ucsd.edu/~abcf>

Modern Times Collective
Long Island, New York
Hotline: 516-616-3151

Long Island Students for
Peace and Justice
516-741-4360



I mean I aint bragging but I was the one who convinced Harriet Tubman to slap that pistol upside the heads of anyone who wavered to go back to that dam plantation. I was talking to Huey every-day bout leaving that crack pipe alone. Ella Baker, though, set my behind down bout all this "I did this" and "I toid so and so that..." she said, "let me tell you something..." and the next thing I know I was in overalls working among the folks with SNCC. Humbling experience, I must say. And then there was the time I met Audre Lorde. Oh, Audre, loved her so much that... "spin to the left and she became a..." Well, you know the story, Wonderful love story. Check your local liberry. Anansy learned alot about liberated sexuality and an enriched vision of what a future world could be like. A new world of diverse worlds. Anansy, stop! Okay, okay but hey, you gonna miss my involvements in the REAL episodes of the Black Liberation Army. Listen, umma baaad mutha... shhh. Stay tuned for the next issue.



What'd you give up for Lent, boy?



Nonviolence!



John Brown 2000

A two-hundredth anniversary party for the radical abolitionist and organizing conference on the future of anti-racist, anti-imperialist action. Join a coalition of grassroots groups and leaders of the Black/New Afrikan, Puerto Rican, Native American and Asian/Pacific liberation movements.

May 12-14, 2000
Hunter College, New York


For more information, call 212-989-8222 or email us at mmmarnb@lga.org


FREEDOM NOW!

POLITICAL PRISONERS CONTINUED

FACE REALITY.





QUILOMBO for the Advancement of
Anansaic
 Postmodern Revolutionary Anarchist
 Struggle

c/o Ashanti Omowali Aiston

anarchistpanther@hotmail.com

Dedicated to Revolutionary Sistas
 Martha Pitts and Lares Tresjan both
 who joined the Ancestors recently, to
 BLA/POW Nuh Washington and Yuri
 Kochiyama who have given us so
 much, to Kai, Espe & Vivian for their
 precious examples of hard-core compan-
 arismo and criticism for my zine work,
 and to Njee & SaSa who brought new-
 borns Zion & Judah into our world mak-
 ing it impossible for SLAM & us-folk to
 turn our backs on the insurrectionary im-
 pulse bound to crush oppression and
 smack the shit out of the ghouliani's of
 the world.

Free Mumia & Support the Young Spirits
 Who're Building a Genuine Movement!


**THERE ARE
 POLITICAL
 PRISONERS
 IN THE U.S.A.**

