

This Zine may contain any of the following: (A.L) Adult Language, (V) Violence, (F) Fun, (N) Nudity, and (X) Who Knows What. Children under the age of dirt permitted, without authority consent.



Anarchist Panther

The Good Readings Zine
Volume 1, # 3, Spring into Summer 2001



IT IS THE DAY AND TIME OF ..

PROJECTS (PJ's)
JOBS
OUR STREETS
COMPULSORY SKOOLS
'OLD-FOLKS HOMES'

PRISONS
CORRECTIONAL FACILITIES
DETENTION CENTERS

YOUTH JOINTS
HALF-WAY HOUSES
SHELTERS
DRUG-REHABS

King Incarcerate

WELFARE/
PUBLIC ASSISTANCE
'MENTAL WARDS'

* (To the ones you may not understand, just read each and immediately chant: "...ARE JAILS!")

How to begin, how to begin... Hmmm, lemme see. It's another summer in Hell and we still aint free! Or are we? Bunch of black folks got caught up in that Voting Game. Guess slave master daughter, soul sister Hillary is The One, The Savior. (Or is it Mr. Rev. Al??) If not for all us then at least for us colored of New York State, right? I mean dam, she don't even live in New York, aint never gave a fuck about New York's Third World and now ALL OF A SUDDEN, Miss Bored RichGirl knows her ass is out of the luxury hotel called the white house (Wild Bill HiCock is outta there as Prez) and is like...

"Well, I gotta do something FAST to amuse myself. Why not become senator?? Hmm? Now who would be dum enough to give me a BIG VOTE to carry me through?? Hmmm.. Aha! Why them NIGGAS of course! Them niggas will vote for Anybody (white) who sincerely says they loves them. Shit, I can do that easy. My husband was one of the best liars in presidential history and I am a quick dam learner. Plus, I can use Hubby's Public Relations Magicians to pull this off."

If the Right-Wing says the same thing about her residency then we got something in common, cept that my beef with it is that this senator seat is just a luxury plaything for her. A past-time...AT OUR EXPENSE. And if the Right-Wing is saying the same thing about husband Bill's sexual indiscretions then, again, we got something in common. Cept, I'm all for mutually agreed upon freakiness. My beef is that folks vote for and support him even though he flagrantly violates the high morality-packed image that YOU expected comes with being 'elected to the fucking presidency! If you found that your married minister was FUCKING your impressionable 20 year old sister, daughter, niece, aunt on the altar on a regular after hours (AND YEAH, SHE'S AMBITIOUS), squandering church monies, you'd been done bounced him (or her) outta there, took back the new BMW yall just bought him AND investigated the next prospective minister like post-Watergate. PULLEAZE. The zionists of the state of Israel are committing genocide on the Palestinian people. Here Bill is the Uncle Sam of the World, helping to negotiate a "just peace" between the media-created antagonists, "girl Ambitious" up under the Oval Office desk freaking him off while zionist Israelis murder Palestinian women, men & children fighting to be free. FUCK THAT: He's only human. FUCK THAT: He has frailties like the rest of us. NOOOOO. He's a mass-murderer, liar, takes liberties with women, squanders and lavishes in OUR tax dollars and resources... What my problem? He's the Master and his wife is the master, too! She aint no feminist. She's THE MASTER. That's progress for sexual equality within the ruling class, but that's REGRESS when WE buy into that shit., and its killing us.

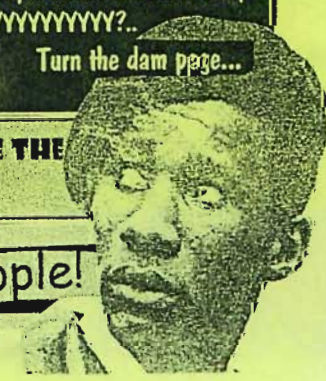
Why am I focusing on Bill & Hillary? Because, obviously, that "stolen" election down in Florida, the role of the Electoral College and HISTORY, aint convince us yet that voting aint shit. Like the anarchists say, "IF VOTING COULD CHANGE ANYTHING, IT WOULD BE ILLEGAL." Public Relations (those magicians who always pull these hoaxes off) have presented to us QUEEN HILLARY (and next, Mr. Rev. Al!). She's gonna free Black folks, stop the bombing of Vieques, Puerto Rico, champion women's rights and make them pigs in blue turn into lambs. This is a local zine, and though I got stuff in here that covers national and international shit, THIS just blows my mind. Bush is easy.

Lawd hep me. Makes a good person like me just say fuck-it: WarPanthers of CHAOS, arise from your earthen beds. Create smoke, and let the poet griots handle the propaganda. BUT WAIT. These are 'postmodern times' so maybe all this shit DIDN'T happen. Hmph! Who um lying to. My peeples...WHYYYYYYYYYYYYYYYYY?..

Turn the dam page...

THE POLICE, THE POLITICIANS (COLOR DON'T MATTER), & THEIR POLI-TRICKS CANNOT BE THE CONSTRUCTORS OF OUR FREEDOM, OF THE POWER TO DETERMINE OUR OWN DESTINIES

All Power to the People...All Power THRU the People!



ANARCHISM IS ..A ..DANGEROUS ..IDEA .. BECAUSE .. IT ..CALLS ..FOR:

@ A society based on human solidarity and mutual aid.

@ Complete individual and collective freedom.

@ A society organized from the bottom-up.

I have to admit that this is late. Was planned for January and now its May. What can I tell you. I TRIED. A lot of the stuff in here is old, I mean some of it is REAL OLD! Aint trying to be 'up-to-date,' just relevant to yall who read it. My main focus is still the relevance of anarchism to the black movements primarily. But I know that a whole bunch of OTHER folks will be checking it out, too. Right on.

@ A society based on equality, justice and diversity.

Things look mighty bad at times, like we aint NEVER gon' get it together. But then out of nowhere, seemingly, out of the Chaos, comes them young folks who convince an ole-timer like me to keep on BELIEVING in the possibilities of revolution, insurrection and victory. The Direct Action activities at the republican convention in Philly last year were a case in point. The people of color activists really did a wonderful thing in the way they asserted their politics and concerns into what had been an anti-globalization movement that was white-led. There

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- Egyptian Anarchist Needs Help, p. 50; A New Western Region Political Prisoner Org., p. 52; Revolutionary Mandate 1, p. 53; Addresses, Contacts & Things, p. 54

@ The abolition of all coercive social institutions (e.g., Government, the State, Police, Jails, etc.)

@ Work, wealth, housing, education, health, bread and peace for all - from the cradle to the grave.



Quilombo for the Advancement of Anansiic Postmodern Anarchist Revolutionary Struggle

Anarchist Panther - QUILOMBO
anarchistpanther@hotmail.com

PEOPLE WHO BELIEVE IN FREEDOM ARE

Rufus the Radical Reptile, p. 6; Panther Crossing, p. 7; Nuh & Jah Join the Ancestors, p. 9-10; We Came As Political Prisoners, p. 13; Pigs Beat Suspect, p. 15; FUCK THAT, p. 17

@ The abolition of the wage system.



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Joy Behind The Smile, P. 18; Black man visits ZapatistaLand, p. 19; The Lumpen & Political Collectives, p. 23; To a Young Turk/Clara Solomon, p. 24; Things Are Getting Worse, p. 26; Give Them the Max, p. 27; Anarchist People of Color Caucus, p. 29; Questions on Anarchism, p. 30

@ The abolition of private property, social classes, landlords, bosses and all other social parasites

Bandit Queen of India, p. 40; African Anarchism, p. 43; Anarchist Correspondence, p. 43; Zapatista-style Underground in Uganda?, p. 45; Was Colonialism Good For Africa?, p. 47; Black Flag Flies in Africa, p. 49; Why We Don't Need Police, p. 49

were some tough internal struggles amongst the different groups around race issues and a commitment to local issues. Many white activists need to be commended for their sincere EFFORTS to make that SPACE a space for such needed and police machinery. They accomplished one goal of bringing attention to the BULLSHIT of U.S. poli-tricks. If anything, the people of this empire know that there's MOVEMENTS in the past are being challenged. The issues that have wrecked movements in the past are being challenged. The evasion of a race analysis and anti-racist practice, and the lack of direct democracy and creative consensus practices specifically geared towards incorporating DIFFERENCE in age, "race," sexual orientation, place, belief, loyalty, etc. The critiques of Seattle and the race issue has led to the preparations and actions themselves. Tense, uncomfortable shit. But on whatever level as a BLOCK to our power of unity and more essentially as necessary shit. Our sexism, our racism, our authoritarianism, our phobias blocks to our possibilities as human beings who CAN grow. This is new shit. Not perfect, but new in its engagement coming now with the different streams of consciousness that we all bring into the pot. There's more work to be done, and if we can keep in mind the WHY that the critical engagements are so key, then we can work beyond those frustrating moments when we want most to throw in the proverbial towel in dealing with dem white activists. Shout outs to the SLAMistas, the Next Movement in Boston, the Brown Collective in Philly, Sister to Sister and the Black Panther Collective in New York, and all the other freelance people of color activists (like that Ethiopian madwoman anarchist, haha) who I saw work anti-R2K convention theatre of operations. What moved me was our collective INSISTENCE of BLACKNUSS inclusion in both decision-making and autonomous activities. What also moved me was our own internal efforts as people of color to confront our own issues around phobias (even phobias of white folk who were solidarity activists) to make Philly a success. Shout outs to Malcolm X Grassroots Movement in New York City for picking up the work around our Political Prisoners. Heartfelt thanks to you for making sure that honorable funeral services were performed for prisoners-of-war Albert Nuh Washington and Teddy Jah Heath of the Black Liberation Army. AND for consistently going to visit other New York state imprisoned soldiers of the BLA & movement underground.

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A DANGER TO ALL AUTHORITARIAN STATES

Adapted from Right On! Black Panther Community News Service * Nov. 10-Dec. 1, 1971



SAUNDRA HOLMES PRATT

Sandra Holmes was a member of the Black Panther Party of Los Angeles, California and the companion of Elmer Geronimo Pratt (geronimo jiJaga) Recruited from the streets of prostitution, Sandra became a revolutionary servant of the people. She worked the survival programs, defended the Los Angeles Panther office with others against pig assaults and helped Geronimo and others build the Panther Underground. Her comrades knew her as "Red".

While she was on trial in the L.A. 8 shoot-out case of December 8, 1969, Sandra's body was found in a laundry bag and dumped at an intersection at 4:00 a.m. on November 5, 1971 with five bullet wounds. She was also 8 months pregnant. Her killers were never identified.

Geronimo called her the NEW URBAN GUERRILLA. This issue of Anarchist Panther is dedicated to her. She is the heroic example of the potential of the Untouchables, the Expendables, and the Outlaws who are shining revolutionaries worthy of our emulation.

SAUNDRA LIVES!

You must bear a CHAOS
in YOURSELF in
order to bring a
DANCING STAR
into the world.

■ Nietzsche

Who is this "notorious" living OUTLAW of India? If you really wanna know, turn to page 40.



BLACK COMEBACK

Kai Lumumba Barrow
On

DIRECT ACTION
By
PEOPLE of COLOR

Nov. 2, 2000 Free Radical, Issue #11



Kai Lumumba Barrow. Photo © Diane Greene Lent

BLACK COMEBACK:
An interview with KAI LUMUMBA BARROW . . . Issue #11

What if there was a revolution and nobody noticed?

OK, "revolution" is too grand a term, but the event in question is undeniably historic: the creation, in the United States, of a direct-action-based alliance across racial lines, between the predominantly white movement against corporate globalization and the predominantly people of color movement against criminal injustice.

You won't read about it in the mainstream media, but then, they didn't see Seattle coming either. More troubling is how little discussion there seems to be in radical and progressive circles about this nascent alliance: its necessity, potential, and pitfalls.

Kai Lumumba Barrow has been a major figure behind the recent resurgence of direct action within movements of color. She works fulltime as

an organizer for SLAM!, the Student Liberation Action Movement, based in the City University of New York, especially Manhattan's Hunter College. Since the mid-Nineties, SLAM! has been a pioneering activist force on the East Coast, mobilizing working-class students of color in a series of savvy and daring campaigns for educational access, economic justice, and other issues.

This past summer, SLAM! brought the largely white New York City Direct Action Network (NYC-DAN) and other groups together to plan a joint action against the Republican Party Convention in Philadelphia, focused on questions of criminal injustice. The process was a bumpy one -- in particular, there was resistance within NYC-DAN to what some felt was a turn away from the group's focus on corporate globalization, resistance that many activists of color viewed as racist -- but the coalition held, and holds to this day.

(Next page)

In this frank and wide-ranging interview, Kai Lumumba Barrow places this development within a broad historical context, focusing particularly on the troubled state of the black liberation movement over the last 25 years and its current revitalization. She sheds light both on why African-American radicals moved away from direct-action protest beginning in the mid 1960s, and why she and other activists of color are experimenting with it anew today.

Kai Lumumba Barrow: I was raised by a black nationalist family, so I came to activist struggles early. It's difficult for me to say when I was politicized, because it seems like it's always been there. But I guess probably '68, the Democratic Convention, stands out for me.

I was born and raised in Chicago. My parents were involved in various organizations and we lived in a co-op building where a lot of Panthers and Yippies and so forth came and stayed during the Convention. I was about 10, and I remember feeling close to some of the folks who were staying in our house before the Convention began. You know, you're a kid, and you're the homeowner's kid, so you get a special kind of attention. People were nice to me, and I felt they were my friends.

So when Daley turned his pigs on the people, and the people came back to the house, bleeding and beat up, I felt personally hurt. I felt like, they did this to my friends.

After that I read Malcolm X, and I wanted a revolution. That's it, I thought, we're going to do this. In high school, I was a knucklehead: conscious but not active. But I went to college thinking, this is where the revolution is going to happen. I went to a historically black university in Atlanta,

and I was really taken aback: It was the Carter years, and Reagan was beginning to show his ugly head, and there was no movement.

COINTELPRO had done a serious job on the Panther Party and then also the Black Liberation Army. There was underground stuff happening but it was way, way submerged. There wasn't any real movement specifically in black communities any more. And I was on this campus with the bourgeoisie, the black bourgeoisie, and I was really freaked out. Like, what is going on? (laughter)

But then I got active around anti-apartheid work, building student organizations on campus, and doing a lot of work at that time around Assata Shakur and Joanne Little and other political prisoners.

I also became a member of the Republic of New Africa, whose full name was the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Africa. It focused on establishing a nation for black people in five states in the South. Doing a lot of institution-building, in that sense. We started a school, a Saturday school, did a lot of political prisoner work, and a lot of political education work. Training and that sort of thing.

I stayed with that in different capacities for several years. I went back to Chicago and started doing a lot of police brutality work there, still doing prisoner support work, and ended up here in New York in the early 90s, still staying with the same issues, around police brutality and prison work.



Let me tell a story. When I first started teaching fifth grade, I was listening one day to three or four 10-year-olds talking to each other. In their talk, one of them said to the others and I can't convey in print the matter-of-factness with which he said this, "If I grow up..." Every time I think of it I feel a large part of the appalled horror with which I first heard this innocent remark.

The reason we, the older generation, have lost our authority over kids has nothing to do with permissiveness. It is quite simply that we have destroyed, or allowed to be destroyed, the moral basis on which the authority of the old over the young has always been based—the fact that they could protect and were protecting the young, that they were holding and running a world into which the young people could enter, in short, that they knew what they were doing. This is no longer the case. A world in which a 10-year-old can face, and must face, as a perfectly commonplace sort of reality, the fact that he may never grow up, is not a world in which we can say to the young any longer that Daddy knows best.

There is only one position that we adults have any right to take in dealing with children. "We didn't mean to get into this jam. We don't know how to get out. Don't abandon us. Help us." Only from this position can we have any meaningful dialogue with the young, and exert any reasonable and constructive influence over their lives.

JOHN HOLT Letter printed in Psychology Today 1968

"Our colonized nation needs an independent economic system. We need to be self-reliant. Black cooperatives must be encouraged. Black communalism, the joint ownership of the means of production and commerce by the community, must become a way of life. This is Black economic self-determination: economic development that benefits the majority of our people."

MAX STANFORD, Black political scientist and former leader of Revolutionary Action Movement

FREEDOM FIGHTERS

Debbie Sims 30-100



Ed Poindexter Life

PHOTOGRAPH

This Political Prisoner And former Panther would love to hear from you:

Veronza Bowers, Jr. #35316-136
FCL, Medium A-1
POB 819,
Coleman, Fl.
33521-081



REVOLUTION

that were going on in communities around the country.

LAK: In the U.S., the tactics and techniques of direct action were really pioneered by the black freedom movement of the Fifties and Sixties, but by the early Seventies, those tactics are rarely seen in movements of color, especially in black movements. How did that come to be?

Now, though, the black liberation movement is at a really crucial stage in its development. We've seen a lot of our leadership and a lot of our comrades killed and imprisoned and driven crazy, exiled, because we stood up against oppression. And at this point there seems to be a reassessing of which way we should we go. We've engaged in a critique around the standard leadership model, the hierarchical leadership model; we've done a critique around the party model; we've done a critique around every possible model that we know exists, and at this point we're in the process of rebuilding.

is that we're starting to look back to, well, the Fifties. (laughter) This dawned on me maybe about a year or so ago, and I was really pissed. I was like, damn it, we're going backwards. (laughter)

So we're starting to reassess the utilization of direct action and civil disobedience, but we're coming at it, I think, more militantly than in the Fifties. We've seen it as a way to engage more of our community. Primarily what we've been doing since the Seventies is rallies and permitted protests and those sort of things, that have been more or less non-confrontational. I think we're starting to say,

We took the position in the past that nonviolent civil disobedience placed us in a very passive position, so we started engaging in armed struggle or at least self-defense. We didn't have enough experience with that perhaps, or we didn't have enough support for that, and we were beat. We were beat pretty badly.

We're trying to come back from that, get it together and figure out how we're going to move forward. Taking the best of both self-defense and militancy while still being accountable to our communities.

KLB: There was a major shift in the political expression of the black liberation movement in the mid-Sixties. I have recollections of looking at the civil rights movement, Dr. King, and the dogs and that sort of thing, and I have recollections of my family saying, Why are they allowing themselves to be beaten and attacked by these pigs, by these racist pigs? Why are they not fighting back?

So as a people, within

While the disenfranchised Black community is fed the psychological pabulum of non-violence, the enfranchised majority white community trains its children in the use of force in its war colleges and police paramilitary institutions. The obvious consequence of a dual standard of human expectation is a unique system of democratic fascism and a permanent condition of police or military repression aimed at the underclass and social dissidents. Limited political "democracy" is permitted while corporate control of the economy dictates the real content and direction of the state. In this context the specter of racist subjugation resolves itself in an ongoing and continuous cycle of police repression, underclass crime and social deprivation - in other words a permanent state of crisis. Dhoruba Al Mujahid Bin Wahad

Toward Rethinking Self-Defense in a Racist Culture: Black Survival in a United States in Transition X

So there were two predominant tendencies regarding which way forward for our people. It's reductionist to say it, but it was primarily Malcolm X versus Dr. King, and you choose your camp. And I tended to be in the Malcolm X camp - still do, frankly.

different movements, we've been stunned to some degree for a really long time. Since the early to mid Seventies. I think the experiment with armed struggle models, underground models, hit us really hard. The Party as a large movement kind of stopped at that point. There have been smatterings of different things that have occurred since then, but I don't think we've really been able to capture the imagination of our communities in any broad way since that period.

wait a minute. We've been using a multitude of non-confrontational tactics, and I think at this point some of us are starting to escalate some of the tactics that we're utilizing, understanding that we're also the most victimized by the state for participating in those tactics.

LAK: What were your feelings about Seattle when it happened?

KLB: Why the hell am I in New York at a SLAM! meeting? I had planned to go - I was so mad! For all the obvious reasons, I thought it was great. I was really disappointed by the coverage - I don't know if there were more people of color in Seattle than the one I saw in the media.

(Next page)

The Black Panther Party, as the heirs of Malcolm X, said we're not going to just stand by idly, we're going to utilize self-defense in order to get our movement forward. And at that time the Party did engage in a lot of direct action, from taking over the state capitol in California - that was a direct action to various activities

So we've been kind of in this stalemate, and I think what's happening



NOV. 22 1963

Twenty young civil-rights activists—ages 11 to 15—had been held for as long as a month in a single Leesburg, Georgia, jail cell. Sorry, girls: no beds, and no blankets.

I WANT CHAOS!

BLACK COMEBACK continues down here. That's right. LOOK. Follow me...

THIS MODERN WORLD

BY TOM TOMORROW

IF NOT FOR THE SEATTLE PROTESTS, DISCUSSION OF THE WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION WOULD HAVE REMAINED AT A NEAR-KINDERGARTEN LEVEL.

FREE TRADE BENEFITS EVERYONE, BOYS AND GIRLS! ANYONE WHO DOESN'T UNDERSTAND THAT IS A BIG SILLY-HEAD!

CAN YOU SAY "BIG SILLY-HEAD?"
I KNEW YOU COULD!



OF COURSE, THERE IS A BIT MORE TO THE STORY... I.E. THE PROFOUNDLY ANTI-DEMOCRATIC NATURE OF THE W.T.O, WHOSE SECRETIVE THREE-MEMBER TRIBUNAL IS EMPOWERED TO OVERRULE THE LAWS OF ANY MEMBER NATION, IN THE NAME OF FREE TRADE...

I DON'T SEE ANY PROBLEM WITH THAT.

I DON'T HEAR ANYONE COMPLAINING.

I HAVE NO COMMENT.



I thought Seattle was a great experiment, and it was great that labor came out. But there was clearly a class distinction between the people who organized and participated in Seattle versus where I come from. Access to cell phones? Please, we're just getting walkie-talkies. The utilization of technology, organizing on the Internet: What's that phrase, the digital divide? It's there. Make no mistake about it, it's there.

So the organizing and the building for that action clearly indicated that an intelligentsia, a bourgeois class, had organized it. They had the equipment, they had the contacts. That's not necessarily a bad thing, but it's really important to acknowledge that.

So to some degree, I thought it was great to see it, and I felt really heartened that people were in the streets. I also felt disconnected, and I felt envious - player hate. (laughter) I felt like, you know, why don't we have the? (Next page)

Is **CHAOS** like massive rule-breaking when you aint free?

Is **CHAOS** like a wild fuck-it attitude to Law-n-Order when maintaining "Law" is the fuckin' problem you "Order?"

Is **CHAOS** like creating a situation of UNGOVERNABILITY for the rulers until their ability and influence to GOVERN you just withers away?



may our resistance be as global as their economy

By adopting direct action as a form of politics, we look to ourselves as a source of change. Therefore the key to the political significance of the campaign lies less in the immediate aims of stopping the road and in the immediate costs we have incurred for capital and the state, and more in our creation of a climate of autonomy, disobedience and resistance. Thus, this life of permanent struggle is simultaneously a negative act (stopping the road etc.) and a positive pointer to the kind of social relation that could be a community of resistance. (John, of radical political theory magazine, Aufheben - A Social and Political Analysis of Contemporary Protest Culture in the 1990s - Ian Dobie X

The morning after, my partner and I were on the train, reading the paper. And we were smiling and high fiving each other. I lived at the time in Bed Stuy, so the train was filled with black folks - and everybody was smiling. (laughter) I had some good conversations with a couple of folks on the train, about how this is necessary, and it's about time, and this reminds me of the old days. People were overwhelmingly supportive. Nobody said, "Oh, they shouldn't have thrown the rock at the Starbucks." (laughter)

But, in terms of their weaknesses, Seattle, D.C. - even Philly and L.A. - these mass convergences require a week's worth of time in order to participate, dollars in order to travel, support. If a whole group of people go somewhere for a week, there's a whole lot of work that's not getting done, and who's going to do it? Whether that's taking care of the children, or working 9 to 5. It's very difficult for people of color, even young people of color, young working-class people of color, to participate in mass convergences.



resources to do this kind of work?

If we look at the Vietnam War protests, we see how those protests - because of a capacity to utilize the system, and money, and resources - tended to overtake and co-opt the black liberation movement, the

American Indian Movement, the Chicano movement and the Puerto Rican movement. I'm worried that this network of people doing direct action around corporate globalism is going to do the same thing to emerging movements around

criminal injustice. These are issues where people of color are saying no, this is genocide, and we're building a movement. I worry about globalization issues knocking that out of the box.

That's why I think the predominantly white anti-globalization movement has got to engage in a domestic

analysis of corporate globalization and what effect it has on disenfranchised communities of color. The movement against corporate globalization has to engage in an ongoing analysis about race and imperialism, and how they play out in the United States, or else it will completely undermine our work and continue to propel a racist and classist system.

That's why I wanted to really look at how we could unite with the Direct Action Network, or build a parallel alliance or network of people of color that were focused on issues that affect people of color, and unite the two major issues

corporate globalization and criminal injustice - as a place that we can spring from.

FREE RADICAL is an e-column on the current upsurge in activism, written by L.A. Kauffman (lak@free-radical.org). It aspires to weekly publication but in practice appears irregularly.

This issue is archived at <http://www.free-radical.org/issue11.shtm>

ABOUT THE AUTHOR
L.A. Kauffman (lak@free-radical.org) is perhaps the first person in U.S. history to be arrested for allegedly committing a crime by fax machine. (The Manhattan D.A. declined to prosecute.) She is currently writing DIRECT ACTION: RADICALISM IN OUR TIME, a history of U.S. activism since 1970.

Anarchist Purism and White Supremacy

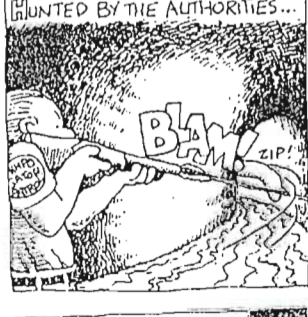
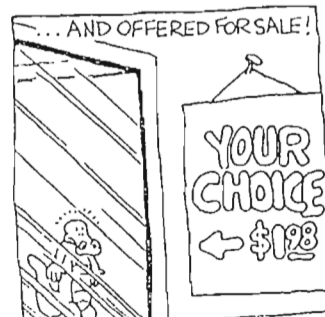
The question then arises: are the Anarchists consciously building a white movement, for what I call "white rights" issues that only the radical chic middle class are interested in? This is the case even when many of them live in cities which are majority-Black population centers, such as Detroit, Oakland, Atlanta, Philadelphia and others. They live in the Anarchist ghetto and look at the Black community which surrounds them with suspicion and muted hostility. Can this type of movement work toward a social revolution when by the end of the decade it is predicted that half of this nation will be non-white peoples? I don't think so!

Anarchist purism is a form of ideological conformity, a method of keeping Anarchist ideals "pure" and to prevent any new movements from arising which violate cardinal principles of traditional European Anarchist thought and practice. This also works to ensure that only white people will define, and will continue to dominate Anarchist theory, and that only white people will make up the ranks of the movement in the main. Movements which arise in the Black or Hispanic communities, which are influenced by revolutionary nationalism and the anti-authoritarian core of Anarchism, thus denied support, I have seen this done historically in the 1960's, Martin Sotire (and myself) in the 1970's, MOVE in the 1980's, and to this very day. Without fail, this is a way of keeping the movement "right" (and white). But it also keeps it in an ideological straitjacket which separates it from the social events outside the white radical community, which is where the real world is, to it helps to marginalize Anarchist when one demands conformity to the catechism that Bakunin or Kropotkin wrote over 100 years ago. How is this any different from the Marxists? ~ From the Journal of Anarchy & Black Revolution 1994

This excerpt, "Anarchist Purism..." by Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin, follows the interview with Black anti-authoritarian activist Kai Lumumba Barrow. Her interview points out one of the major problems of building diversity among the movements, which is RACISM & the confrontation of Euro-centric culture & privilege in general. After reading "Anarchist Purism..." turn to page _____ and read about the situation in UGANDA, Africa and the anarchist underground, and the Eurocentric responses/ reactions to it. Then, think about how the Zapatistas were "questioned" about their qualifications of authenticity.

RUFUS - THE RADICAL REPTILE

CHILDHOOD AND EARLY YOUTH



enhanced if men were just completely eliminated from any decision-making process

Still Angry - After All These Years

By Robert Dannin & Jolie Stahl
The (New York) City Sun, Feb. 7, 1990

Personally, I'm convinced that ... our chance of survival would be greatly

and all decisions were put in the hands of women. - DC



PANTHER CROSSING

Former Black Panther
Field Marshall
Donald Cox
Shares His
Wisdom & Views



My name is Donald Cox. To people in New York... I'm known as D.C. I've been in Exile since May 1970.

Q.: Can you describe your personal growth and transformation over the past 20 years, specifically in relation to some of the values you have that were also embraced by the BPP and some white radicals during the '60s?

D.C.: For the past 20 years, I haven't stopped trying to inform and educate myself. I've studied history—from today all the way back to the Big Bang—in order to better understand this mess that we now find ourselves in. Because, in looking around on a day-to-day basis, it looks like a desperate situation with no way out. Managing to acquire a long view of history—I'm not just talking about last week—gives a clearer perspective. Things are not as hopeless. It's possible to see how yesterday led to today, and it arms us to better develop methods of struggle that will successfully lead to a brighter tomorrow.

I'm much more angry today than I was 20 years ago. Then, I simply recognized the necessity that something had to be done and was not as mad and violent as now. Now when I hear of injustices, particularly in the United States, I have mad and violent reactions. When I'm a personal witness to injustice, particularly racist incidents, I react before I think, which I don't like at all. That's very dangerous. I'm trying to work on controlling that.

In terms of revolutionary violence, we made the mistake of placing tactics before strategy. Since we wanted to distinguish ourselves from those people that didn't want to do anything, therefore maintaining the status quo, we went to the other extreme in our zeal to demonstrate our revolutionary fervor and got hung up dealing with tactics, period. With no overall strategy at all!

When we look at other movements—Baader-Meinhoff in Germany, Direct Action in France, Tupámaros in Uruguay—with their politics being disconnected from mass movements, violence turned out to be personal wars. Historically, the successful uses of violence have been those connected with mass struggles to gain a better life. Violence was used to give the final push to obtain the freedom that peoples struggled for. In Nicaragua against Somoza, for example. The same thing is happening in South Africa today. The masses started moving, much as Blacks in the United States in the '60s, before

the violent actions of the African National Congress began. That's a mass movement that's not going to stop until final victory.

I'm now in the process of trying to make a synthesis of our experiences and trying to understand things that we did wrong, in order to use the lessons learned to develop methods of struggle that will be more efficient in the future.

Q.: It would seem that the United States is collaborating with the government of South Africa to suppress the visibility of this movement. Do you think that our government is afraid that a really open discussion about the process in South Africa would reignite the struggle here by fostering comparisons to American history?

D.C.: That's one of the tricks they've always used. Of all the liberation struggles in the world, the one with the closest parallel to Black liberation in the United States is the struggle in South Africa. It is a highly urbanized society with a large working class. Furthermore, South Africa imported apartheid from the United States. Take the pass laws, for example. There is a photograph in our family of my father with a colleague at a garage where they both worked. The colleague is holding up a pass. I forget which state from the South he was from, but they had passes. Apartheid is an American product. And, since many problems still exist on that level in the USA, if the government gave free reign to open discussion it would really be condemning itself and exposing itself to problems they don't want to deal with.

Q.: Some of the chief problems within the vanguard organizations of the '60s had to do with individuals and the issue of individualism. Although history shows that many of these organizations were neutralized by police infiltration, you have a different view

concerning the breakup of the movement. Can you explain?

D.C.: I'm convinced of one thing. It was not government repression that destroyed the BPP. Obviously, many members were victims of that repression. Nevertheless, at the time I was there, the greater the repression, the more support we received, not only from Blacks, but also from other segments of the society. I'm convinced that, on the whole, the organization was destroyed by the megalomania of men.

There is a tendency expressed by the males of the human species, which is, they always engage in the struggle to see who's going to be king of the hill. To see who's the baddest. When we look at the history of the world, conflicts are based on some male's desire to dominate others. Struggle between men is always at the root of conflicts in mankind.

I consider this to be a biological, evolutionary phenomenon from the early existence of the human species when it was still on the savanna in Africa, hunting and being hunted. For the survival of the group, it was necessary to choose the most intelligent and the strongest as leaders. Establishing the hierarchy was done by competition and aggressiveness. Much as in other species of animals. For example, the pecking order in the chicken yard, or a troop of baboons or chimpanzees.

Leaving the savanna, developing civilization, and the technology capable of destroying all that lives, these tendencies that were developed for the survival of the group over millions of years of evolution, now have perverse effects. All we have to do is look around the world to see the results. Most organizations are destroyed because of this tendency of men wanting to dominate and control. So, in developing methods of struggle, we must create the means of keeping these perverse, destructive, biological, evolutionary, tendencies in check.

Personally, I'm convinced that since women were not engaged directly in these millions of years of evolutionary struggles, having been assigned maternity by nature, our chance of survival would be greatly enhanced if men were just completely eliminated from any decision-making process and all decisions were put in the hands of women.

Radical Therapy: The Small Group In Women's Lib

The people in the square waited fascinated, as if watching a play. They did not realize that in order for the plot to unfold they themselves had to mount the stage and speak out what was on their minds.

—William Hinton, FANSHEN

Sango by Bisi Fakeye

Women's liberation gave the illness a name, an explanation, and a cure. The cure was the small group and the method was what the Chinese Communists call "Speaking Bitterness." The bitterness, once spoken, was almost overwhelming in its sheer emotional impact.

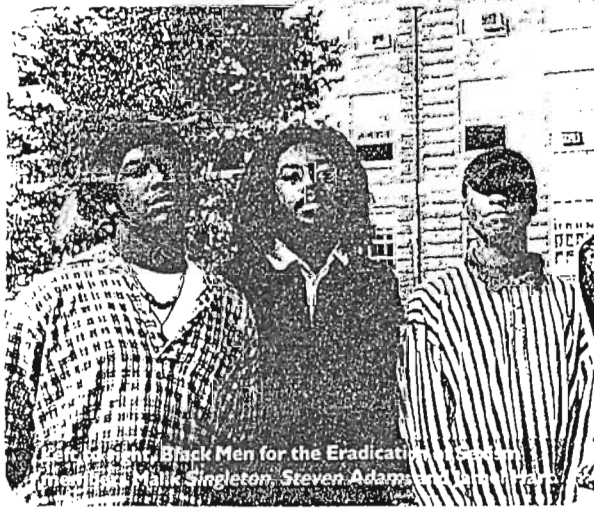
—Marlene Dixon

Black Men for the Eradication of Sexism fighting misogyny

Their answering machine greets you with the following mantra: "Black Men for the Eradication of Sexism are out taking care of business and urge callers to do the same." While months after the Million Man March too many rappers are still waxing misogynistic, these dozen or so brothers—all students at Atlanta's historically Black colleges—are making it a taboo to dis sisters on campus. They're also dropping knowledge at rap sessions, potluck dinners and conferences and in newsletters about what it *really* means to be a man—inside out.

The group was born shortly after 1994's Freaknik (the 100,000-strong festival that has turned Atlanta into Party Central each spring), when, at Spelman during a presentation in Professor Gloria Wade-Gayles's class on Images of Black Women in the Media, several sisters described their experiences of being nearly raped, fondled and called out of their names. Luckily, the women's stories moved the brothers into action. Since then they've been bonding around ways to fight date rape, sexual harassment, pornography, freak-me music videos and paternalism in Black organizations.

"If the revolution were tomorrow, we would still have the problem of gender oppression," explains the group's chairman, Steven Adams (pictured at right, center), 22, a biology major



and junior at Clark Atlanta University. "When it comes down to the matter of oppression, issues of sexism have seemed to get drowned in the race thing." Today awareness of the group's efforts is spreading around the country. They recently received a \$10,000 grant from The Family Violence Prevention Fund and are featured in *I Am a Man*, a new documentary by Boston producer and filmmaker Byron Hurt. "People are intrigued and want to see what we're all about," says cofounder Omar Freilla. "They really want to be healed." —YANICK RICE LAMB ▸



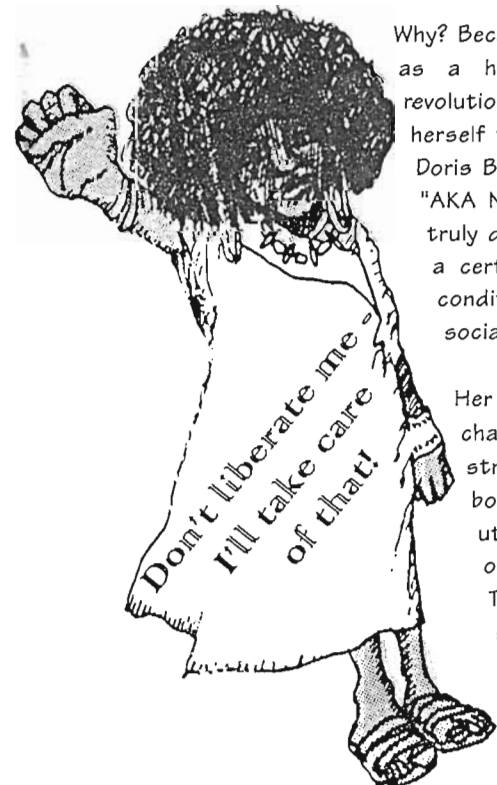
ESSENCE MAY 1996

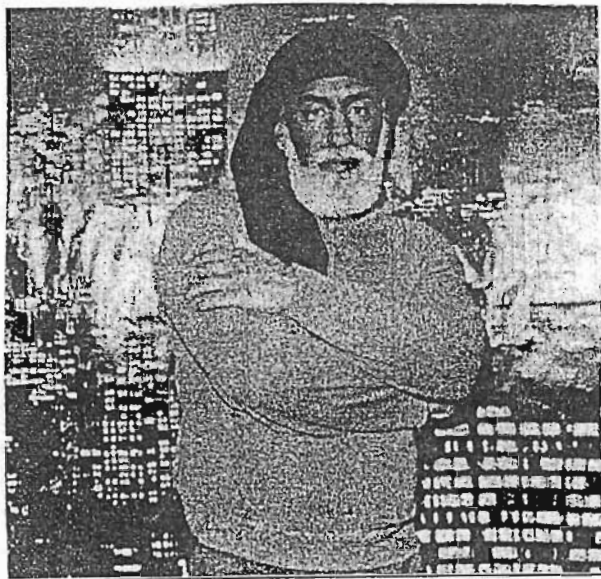
Revolution is more than a battle of one group against another. It is more than a struggle for the upliftment of a particular oppressed group, be it people of color in a racist world, or people of a certain class. The essence of revolution is in its grand participation in an eternal evolutionary unfolding of life. This means an enormous expansion and enrichment of the elements that make up human life, regardless of one's ethnic, class group or belief.

The participant in the struggle at the forefront, who considers herself an armed freedom fighter, may well play a vital role as an armed fighter, but the necessity of armed struggle for liberation still does not relinquish her responsibility to work her own unfolding FIRST, as a human being, and second, as an armed fighter. If any questions, then it must be in HOW to integrate the two (personal unfolding & political participation) into daily life without losing sight of what's primary.

Why? Because the unfolding of her potentials & capacities as a woman, as a human being, is, without a doubt, the development of revolutionary personal power in itself. Her unfolding means preparing herself to make a radical departure from years, since Day One, as Doris Brown, say twenty-one, and even from a more recent past as "AKA Nzingha Olugbala," to one who, for the first time comes to truly discover who she is AS A HUMAN BEING, born and living at a certain place and time and under certain oppressive social conditions and circumstances, who chooses to participate in social change

Her effectiveness as a participant in a process of social change rests upon the expanse and dept of her vision, the strength of her desire and persistence of her effort to both grasp who and what she really has become and utilize the forces within her ability and ever-present opportunity to take her own life into her own hands. Through personal and social activity, this is the starting point of true liberation, of true revolution, of true independence. Those who put themselves into the forefront of struggle must see themselves as a sort of 'social genetic carrier' of the future they're committed to create. —anarchistpanther





February 28, 1941 to April 28, 2000

Nuh: You Inspire Me!

THOUGH WE'VE NEVER ROLLED TOGETHER—YOU INSPIRE ME!

FELLOW COMBATANTS ON GUERRILLA FRONT—RUNNING AND GUNNING—THAT THE PEOPLE MIGHT BE FREE.

ISOLATED AND LONELY, I CALL ON MY INNER LIGHT, HEROIC MARTYRS AND STEADFAST COMRADES TO INSPIRE ME TO GREATER SACRIFICE.

WHAT IS NUH DOING? IS HE STILL STANDING; STILL HOLDING HIS GROUND? THE GRAPEVINE SAYS HE'S AT DANNEMORA—THAT'S ROUGH! THEY'LL NEVER BREAK HIM, THOUGH! YOU INSPIRE ME!

CANCER IS IT...? THEY COULDN'T BREAK THE OLD FIELD GENERAL—STRAIGHT UP—SO...

IF YOU PASS ON BEFORE ME, I WANT YOU TO CARRY WITH YOU MY SOLEMN PLEDGE THAT I WILL FOLLOW IN YOUR FOOTSTEPS... "I WILL ALSO 'HOLD MY GROUND' UNTIL I TOO MEET A MARTYR'S DEATH!" I COULD NOT MAKE SUCH A COMMITMENT WITHOUT EXAMPLES LIKE YOURS: YOU INSPIRE ME!

Russell 'Maroon' Shoat
Life +



YOUR BROTHER & COMRADE,

Russell "MAROON" SHOAT
New Afrikan POW
April 18, 2000

AF-3855
175 PROGRESS DR.
WAYNESBURG, PA 15370

Power To The People !

Speech delivered in California on behalf of Nuh a month or so before his death.

My name is Tarik. I am a former prisoner of war and I am a former member of the Black Liberation Army.

As you know, this forum is dedicated to prisoner of war, Black Liberation Army freedom fighter, Albert Nuh Washington. Albert Nuh Washington along Herman Bell and Jalil Abdul-Muntaquin were captured in August of 1971 and they have been in a concentration camp since then. Moreover, and this is the specific reason that has brought us here, with great, great sadness, with sadness that know no depth, we learned that in October of 1999 Albert Nuh Washington was diagnosed with cancer of the liver and he was given 3 to 10 months to live

On seeing that this forum is dedicated to Albert Nuh Washington certainly the first question that leaped into your mind is : who is Albert Nuh Washington? To answer that question I have decided to let Nuh tell you a little information about himself. He says:

In my teens I began to listen to the nationalist who spoke on the street corners of Harlem, while Black newspapers reported the lynching of Blacks in the southern states. Long before Malcolm X said there

Are You A Member of the Black Liberation Army????



Are you at all concerned about our children, 11 year old Clifford Glover, Harold Russell, 11 year old Ricky Bolden, Woody Green, 16 year old Rita Lloyd, Kimu White and Robert Webb in New York, Mark Essex in New Orleans, 14 year old Rabbit in New Jersey, Gregory Coleman in Washington, DC, Ronald Carter in St. Louis, 16 year old Jonathan Jackson in California, the students at Southern State University, Orangeburg and Jackson State, all killed by the hired guns (police) of a corrupt government running amock (crazed)? Are you tired of paying taxes to support murderers in America, Israel, South Africa, Spain and Portugal?

Are you aware of the fact that the U.S. government has forced upon our shoulders, again, the ladder of madness (success), and the new slave is attempting to climb aboard a sinking ship (America) on our misery? Are you sick of the wretched conditions we are forced to survive under, tired of suffering passively and READY TO DO something about it, right now?

Do you agree that those Black men and women who have picked up the gun and are using it on those who use it on us are right, and correct in their actions?

If you have answered any of these questions in the affirmative (YES), you have already been judged by this corrupt government of being a member of the Black Liberation Army.

Are you a member of the Black Liberation Army????

Yes or No, only you can answer that question!!!!

A quote: "Now the former slave, scapegoat and floor mat of the world is rising, saying no more. For this we have been murdered, beaten, imprisoned, and exiled. We recognize that this barbaric system was created by man and will be destroyed by man and woman. What the State hopes to do is nothing more than what others, Brothers and Sisters before me, have experienced. My faith and consolation lies in the belief that as our bodies pile up it will be used as a ladder by others to climb up and take the head of the beast and no more will it live off the blood of our people."

Albert Nuh Washington
Prisoner of/at War

WRITTEN IN THE EARLY 1970'S



(Continue on page 10)

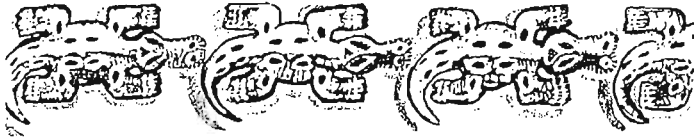
should be an eye for an eye, my mother impressed upon me the right of self defense and like for like. I also learned that the psychology of the bully is to intimidate and terrorize his victims. And the best way to deal with such people is to stand up to them because the bully is basically a coward. My father taught me to respect women and stand up for the weak. So it was inevitable that I would end up at odds with the system of white supremacy.

I became a member of the Panther Party and, as the repression heightened against the party, I went underground into the Black Liberation Army.^{1,2}

This important background informational snapshot of Albert Nuh Washington tells us that at a very early age he was on the ideological road leading to revolution. And it was while he was on this ideological road that Nuh joined the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. As a member of the Black Panther Party, Nuh had an⁴ active hand in running the free breakfast program, running the free clothing program, running the free health clinic, and running the free sickle cell testing program.

Is it important to know these things about Nuh. Yes, it is. Knowing this background information about Nuh is important because we live in a capitalist society with a ruling class that extracts wealth from the poor class and leaves the poor class in poverty and leaves the poor class financially incapable of meeting their many monetary obligations. Capitalism is the latest form of slavery. It is

¹ Can't Jail the Spirit --Political Prisoners in the U.S.
A collection of Biographies P. 114



decentralized, refined slavery. The old slave drivers knowingly killed millions of people. The new slave drivers have knowingly killed millions of people. Nuh intelligently... Listen to what I am telling you, Nuh intelligently and courageously fought to stop these maniac killers. You know that these maniac killers recently killed a young sister named Tyisha Miller as she slept in her car. As I recall, one cop said the other cops bragged and joked about killing the sister. You know that in New York City the maniac killers, the death squad, recently killed Amadou Diallo, Malcolm Ferguson, and Patrick Dorismond. And it is going to come out, before it is all over with, that the New York City police just recently killed two cab drivers (unbeknown to the public, mind you) and staged a robbery just to make the masses call on the police for protection. The police see killing the cab drivers as a necessary step in carrying out the genocide against Black people. The police agencies want to convince Black people that the police are their protectors and their saviors so black people won't organize to fight the police and the government. The oppressors, the ruling class and the members of their police agencies, are insane and they don't know the solution to their mental problems.

Hear me out. There is more. The ruling class is carrying out a mental genocide against everybody in America. Everybody is being driven insane. Everybody is being given an inferiority complex. It is people with an inferiority complex that are always arguing and who escalate arguments into fights. It is persons with an inferiority complex who kill people. It is people with an inferiority complex who drink and die from liver damage; who drink, drive and

(Next page)



Teddy Jah Heath

Black Liberation Army Soldier

Born:

September 15, 1942

Passed on to the Martyrs:

January 21, 2001

Credit: MXGM/NY & Jericho/NY

Teddy Jah Heath was born to a working class family in the Caribbean. In 1966, at an early adult age, he arrived in the city of the Rotten Apple (New York) to find the same repressive conditions that he had left in the Caribbean. During his stay in New York, Jah became familiar with the Black Power and civil rights movement. In 1968, he joined the Black Panther Party working

in a number of its programs for empowerment and self-defense.

As with all members of the Party at the time, Jah was affected by the overt and covert counter-intelligence activities of the local police departments as well as the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Jah was a member of the New York BPP when the entire New York leadership was arrested and charged with numerous counts of conspiracy in what was to become known as the "Panther 21" case. The Panther 21 spent two years in prison before being acquitted of ALL charges. After the Panther 21 acquittal, Jah, seeing an organization disrupted by overt and covert

attack, decided to join the Underground as a member of the Black Liberation Army (BLA). The government sought out former BPP members who had gone underground in sophisticated search-and-destroy missions, killing many such as Harold Russell and Twyman Meyers and imprisoning others.

On May 2nd, 1973, Jah was arrested and charged with the politically motivated kidnapping of an Organized Crime figure from Westchester County, an affluent suburb of New York. Jah's trial occurred in Westchester before an all-white jury amidst government-orchestrated BLA hysteria. Jah was denied the attorney of his choice. This and other racist rulings by the trial judge forced Jah to cease participating in the proceedings. He was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment, even though no one was injured during the alleged kidnapping.

(Next page)

Jah continued his political study, spiritual growth and organizing from the moment of his kapture to his passing this January 21st IN THE PRISON. Jah was one of them soldiers who wore the name proudly, BLACK LIBERATION ARMY, at a time when it was most unpopular and even dangerous to even utter in public. For those of his comrades still imprisoned and even more who were not able to make it, know that his "send-off" at the Marcus Jackson Funeral Home (the send-off station for most of our martyrs) with Reverend Herbert Daughtry officiating, would have met your absolute approval. And we thank the Family for allowing such.

JAH LIVES!

- Help is still needed to cover the funeral and burial expenses. Any one or group who wishes to help the Family meet those costs please contact Jah's Sister below:
- Yvonne Graham
C/O MALCOLM X
GRASSROOTS MOVEMENT
1195 BEDFORD AVE.
BROOKLYN, NY 11216



SONIA SANCHEZ. poetry, fiction, plays. Latest work, *A Sound Investment* (Third World Press). On what happened to the revolutionary fervor of the sixties: "I think it's a misconception when people talk about the 1960's and say that the fervor has died down. What people fail to understand is that it has not died down of its own accord but that the country, through the FBI and CIA, began to move against the 1960's so-called revolution. It took 12 to 13 years of systematic plotting, but the disintegration was pretty much accomplished. What [the government] did in Chile and Cuba, for instance, they did here to Blacks in this country. The militants of the sixties were not just a bunch of people jumping up saying that they were *bad*. They constituted a Black social force.

When this country looked up and saw this force coming toward it, it retreated for a while. [Then] the country systematically brought in more dope and systematically began to give us something called 'disco madness.' I'm talking about systematic destruction of the revolutionary thrust through manipulation and infiltration, through death, through dope, through jailing people."

kill; who take drugs and die from overdosing, die from aids; who have crack babies that die; it is people who have an inferiority complex who smoke and die from lung cancer. The source of this inferiority complex is the result of brainwashing conducted by the government of the united states. The consequence of brainwashing the masses is that millions upon millions of people have been killed by the united states government right here in the united states. Yes, the u.s. government is worst than the worst dictatorship that has ever existed. Yes, the united states government commits police brutality murders. But unlike in El Salvador or in Chile---countries wherein the government kills those persons who the government dislikes... unlike in El Salvador or in Chile, unbeknown to the u.s. public, rather than kill a dissident, rather than kill someone who the u.s. government does not like, the u.s. government's policy is to kill a member of the dissident's family. Two cases immediately leaps in mind: the case of Lemrick Nelson and the case of the son of a police major who was killed in Providence Road Island. In the case of Lemrick Nelson, before he came to the united states he lived in Trinidad in an extended family situation. In Trinidad people say Lemrick Nelson's family and the family next door were so emotionally close that they were in fact one family. After Lemrick Nelson's family moved to New York city the other family, the Cedano family, also moved to new york city. The new york city police department personnel say Lemrick Nelson played a principal role in causing numerous police officers to be hurt in the Crown Heights rebellion and the police officers wanted to kill Lemrick Nelson. Because of the indirect retaliatory policy in place in the united states, instead of killing Lemrick Nelson, which would have lead to immediate anger and organizing against the police, the police killed Kevin Cedano, a member of Lemrick Nelson's extended family. Moreover, in the Providence Road Island case, the day after a high ranking black police officer issued a report detailing that racial profiling is practiced on The police force his son, who was also a police officer, was killed by fellow police officers who were in the dead officers police training academy class. Other examples of the police practicing this policy are too numerous to mention at this time. Members of the american government are the worst serial murders that have ever existed. Nuh fought to stop the maniac killers.

Yet it is the manic oppressors who have criminalized Nuh. What do I mean? The u.s. government labeled Nuh a criminal. Time after time they have labeled Nuh criminal. By labeling Nuh a criminal, by placing Nuh in the category of criminal, the oppressors intend to train the masses to get in the habit of when they think of Nuh, a freedom fighter, a Black person, they should also conjure up the thoughts of Jeffrey Dummer, a criminal who killer and ate 18 people. This is what the process of criminalizing and demonizing as all about.

Indeed, at every turn, even though Nuh has been diagnosed with cancer and given 3 to 10 months to live, the guards at the prisons and the hospitals that house Nuh torment and torture him. The guards don't think they are tormenting and torturing a freedom fighter. The guards think they are torturing the famous criminal, Jeffrey Dommer, who they have been trained to hate. The ruling class oppressors trains people to think of Nuh as a criminal like Jeffrey Dummer so

STOP THE LEGAL LYNCHING OF MUMIA ABU-JAMAL!

people can easily torture and kill him, easily torture and kill a freedom fighter, easily torture and kill a Black person.

Nuh is symbolic of you. Nuh personifies all of you, because he has done what all of you have done and he has the same attributes as all of you. Nuh has examined the capitalist system that we are forced to live under and he has found it to be the modern form of slavery. He has found it's outstanding features to be racism, sexism, homophobia, merciless exploitation and poverty, widespread insanity and the implementing of a policy of genocide against colored people and progressive white forces.

Subsequent to having assessed the system we are forced to live under, and subsequent to having arrived at the conclusions talked about above, because Nuh loves himself, because Nuh thinks of himself as intelligent, because Nuh regards himself as courageous, because Nuh thinks of himself as a highly valued humanbeing, Nuh done the sane act,--the sane act of becoming a freedom fighter. We must advocate and fight for sanity harder than nazi capitalists fight to impose insanity on the whole world. What Nuh is doing, you must do.

We can defeat the nazi nuts by telling everyone to say: I love myself; I am a courageous person; I am an intelligent person; I am a powerful person and I can do anything; I am a king or I am a Queen. Black people should also say: I love my beautiful Black African skin. This is the mindset that Nuh has, a mindset which has enabled him to endure every hardship heaped on him.

Some people say that Albert Nuh Washington, Like H. Rap Brown--now known as Jamil Abdullah Al-Amin, is a figure from the 1960s. Neither figure nor their heroic deeds is transixed in the past. The ruling class has oppressed people in the 1840s, the 1940s, the 1950s, the 1960s and they are oppressing people right now. Oppression and genocide are in full effect in the year 2000. Accordingly, Albert Nuh Washington and his heroic deeds transcends past time points to the present. Like before, Albert Nuh Washington is a hero today. By the force of his example, Nuh recommends that non-freedom fighters transform their damaged capitalist mindset into the mindset of a positive, progressive bright freedom fighter so you can become your own highly regarded hero. Power to the people first means you must empower yourself the way Albert Nuh Washington did.

Nuh you are our hero!

Support Albert Nuh Washington!

I love my beautiful Black skin!

I love my beautiful African hair!

I love my beautiful African nose!

I love my beautiful African lips!

I love my beautiful African _____
(You fill in the blanks)



A Howard student wears a noose around her neck to protest, along with 75 others, the failure of a 1934 conference on crime to take up lynching.

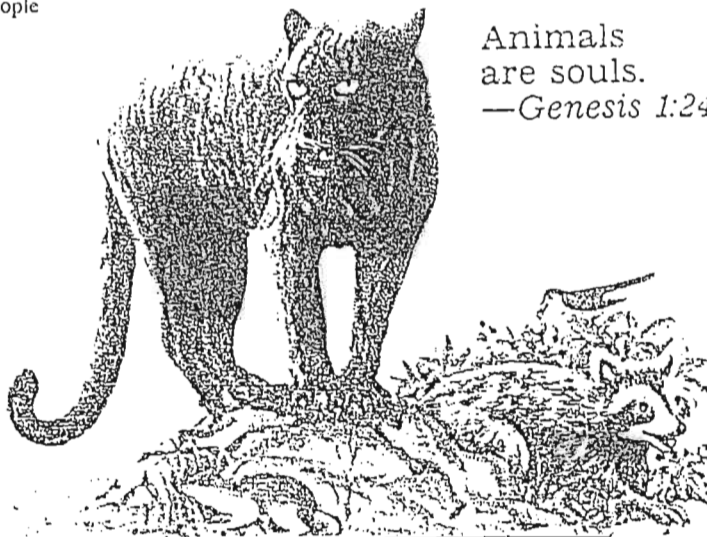
EVERY TIME
A REVOLT
ALL BUT OF
SLAVERY
DIES
IN ME



Assata Shakur. American Black Panther in exile Assata Shakur, formerly JoAnne Chesimard, is the subject of filmmaker Gloria Rolando's latest work *Eyes of the Rainbow*. In the sixties and seventies Shakur was an active member of the Black Liberation Movement. She spent six years in prison for her connection to a shoot-out on a New Jersey turnpike that left a state trooper dead. Shakur escaped from prison, went

underground for several years, and re-emerged in Cuba in 1987, where she has lived ever since. She is the author of the autobiography, *Assata*.

From the interview: "I think that in order to struggle you have to be creative. In my life, creativity has been something that has sustained me; it awoke my spiritual struggle."



How many revolutions are we going to be called upon to make to assure rich and comforting interpersonal relationships and unhampered fucking for the people whose privilege is so great that they can afford to worry about their spirits instead of their bellies? How many more people are we going to help die in Indochina by howling that fighting against imperialism is "antiwoman" or a "Penis war" or "dominated by men"? How long are we going to remain absurd because, in the eyes of the vast majority of peoples in the world, *we are absurd, self-seeking, blind and ignorant.*

—Marlene Dixon, *Why women's liberation—2?*



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"Amnesty: An act in which the rulers PARDON the injustices they have committed."

Ambrose Bierce

(* The definition in Bierce's Devil's Dictionary is actually: Amnesty: The state's magnanimity to those offenders whom it would be too expensive to punish."

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Grateford, PA 19426-0244

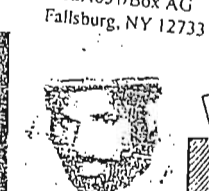
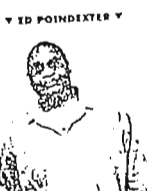
Seth Olugbala

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

Please go to page 9, 10, 13, 32 for other names of prisoners, and page 36 & 54 for contacts of groups who do the work... The next issue of Anarchist Panther will bring more info on the anarchist and anti-authoritarian political prisoners who also need our support.

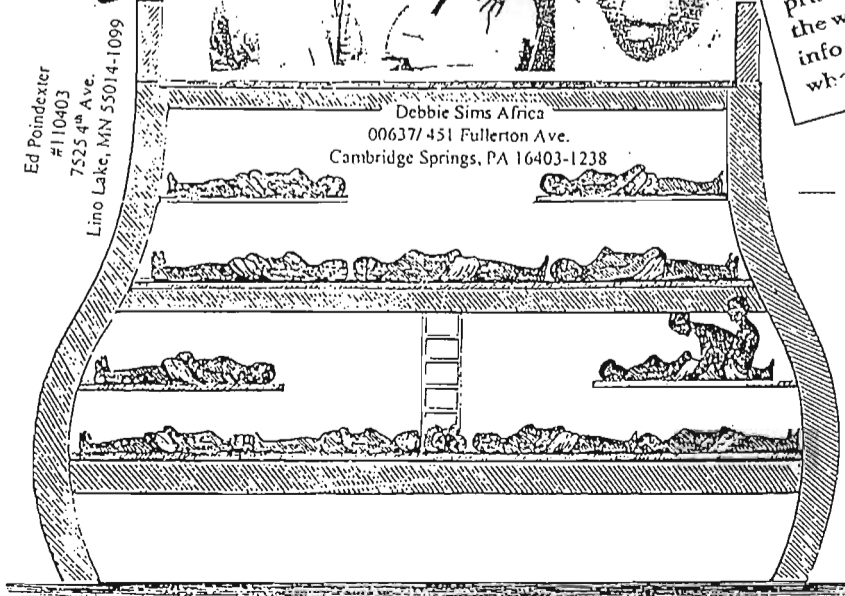


Ed Poindexter #110403
7525 4th Ave.
Lino Lake, MN 55014-1099



Bashceer Hameed
82A631/Box AG
Fallsburg, NY 12733

Debbie Sims Africa
006377/451 Fullerton Ave.
Cambridge Springs, PA 16403-1238



Cross Section of a Slave Ship



Abdul Majid (Laborde)
83A483 / Wende CF
Wende Rd. POB 1187
Alden, NY 14004-1187



Mondo we Langa (David Rice)
27768 / Box 2500
Lincoln, NE 68542-2500



Y DELBERT AFRICA Y



Delbert Africa
AM 4985 / Drawer K
Dallas, PA 19612

LIBERTAD para los presos politicos



Y ALBERT NUH WASHINGTON





I am talking of millions of men who have been skilfully injected with fear, inferiority complexes, trepidation, servility, despair and abasement.
 Frantz Fanon

15. Watching Me

(Jill Scott, Ted Thomas, Jr., Rich Medina, Roy Ayers, William Allen)

First thing when I wake up and right before I close my eyes at night I think, sense, feel man like I'm under some kind of microscope Satellites over my head, transmitters in my dollas / Hawkin', watchin', scopin', jockin' / Scrutinizin' me, checkin' to see what I'm doin', where I be, who I see, how and where and with whom I make my money / What is this? / "Excuse me miss. / May I have your phone number and social security?" Who me? When all I came to do is buy my double or triple A batteries? Please. I decline

Watchin' me

Look here at this watch of mine Gotta open it up / Don't know who's been in it / Trackin' where I go Findin' out all my bin ness Sa cure a ty / Video cameras locked on me / In every dressing room on every floor in every store / Damn can I get that democracy and equality and privacy / You busy watchin' me watchin' me

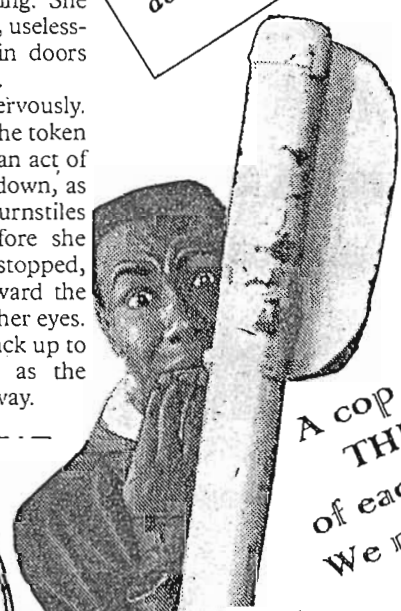
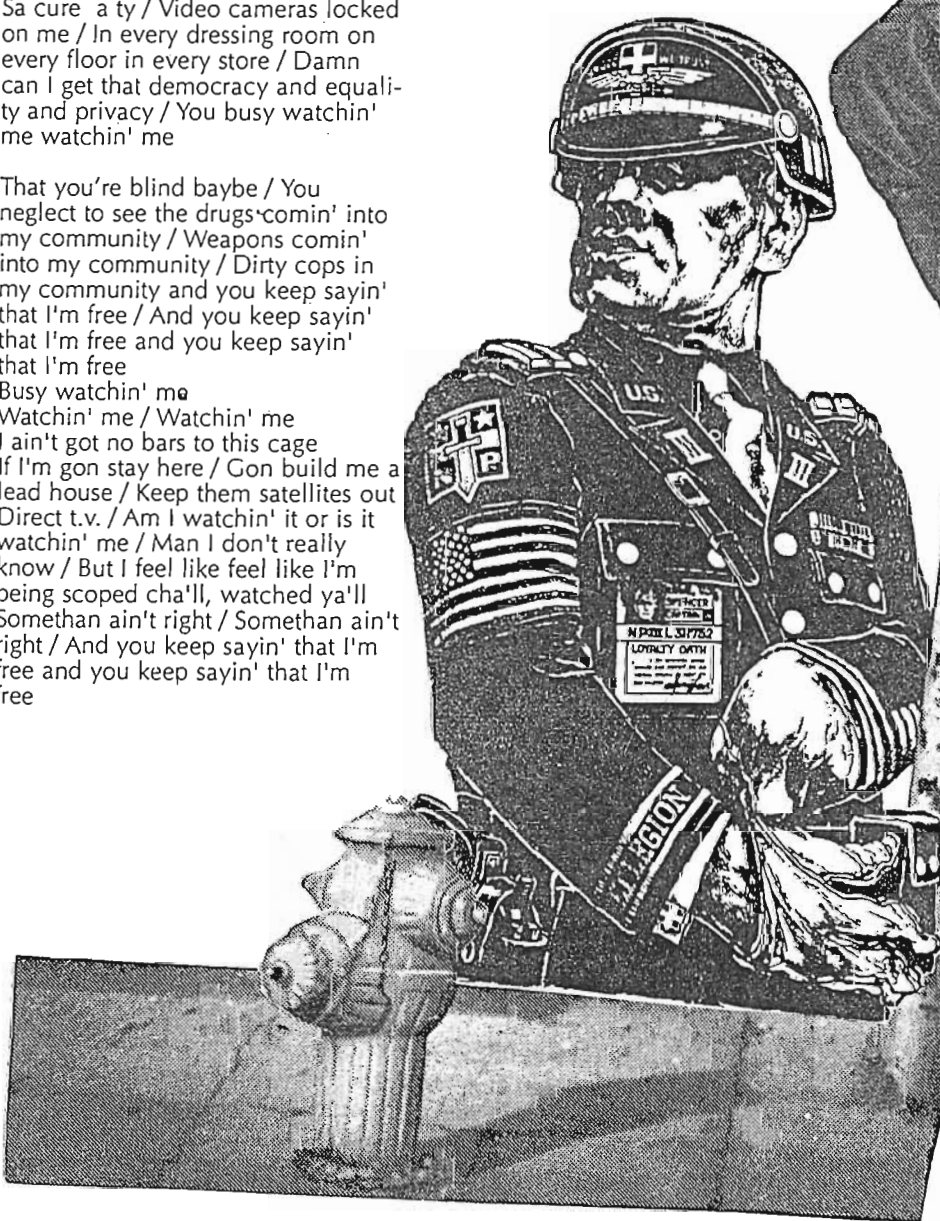
That you're blind baybe / You neglect to see the drugs comin' into my community / Weapons comin' into my community / Dirty cops in my community and you keep sayin' that I'm free / And you keep sayin' that I'm free and you keep sayin' that I'm free Busy watchin' me Watchin' me / Watchin' me I ain't got no bars to this cage If I'm gon stay here / Gon build me a lead house / Keep them satellites out Direct t.v. / Am I watchin' it or is it watchin' me / Man I don't really know / But I feel like feel like I'm being scoped cha'll, watched ya'll Somethan ain't right / Somethan ain't right / And you keep sayin' that I'm free and you keep sayin' that I'm free

BEST EVIDENCE THAT BIG BROTHER IS ALIVE AND WELL

Why We Stick with Tokens. The train was pulling in just as we reached the bottom of the stairs at the 28th St. N/R stop. We weren't in a terrible hurry, and few things in this world look quite as silly as someone running for a train, so we decided to hang out for a minute and let the rush pass. Unfortunately, the small Asian woman at the turnstiles was in a hurry. And, as should be expected at such times, her MetroCard wasn't working. She swiped it and swiped it and swiped it, uselessly, her frenzy increasing as the train doors opened and people started piling off.

She glanced over her shoulder nervously. We were standing between her and the token booth, watching the show. Then, in an act of panicked desperation, she stooped down, as if to make a bold dash beneath the turnstiles so she could catch her train. Before she made that final move, however, she stopped, glanced back over her shoulder toward the token booth again, the guilt clear in her eyes. She smiled sheepishly, then stood back up to continue swiping her MetroCard as the doors closed and the train pulled away.

N.Y. PRESS 9/27/00

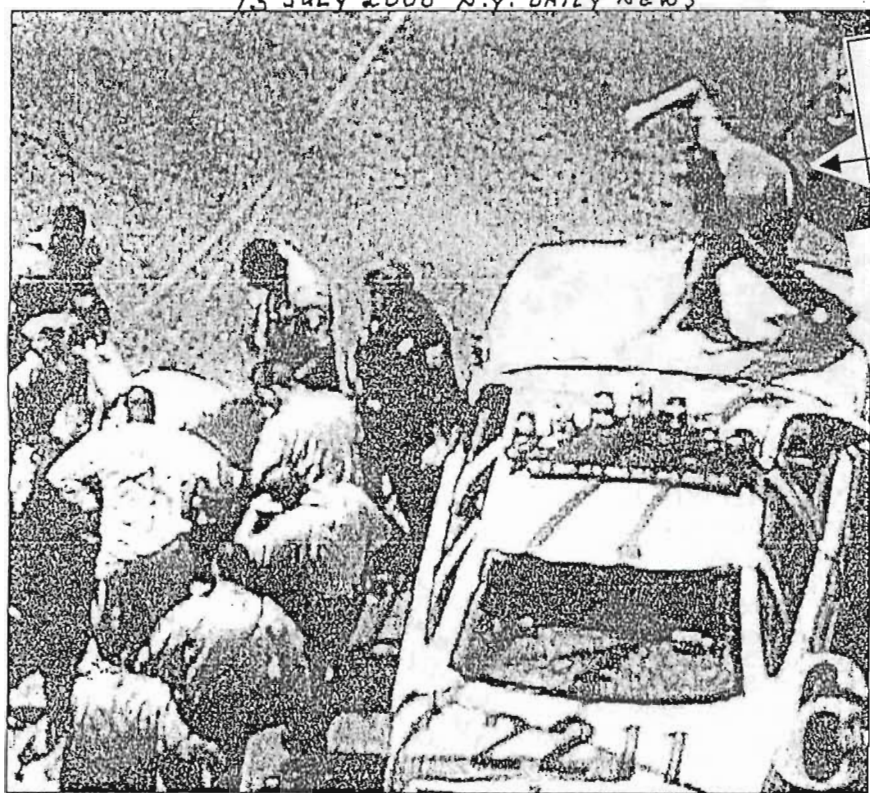


A cop sleeps in THE HEAD of each one of us. We must kill him.

Feds: Snooping on E-mails not privacy threat

REUTERS JULY 25, 2000
 WASHINGTON — The feds tried to calm fears yesterday that its Internet wiretapping system — with the ominous name of Carnivore — would subject everyone's E-mails to federal snooping.
 Carnivore allows U.S. law enforcement agencies to find and follow the E-mails of a criminal suspect among the flood of other data passing through an Internet service provider. Lawmakers and privacy advocates have expressed concerns the program may cast too wide a net, trawling through the E-mails of the innocent to come up with the communications of the target of an investigation. FBI officials, however, told a House Judiciary subcommittee hearing that the system has a far more narrow focus and could be used, like telephone intercepts, only under the specific terms of a court order.
 Carnivore "does" not search through the contents of every message and collect those that contain keywords like 'bomb' and 'drugs,' FBI Assistant Director Donald Kerr said. "It selects messages based on criteria expressly set out in the court order, for example, messages transmitted to or from a particular account or to or from a particular user."

13 JULY 2000 N.Y. DAILY NEWS



PAIN & ANGER Video from Philadelphia news helicopter shows cops beating and kicking man who allegedly shot officer in thumb and then stole police car.

Police beat suspect on video

PHILADELPHIA — Dramatic videotape shows Philadelphia cops beating and kicking a man for 30 seconds yesterday after they pulled him from a cop car that police say he stole from an officer he shot.

The man, who appeared to resist officers as he was led away in a chokehold and handcuffs, was in critical condition with injuries to his abdomen and arms, a hospital spokeswoman said. Police said the man had been shot by officers two or three times in the earlier incident.

Police Commissioner John Timoney, a former top official in the NYPD, said questions about police brutality were premature. He brushed off comparisons to the videotaped beating of Rodney King by cops in Los Angeles.

"When somebody doesn't want to get arrested, there really isn't a very easy way of doing it," he said.

The incident began when two cops pulled over the suspect when they learned his car was stolen. There was a confrontation with the man after he and cops got out of their cars, and an officer was shot in the thumb and was in stable condition.

The suspect jumped into the police car and fled before the car was stopped by other officers. Video from a WPVI-TV helicopter showed a dozen men, some in uniform and some in civilian clothes, surrounding the suspect on the ground, beating and kicking him for half a minute. He was then led away.

The Associated Press

Philly cops spied at rally

By JOHN MARZULLI and JOANNE WASSERMAN
DAILY NEWS STAFF WRITERS

With the NYPD's blessing, Philadelphia cops conducted a cloak-and-dagger surveillance of demonstrators at a May Day rally in Union Square — possibly violating a 1985 consent decree designed to protect people's privacy.

At the May 1 rally, undercover Philly cops snapped pictures of about 20 demonstrators dressed in black and covering their mouths with bandanas — the same outfits protesters wore in last fall's violent rally at the World Trade Organization meeting in Seattle.

It was part of Philadelphia police strategy to identify troublemakers who have said they plan to attend the Republican National Convention, said Philadelphia Police Commissioner John Timoney. "We are reacting to all different information coming over the Internet regarding what people may or

may not do," said Timoney, former first deputy police commissioner of the NYPD.

Rally leaders expect 30,000 peaceful demonstrators in Philadelphia, and have promised "massive civil disobedience" if they are forbidden to demonstrate in the streets and confined to reserved pens.

Internet sites are filled with information for would-be protesters, including a roster of activities ranging from a July 31 "March for Economic Human Rights" to an Aug. 2 "Convention Disruption."

But the picture-taking in Union Square may have violated the 1985 Handschu consent decree, which established a three-person panel to oversee surveillance of activists and political groups by the NYPD's Intelligence division.

Under the agreement, police must have "specific information" that a crime is being or about to be committed.

"The court order forbids the

New York Police [Department] to host or help visiting police spy on the lawful political activities of New Yorkers," said Franklin Siegel of the Center for Constitutional Rights.

Siegel yesterday wrote to Police Commissioner Howard Safir and Corporation Counsel Michael Hess charging the agreement had been violated.

In the letter, Siegel wrote that city police "cooperated, facilitated and supported activities" of the Philadelphia police.

Bruce Bentley, a lawyer who attended the demonstration, said a top city police official pointed out the Philadelphia cops to him.

"When I asked if that was a violation of [the agreement], he said it did not apply to Philadelphia police," Bentley said.

NYPD spokesman Tom Fahy said yesterday that city cops did not cooperate with Philadelphia police because "pictures were not shared. If [lawyers] think there was a violation, they can challenge us."

The degree of civilization in a society can be judged by entering its prisons.

DOSTOEVSKI *The House of the Dead*

That's how I look upon those cats in those penitentiaries. I don't care what they're in for—robbery, burglary, rape, murder, kidnap, anything. A response to a situation. A response to an environment. Any social science book will tell you that if you subject people to an unpleasant environment, you can predict that they will rebel against it. That gives rise to a contra-

diction. When you have a social unit organized in such a way that people are moved to rebel against it in large numbers, how then do you come behind them and tell them that they owe a debt to society? I say that society owes a debt to them. And society doesn't look as though it wants to pay.

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Now, what provoked this muthafuckin PIG to climb ON TOP of the pignobile in order to jump DOWN on the brother ALREADY getting the SHIT kicked out of him by Negro & cracker pigs??? Philly-style.

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

The Criminal Injustice System "cops & robbers"

This newsletter is non-profit. We didn't plan it - it just worked out that way, what with the cost of paper, postage, etc.

The Criminal Injustice System, however, supports judges, wardens, guards, and a vast army of police, both above and below ground.

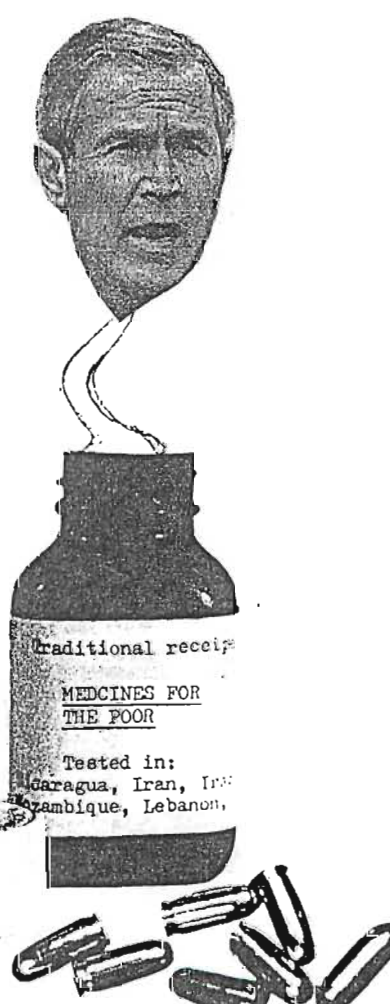
These thousands of employees all have pretty good salaries and benefits. Cops can retire after twenty years on a nice pension. This means if they start at 21 they are home free in their forties.

I used to call the police The Army of the Rich, but after being mugged and robbed a few times myself, I began to appreciate them a little more.

I mean, without the police a Motorcycle Gang could move right into my house and make me and my wife cook and clean for them.

Still, no one in the Criminal Injustice System really wants to stop crime or the never ending "COPS AND ROBBERS GAME".

Crime could mostly be eliminated by sentencing each captured criminal to work at an interesting job for about \$50,000 per year. That would sure take a bite out of crime, and would cost about the same as the current system.



The occurrence of crime is inevitable in a society in which wealth is unequally distributed. . . . crimes are profound but suppressed social needs which express themselves in antisocial modes of action.

—Angela Davis

Stealing is not yet a sign of class-consciousness; but a brief moment of reflection shows—despite our inner moral resistance—that the man who refuses to

submit to law and steals when he is hungry, that is to say the man who manifests a will to live, has more energy and fight in him than the one who lies down unprotesting on the butcher's slab. We persist in believing that the fundamental problem of a correct psychological doctrine is not why a hungry man steals but the exact opposite: why doesn't he steal?

—Wilhelm Reich

The Military Sadistic Precision of the 9 to 5 job

Waking to an Alarm Clock at 6 in the morning turns every day into an EMERGENCY

You probably feel bad in the morning because you have been ALARMED

Where is the FIRE??? Even in peacetime, we rush and COMPETE as if a WAR was going on!

Lets all ask our employers for Flex Time and a four-day week.

If we all agree to sleep late and arrive at work around 10:30, can they fire the whole city? I don't think so.

Lets hear your opinion on more natural hours. When do you wake up if you don't set the alarm?

As usual, all letters will be published.

LOTTO FEVER

The average guy or gal doesn't stand a chance. He is doomed to be a working stiff till the day he dies.

Between his genuine desire to love, protect and support his family, and the corporate military sadistic precision of the 9 to 5 job he is lucky to avoid cancer or early heart attack.

About the most he can hope for is to collapse in front of the TV on a weekend with a sixpack.

This is called THE CAPITALIST TRAP.

or YE OLDE SQUEEZE PLAYE

FAMILY —>YOU JERK<—BOSS

Oh well, maybe you'll hit the lottery.

Some Workers Kill

People who are treated like slaves or treated like dirt for too long get very ANGRY.

When they can't express their anger at the person who caused it, they may start walking around

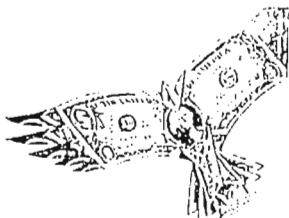
"ANGRY AT THE WORLD"

The unfortunate postal workers who kill their co-workers or boss have been mistreated for years before they CRACK.

Many gang members and weird guys who shoot rifles at complete strangers are

"ANGRY AT THE WORLD"

Don't let this happen to you!



What If . . .

11-16-00 NY TIMES

Teacher With Many Arrests Stayed on Staff, Report Says

By EDWARD WYATT

A Bronx school district continued to employ a tenured teacher even though she had been arrested eight times in the last four years on a variety of misdemeanor charges, according to a report released yesterday by the special commissioner of investigation for the public schools.

Edward F. Stancik, the special commissioner, faulted bureaucracy at the Board of Education for delays in disciplining the teacher and for failed communications between the board, which is supposed to gather information about arrests, and Community School District 10 in the northwest Bronx.

In the report to Schools Chancellor Harold O. Levy, Mr. Stancik also recommended that the teacher, Veronica Hernandez, be fired.

Ms. Hernandez, who was suspended without pay in September, could not be reached through a phone call to a Bronx address provided by Mr. Stancik's office. Virginia Lopreto, a Manhattan lawyer representing Ms. Hernandez, declined to comment. Mr. Levy and officials from District 10 also declined to comment.

Randi Weingarten, president of the United Federation of Teachers, placed some blame on the board. "This is a perfect example of the Board of Education having the tools available to do something about a problem and failing to do so," she said, adding that the tenure system would not have prevented the board from bringing charges against Ms. Hernandez.

Mr. Stancik's report describes a series of arrests during Ms. Hernandez's career in the public school system and earlier. She was hired in 1993 as a teacher of English as a second language at Public School 91 in District 10. At the time, she already had four misdemeanor convictions in the previous seven years. Three of the convictions were for



Veronica Hernandez, a Bronx teacher with an arrest record.

shoplifting or petty larceny and one was for disorderly conduct.

After being hired, Ms. Hernandez was arrested in 1995 and convicted of petty larceny. She was removed from the classroom and assigned to the district office, but was returned to P.S. 91 in June 1997.

After an arrest in March 1998 on a charge of attempted grand larceny, Ms. Hernandez was again removed from the classroom and assigned to the district office pending disciplinary charges. Ms. Hernandez was arrested five more times before she was suspended from her job without pay in September.

Two arrests in 1997, both in New Jersey, resulted in one conviction for shoplifting and one for disorderly conduct. Charges are pending in cases involving arrests on numerous charges, including attempted grand larceny, contempt of court, passing a bad check and assault.

What If . . .

. . . we looked BEYOND the MUG SHOT, BEYOND the intended to make her look bad title: "Teacher With Many ARRESTS" . . .

and asked ourselves,

What kind of teacher is she?

Do the children love her?

Does she love them and her work as a teacher? Hmmm?

TEACHERS as OUTLAWS
OUTLAWS as TEACHERS

who don't git paid SHIT and resort to VICTIMLESS CRIME as a means of SURVIVAL. Hmmm... It's a thought.

We say FUCK THAT!

February 26, 2001

Chattanooga 3 Get Suspended Sentences
For "Good Motivations"

by JONINA M. ABRON
Correspondent
National Newspaper Publishers' Association

(Chattanooga, Tenn.) -- In a surprise ruling, a Criminal Court judge today gave three black anti-police brutality activists suspended sentences for disrupting a 1998 meeting of the Chattanooga City Council.

Before sentencing Lorenzo Komboa Ervin, Damon McGee and Mikail Musa Muhammad (Ralph P. Mitchell)--known as the "Chattanooga 3"--Judge Rebecca J. Stern told the three men, "I believe your motivations were good. Your method was wrong, but your message was right."

Calling Ervin the leader of the disruption, Stern gave him a 60-day suspended sentence and ordered him to do 10 days of community service. McGee and Muhammad each received 30-day suspended sentences and five days of community service. In addition, Stern ruled that the three activists must pay court costs.

Muhammad was also convicted of resisting arrest. He will service his sentences concurrently.

The Chattanooga 3 were convicted Jan. 11 of disrupting the May 19, 1998, meeting of the city council. Several hours before the meeting, the Coalition Against Police Brutality, to which Ervin, McGee and Muhammad belonged, organized a march on city hall in which over 150 people protested the police killings days earlier of two black men, Kevin McCullough and Montrail Collins.

Leaders of the coalition arranged with then City Council President David Crockett for Ervin, one of the coalition's leaders, to present his proposal for community control of the Chattanooga police to the city council.

Over 100 people attended the city council meeting to support Ervin's proposal. However, when it came time for Ervin to speak, Crockett would not allow it. After Ervin went to the speaker's podium and began reading a statement denouncing police brutality, he was arrested. McGee and Muhammad, who were at the podium with Ervin, were also arrested.

Under Tennessee's disruption law, it is a misdemeanor offense to make a verbal utterance or take a physical action that disrupts a lawful meeting.

Interviewed after today's hearing, Ervin said that he expected Stern to give him the maximum prison sentence for disruption, six months, and was surprised that he received a lighter suspended sentence. He attributed the suspended sentences given to him, McGee and Muhammad in part to a rally Saturday attended by some 50 supporters of the three black activists held in front of the office of Hamilton County Sheriff John Cupp.

One of the people at the rally was from Brighton, England. Other activists came from Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, Asheville, N.C., Kalamazoo, Mich., Kentucky and Atlanta.

The rally received extensive television coverage, Ervin said, and as a result, "it was a completely different courtroom today than when we were tried last month."

In a four-page written statement that he gave to Stern and the press, Ervin described the Jan. 9-11 trial of the Chattanooga 3 as "...a kangaroo court trial, a political show trial, to satisfy the desire of local officials for revenge [against me]...."

In 1987, Ervin and other members of a local civil rights group formerly known as concerned citizens for Justice filed a federal voting rights discrimination lawsuit. As a result of the lawsuit, the Chattanooga City Council was created in 1990, and the first blacks were elected to local government since 1911.

The Chattanooga 3 will appeal their convictions and will take their case to the U.S. Supreme Court if necessary, Ervin said. "The suspended sentences were only a partial victory. The disruption law is dangerous and undemocratic. The fight of the Chattanooga 3 will not be over until this law is declared unconstitutional."

Prior to sentencing, Ervin, McGee and Muhammad each addressed the court.

"There should be no sentences. We are civil rights activists, not disrupters," McGee said. "We went to the city council meeting to petition the government to investigate the police killings of Kevin McCullough and Montrail Collins and to stop the rampant police beatings and killings of black and poor people in this city."

In a written statement that he gave to Stern, McGee included the names of the 42 people who have been killed by Chattanooga police since the early 1980s.

In his statement, Muhammad said, "I am not begging the

They oink,

"RESISTANCE IS FUTILE"



CORRECTION OFFICERS FROM KENTUCKY BROADCAST THEIR FAVORITE MOTTO.

Yeah, Um lookin' at CHU out there... In d' future, 2001 Same battle-cry: RESISTANCE. Now, git to work! And drop a nigga a letter and flick, keep me updated.

Umma escape back to Brooklyn, and join that black anarchist stick-up group & stick up the muthafuckin white house!



Prisoners in painful stocks, Georgia, 1937. (Pictures, Inc.)

court for anything. I had a right to stand up against injustice. The legal and moral thing for you [Stern] to do is not give me any sentence."

Ervin said "there was no criminal intent" to disrupt the city council meeting. "We made arrangements to speak. The law [First Amendment] says that the people have a right to redress their grievances to government officials."

The Chattanooga 3 case was Ervin's second conviction for disruption. In 1993, Ervin and seven other civil rights activists, known as the "Chattanooga 8," were arrested for disrupting a police memorial service in downtown Chattanooga. Ervin and one other protester were convicted in 1994.

"The disruption law should be called the Ervin law," Ervin said, drawing laughter in the courtroom. According to Professor Dwight Aarons of the University of Tennessee College of Law, there have only been two disruption cases in Tennessee since the state legislature amended the disruption law in 1989. Ervin was a defendant in both cases.

Earlier this month, the Tennessee Supreme Court said it would not consider Ervin's appeal of his 1994 disruption conviction. Ervin said that he will appeal the case in either federal district court or the U.S. Supreme Court.

END

**DESTROY
COMMUNITY IMPERIALISM,
TAKE CONTROL,
BIT BY BIT!**



The First Trip

What's a
Black Man
Doing Here
In
ZapatistaLand?

February-March 1997



First time I'm gonna leave the kountry. To Zap Land, a land who's Peoples are engaged in and are going through a different kind of Revolution. In fact, it's so different that traditional leftist 'experts' on these things are at a loss as to where to place it, how to define it and whether or not to even support it. To me though, this is an exciting struggle. It is not Marxist, Marxist-Leninist, Trotskyist, Maoist, Gonzaloist [*], traditional nationalist, etc. (* By Gonzaloist I mean those who follow the movement popularly known as "The Shinning Path" of Peru.) In short, it has not adopted a Vanguardist, Political Partyist, modern pre-packaged all-answered approach to Revolution. I'd dare call their style 'facilitationist,' without a Hidden Agenda. It is inclusive, anti-authoritarian, radical democratic, post-modernist. So, contrary to all who are stuck in blueprints and fomulas from the Great Ones of Revolution Past, I say, All Power to the Zapatistas! for rejecting flunkeyism, as Eldridge Cleaver would say, cause revolution is about daring intellectual honesty, creativity and practice. It's about Che's Love. It's about shaking boundaries of all kinds and even breaking them. And to me, it's obvious that Zapatistas are aware that it's a truly new day, space and time. Subcomandante Marcos, Ramona, Tacho, Trini and company seem not to fear wrestling with these drastically changing imperialist times with some new combative and liberatory thinking. Enough.



Listen, I'm a big kid in ways. So, I knew I'd take to this new experience like a kid. I recorded in my journals not only sites, but my thinkings about those sites. I also recorded what else I seemed to do 24-7: my thoughts on Revolution, new developments in revolutionary and philosophical thinkings and analyses and some introspections. So, I'm not sure if my entrees follow proper procedures. I can only tell you that they're my honest entrees. In sharing them I hope you will be encouraged to both support the Zap revolution and to see how your life impacts on the world (worlds) and also

how the world (worlds) impacts on YOU. Such a complex, multi-faceted, multi-dimensional life world we're in. So much to face, to learn, to do. There's probably never been such a social, spatial and time matrix in history as now that bounces any and every aspect of our lives and thinkings onto the center and peripheral stages of life and struggle. It is truly a great time to be alive and in the whirlwinds, undercurrents and roller-coasters of Revolution. Git on board.

The Everyday Journal

February 23rd - Happy Birffday Pops! - In San Cristobal, Chiapas, Mexico

Here with Sara and Dema. Me and Dema had decided that Sara should be 'the leader' cause she has the experience, best command of the language, and most resistance to being 'the leader.' Hal Here we are in other people's property (O.P.P.) and I'm checking out their library. This is the rented house of Kael and Melissa. Both are anarchists from Philly and here with a commitment to Zapatista Support Work. They are into building water-purification systems for Zap indigenous communities where needed. So yeah, this is a way-station for those like us going from the "city" of San Cristobal into the even more mountainous Zap communities. And they are hosts to our little crew.

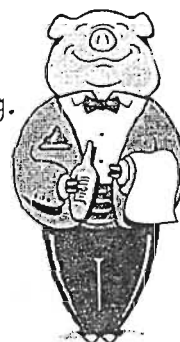


I was on a Talk Show (Steal This Radio) in the Lower East Side of New York City the other day. I was invited to speak on my recent trip to Mexico. More specifically, ZAPATISTA LAND., One of my Sisthus said jokingly that we should title this talk: "What's a Black Man..." we all laughed. But upon second-thought, hmmm ... Why not.

I'd like to share with readers my experiences on this my first trip to Zap Land, in particular, and Mexico in general. I was encouraged to keep a journal and actually ended up keeping two separate ones. There were two reasons for going on this trip. One was to support the on-going Zapatista revolutionary experiment in post-modern liberation struggle, and two, to use the time to get my own dam head together in terms of breaking out of this self-imposed imprisonment or self-colonization of my potential for 'becoming' as a human being and for bettering my revolutionary participation. OK, okay, I promise not to get too wordy but hey, I'm trying to convey as best I can where I'm going with the Experience I'm about to share.

One of my social movement family members from the Anarchist Black Cross (Sara) called one day and asked if I was really interested in going to Zap Land as we'd discussed at a prior Zap fund-raiser party. In my mind I said, "Oh shit, she's serious. Am I?" Folks know I talk about traveling, going places, never having been nowhere 'cept on that fuckin' federal prison bus. And now the opportunity is before me to do it. Do it? Hm. My heart says Yeah, but my mind is starting its regular shit: Excuses - Procrastinate. But this time I said, Fuck it! By-pass the bullshit. I'm gonna do it!, which verbalized itself to Sara as a big, YES.

Senior Puerco sez:
I'm a neo-Liberal Pig.
Sit down and let me
serve you. I know
EXACTLY what you
need. Trust me!



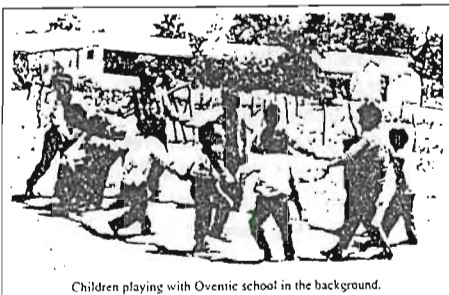
The "Talks" between Zaps and los mejicanos puercos (Is it puercos mejicanos/ pigs first, Mexicans second?- smile) have reached a stalemate. We hear there's an alarm, red alert of sorts, so our desires to visit and bring medical supplies to the Zap Camp may not happen. We'll see. We're here in San Cristobal in the state of Chiapas. The contrast. Coming from Super Tech Babylon to here. Seeing a poverty I'd only 'saw' in National Geographic or in radical media. I now see this FACE-TO-FACE. Aw-man, my heart goes out t the folks here, and my heart is crying! Little city kids hawking 'tourists' (us, too, as tourists regardless of how we might feel) for pesos, pennies really, selling their cultural artifacts whose makings and meanings go way back. I don't know, how many generations. To be reduced to this?! Contemporary Mayans; majestic, proud Mayans. Shoe-shine, shoe-shine. Bracelet. Necklace. Doll... The impact of NEO-LIBERALISM is what the Zapatistas call it. Don Cordellion has cut off the head of the prize horse and has presented it to the world's villagers. That's NAFTA, the offer you can't refuse.

A land of varied peoples. And the Indigenous folks, with their short selves... (I was told that that might be kinds fucked up to say as it doesn't consider that their height may have to do to with their diet UNDER OPPRESSION & EXPLOITATION. Well, I am here to learn). A Chicagoan here, who's a Zap supporter, said that it was only 25 years ago that the powers-that-be here in San Cristobal ALLOWED the Indigenous Folks into THEIR city. Dam, treated like niggas! Ain't that some shit! Yeah, they need some Zapatistas, got-dammit. Fuck it.

I can't figure out yet what Zap support is here among the city residents and Indigenous Folks, but there's boku literature, videos and other paraphernalia around to purchase on this contemporary folklore of the Zaps. And the Folks make plenty of Zap dolls with characteristic masks and weapons. Some on doll horses. Cute. Powerful. And you know I gotta get me one of them on horseback (the only permissible occasion for a macho revolutionary man to be getting a doll. (Smile) A woman Zap preferably. With government hatred and intimidation of Zapatistas and supporters, aint this some sign of open support to defiantly sell such? I understand it's survival \$\$, too, but shit, you willing to sell Zapatista symbols of resistance in spite of a brutal Mexican government intimidation campaign and these freelance reactionary muthafuckas? There's definitely some support here. How much? What other forms does it take? And how is it sustained for the obvlous long-term? Okay, enough for now. That's my interest in popular culture. You see where my head is at.

February 25th — The Reality

Well, we're here in La Realidad, a Zap stronghold. Day Two. We were hoping to leave 'yesterday' to our final destination, pero (but) our acceptance letter has not been answered yet. So, we enjoy the community's hospitality. Community? Village? Hm.



Children playing with Oventic school in the background.

I bathed today in the Ganges, not The Stream. Kid was smelling in a baaad (yet honorable) way. Smile. Difference between here and San Cristobal is as between city and country. San Cristobal the City (town to us?) seems to crush out joy in the faces of its people, especially the Folks. Lil' kids resemble defeated adults as they look at you with lifeless eyes and thrust out dirty hands. Fuckin' pigs! But here in La Realidad, a Zap community, faces are bright. Kids and adults. There's much laughter, play, work. Skies are bright, mountainous range just beautiful and animals are everywhere with the people. Chickens, roosters, dogs, cats,

horses, bugs...BUGS. Not a lot yet, but I hear that in December, they'll be really introducing themselves!

La Realidad is an indigenous community that was created maybe five years ago by several different Mayan peoples or groups made EXPENDABLE by NEO-LIBERALISM, i.e. "Hm. This land seems good for global profit. You business and government flunkies better get these worthless peasants off this land!"

La Realidad is also designated 'La Paz' (The Peace). The Zaps held a big international conference here, last year, and 4,000 activists showed from around the world. In fact, Gene (ABC-Bronx) was here. You have got to be here, know what kind of hike it is to even get here, to fully appreciate how such a feat was accomplished. And you talking bout some dedicated and Zap-inspired muthafuckas from far and near. Whew!

Me and my comrades are sort of attractions here. Wild-looking, blond short-haired Dema; boyish-looking Sara, and the big black bald-headed guy - ME. The kids stare at us, but particularly at me. Most of the international committee folks here are Europeans. Am I the first person of Afrikan descent they've seen? I'm gonna find out [*]

[* No, actually, a caravan of supporters and materiel from Reverend Lucas' Pastors For Peace group had been here. So, yes, they'd seen colored folks before.]

There's a nice group from the international peace-observers committee here. They're activist supporters. 3 from Spain. 1 from Switzerland, and I haven't learned where

the others are from yet. The Spanish camaradas know all about the Spanish Civil War (dah) of their parents and grandparents generations. This is exciting to hear. And yeah, I'm forced to call upon my high school Spanish classes to pick up and speak the language 'un poco.' But being in this group I'm reminded of the movie, 'Land & Freedom,' which is pretty much about this guy who comes over as an Internationalist supporter through the revolutionary Trotskyist group *POUM*, and how he experiences the betrayal of the people's struggle by the Communist Party in the Civil War. This mixed group is here on pure internationalist dedication and though there's a definite lull in the Zap/pig government talks, and low morale, they keep this peace work going in support of Zapatista aims.

I worked out today. Had a lil' audience. Everything is in the open here. Folks aint use to seeing no one do our kind of exercises. Indian sloop push-ups, stretches. Etc. And when I did some

boxing, kicking, blocking maneuvers and such, the Folks were amazed and ran and told Nikki (one of the Internationals from Switzerland) that that 'hombre' was doing some strange things and to come look. Glad my brothers aint see me, my ragged style. Glad nona my family in Jersey can see me now. They'd be convinced, 'Yeah, Michael's crazy.'

February 26th -
While Waiting for 'Word'

No word yet on if/when we can move on. So, patience is the key. This morning as we shared café. We found out that the three camaradas de Espana left early this morning. I'm a bit sad. We gathered round the candles last night til 10:30 talking. Imagine: 2 Italians, 1 Swiss, 3 Spaniards, me and Sara. Dema was having her bout with diarrhea elsewhere. And the topic was the Spanish Civil War. This was AT MY REQUEST EARLIER THY DAY. They were, like, READY. The discussion was spoz to have been around the two movies: 'Land & Freedom' and 'Libertarian Women.' What we really got into was a history of the whole Civil War, backdrop, background, Durruti, the role of the Women, etc. But before we even started, as we waited for yet another big pot of café to get hot on the open fire, our international friends wanted ME to talk about... What? THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY. Surprised? Yeah. Felt good, too.

It was as if I'd jumped right into a movie screen as I imagined being around the campfire during the Civil War with all these 'volunteers' from other countries come together to support an ideal: Freedom from Fascism. Here we were, our faces aglow by candlelight, talking about one of the most heroic revolutionary struggles in modern time, and one that was more or less anarchist and almost victorious. Ah, listen to them speak. At times animated, at times serious, at times humorous. At all times honest! Sara and Nikki did a lot of the translating for me, but I also found myself understanding a lot, as them high school and prison lessons had been kicking in. Curly would be proud of me!



Next morning. Here, you're up early, at sunrise or a lil' after. The roosters don't play. Hal its afternoon now and the café is hot, tortillas ready. Our Italian comrades had just gave us a short on the situation in Italy, re: anarchism, the Red Brigades, the Autonomous movement, Negri, etc. Then came the convoy of government soldiers and the internationalists had to do their 'peace work' with the camcorders, notebooks and pens. Observe, observe. Record,

(Next page)

record. This goes a long way in keeping them fascist muthufuckas out of these communities' asses. Avoid bad publicity... Anyway, after the convoy had passed, me and Dema went to the store. Small, one room hut-like thing, this store. Bought two sodas (fuckin coca-cola) and a pack of sweet crackers. Picked up our books and things and went to a spot to read/write on this lazy afternoon.

Nikki and about 5 folks who just arrived from the City came through. She's happy and the Italians are, too! These arrivals are from Italy, here to replenish and continue the Peace/La Paz work. Again, our crew waits for 'Word' on our intended destination to the military camp and community of the Zaps, for it must always be ...CON PERMISO. Stopping here. My butt hurts sitting on this hard wooden bench.



"In the state of Chiapas there are no guerrillas, only revolutionaries." Photo by D. Kakkak, The Circle

March 3rd -
Back In San Cristobal

We're back in San Cristobal. Our desire to visit the Zapatista camp did not come off, but we were able to get some medical supplies and other stuff there. And I forgot all about the CONDOMS! My excitement, y'know. But even they are on the way to the camp today. Ha! Spread love, safely! Hey, I'm also a trained sex educator.

It's about 6:00 maybe. No, it's still light out. But I think it is 6:00 because Dema & Sara just left to meet with the young folks (really young. Like teens) from Europe, Danish, to talk about Mumia work

which they already do. Mumia really IS international! More so than 'national' and that's a shame. I'm very honest when they ask me about Mumia work in Babylon, and that right in Philly we can barely get black folks to come out in support. Enough. Lemme bring you up to date.



The day before our departure from La Realidad, I finally got my dose of diarrhea and nausea. Don't know what triggered it cuz I alnt drink nona their running water. So maybe it was something I ate.... Leaving La Realidad was sad. I wanted to stay a lil' longer. Befriend the kids a lil' more. Converse with the internationals more in depth and just let more of the acculturation process happen (it helps to HUMBLE first world/third world folks like me). Here, Africans-in-amerika will see just how much 'amerikans' we are, just from a reluctance and embarrassment in shifting in a out-house (letrina/letrino) to language barriers due to our being raised on ENGLISH-ONLY and uncritical personal amerikan arrogance.

There's so much to say about this trip. Maybe I'm lucky that the diarrhea happened the day before our departure. I got to experience a lot of direct life there, non-mediated by commercial breaks and manufactured news. Like, I bathed in the stream, washed my clothes in it, too. The out-house experience.

Waking at night and looking up at the brightest sky of stars I'd ever seen. I've never seen so many stars, and the moon was so bright that at times you didn't need a flashlight to guide your walk outside! Simply non-New York beautiful. And the Chiapanecos here are so industrious with the use of their flashlights, the way they flick them on and off to save energy as they night-navigate the lil' bridge and other communal terrain.

Men. Women. Children. Child-adults, in many ways, nothing like ours. So responsible at such young ages. A four or five year old girl or boy may have her or his lil' brotuh/sistuh strapped or wrapped around their front or back, taking care of them while Mom is doing stream-laundry, carrying gigantic loads of fire wood on her head or back, or cooking. And these kids are kids who laugh, play, get silly like most kids around the world. And they can get 'fresh,' too. Well, here's what happened:

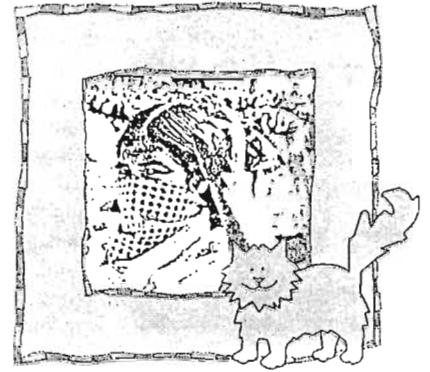
I was doing some martial arts movements outside and it always draws an audience of kids (and whoever else



is around). This day I was playing with some of my audience. I was trying to get them to do what I was doing - which they call 'dance.' So, as we bonded on silly, a few began to imitate me, my movements. Whoever couldn't or wouldn't, I'd call them 'crazy.' Loco, loco. So, of course, they called me loco, too. And still playing (I love this about kids innocence), first one, then the other, about three, would turn their BEE-HINDS to me and make a FART SOUND and laugh! Oh shit! And I'd laugh. That international language needed no translation. To me, it's clear: Children are children everywhere. I love them for it. Things like that, though, helped us to befriend each other. They asked me my name a thousand time. A-SAN-TEE. Si. Ashanti. They'd say it and next day if it wasn't a-san-tee, it was just plain and simple LOCO. Hal

Possibly life here is socialist or even sort of communalistic. There the one who is like the 'mayor' of the community, and others who are responsible for different areas of community life, like who blows the horn that calls for the community meeting.

But, there's no big shots, jails or cops in La Realidad. Only outside force is the intrusive Mexican government troops. They make convoy appearances at least twice daily. But community folks don't seem intimidated.



Every now and then you look up and a Zapatista, a MASKED Zap, will come riding by the house on a horse, strapped with a very used-looking machine-gun on her or his back and pistol on the side. Or they may be just walking and talking, just as easy and just as relaxed. As much a part of the La Realidad life as that life-organizing stream that strolls through the community. What makes this seem so out-of-place for an outsider is knowing that the Zap Army is actively engaged in this War of Liberation. They are 'WANTED' by the u.s. backed Mexican ogre government/corporate pigs claiming this as NAFTA territory.

Mml My mind, my imagination, though, went straight to the Black Liberation Army! Futuristic images of us riding, strolling into a Bed-Sty or Harlem community. Easy. Relaxed. A part of the life-stream of our People. The BLA and Panther fighters would love this scene in front of me. Weapons at the ready. Love in our hearts, and love for us. Focused in our minds. Minds staid on Freedom. We know what must be done. Yeah. So, I've had an experience. a wonderful experience. Power to the Zapatista Uprising. May it ride surely to victory!

March 5th -
From the Capitol of Chiapas to the
Capitol of Hyper-Reality, Cancun

Nikki left this morning by bus (18 hours?) for Mexico. She will be able to get money from her folks (hopefully) in order to fly back to Switzerland.

Hopefully. We each gave her some pesos to help. It's all we had ourselves after souvenir-buying. Umma miss her. We all will. She came with us to dinner at friends' house last night. Good amerikan food served with Ole Pork-pie Hat Jazz (Charles Mingus).

Culture. Hm? What's our culture? What's Black culture? What's Babylonian USA culture? Gotta go outside of it, territorially, and for a lil' bit of time, and suddenly you begin to see what it means to you... what you long for, what you can do without. And



funny thing here is that I'm sure I'm the only NIGGA within a million miles of here. So, these are Babylonian white folks whom, for some, Black culture is a vibrant part of their personal, social, biographical mosaic. (Dam Ashanti, you'se a baaad mutha... Shut yo' mouff.).



Oops! Wait. I talked to my Sugah-pie last night. About 12 midnight her time.

And that voice did me silly wonders on the googlie side. All is well, she says. Asked how my chilluns was. She said, Cool, with that tone that hides.

My daughter must be having 'males are dogs' blues, I bet. And of course, Kai has to ask me those utterly ridiculous questions. Now picture this: house fulla people sitting round talking and shit and she HAS to as, 'You miss me?' Argh! Why, why, why? Because she's sick I tell you. So, cool and non-chalantly I spiel. 'Well, yeah, a little. Okay, gotta go now!' Hal Women. Alright. Done told the story. Break time.

March 8th - The Ancient Ruins of Tulum and its Beach Resort

Last day. We'll be heading back to Babylon tomorrow. It's 6:30 a.m. I been up about an hour. Had to go to the bathroom. A BATHROOM! Here at Tulum, a resort of sorts, we have our ill' hut, and I do mean little. When I got up it was still dark but getting light slowly. So, I made my way to the bathroom which is straight up about two flight of extremely high New York stairs and behind the restaurant. As I walked back to the hut I notice the beginnings of that sunrise and got my (Kai's) camera, books and journals. Gonna foto that sunrise off the edge of the ocean then sit down at the restaurant table to do some reading, writing, whatever. It's nice. Oh, I should tell you that Tulum sits on the ocean edge. You can tell that an ancient city existed here. Now, you can imagine what this colorful sunrise looks like from this beach? Mm! Sara came up going to the bathroom, too. Unusual for her to be up this early, but nice. I welcome the company. Done got to know her a lot better and I like her. The Quiet One aint all that quiet.

We've been here in Tulum for three days now and will leave tomorrow for Cancun. The plane leaves from there for Babylon. The bus ride from San Cristobal to here was about 15 to 16 hours. This is a smaller, less fancied version of post-modern, post-reality Cancun or Atlantic City. For tourists, a lot of Babylonians and Europeans. I spotted one - ONE - Black man ... with a White Woman. Hm? Wonder what he thinks of me? Black man with TWO White Women. Ha! Lawd hep me now!

This water is just beautiful. Clear, warm, massaging waves. I aint never been in the water this much in my life. Like a kid. It could be breezy and a tad-bit chilly in the air, a tad-bit worm in the water. Unbelievable. I love it. We met two of our Spaniard comrades from La Realidad here. There're herel Dam, I gotta get my spanish together. Ran into two other guys from New York City who Dema and Sara know. Small World? Small world.. Oh, you gotta feel this breeze...

THE ACTION/PLAN JOURNAL

February 25th



This is the journal I keep to record my thoughts on what I'm doing, plan to do, and where I'm going with my life. Politically and otherwise. Here I am in Mexico, in La Realidad. Look it up on the map. A community way deep in the mountains of Chiapas. Why am I here, I ask you, Ashanti? Ashanti? I'm a strange bird, right? Using my vacation to be way off into Zapatista Land where there's no or lil' modern civilization. Indigenous people walking around barefoot. Chickens and whatnot uncaged. What is it?

Well, Ashanti's tired. Tired of a lot of shit, but most of all TIRED OF ME, my procrastinating ways, my depression, my living a half-life, my ...whatever. Revolution, revolution. Revolutionary. Stop oppression. Create a new way, or ways of live happy, creative, responsible, non-authoritarian, self-determining lives. Hmm?

February 26th

I figure I been wasting my life for the last oh, say, eleven almost twelve years. Its been that long since I been out of prison. Living a half-life is what I say. When you have grown wise from experience, when you have read 1,000 books, when you have trained, been trained in a lot of good stuff (like organizational skills, sex education, counseling skills, group participatory learning techniques, etc.). And knowing that this was what you wanted because of how moved you were by psychological insights into movement failure (fuck Cointelpro! That was minor and it became our movement 'scapegoat.') - you still procrastinate, sit back, half-participate, be liberal, walk around not happy, etcetera, etcetera...

The life I have created is somewhat a living hell. Hard on myself? I say no. Oppression - oppression. Here at La Realidad you see a beautiful land and

people who are very poor, but a people who are surviving as best they can. We know why there's poverty here. Mexico is a kapitalist nation, seemingly 'annexed' fomally by NAFTA to the u.s. empre...Babylon. They're the same pigs we fight, resist and all that. The u.s. is a real muthafucka, believe me. People wanna be free, happy, prosperous in a good way, communal. Why can't they be? Cuz of home-grown and international global kapitalist interests who use all forms of official and unofficial military and slick methods to keep order. So what does it matter, today, where people be? The vast majority of the world's people are being fucked over by local and global vested interest groups. And it hurts. It hurts me to see these kids' bright, laughing, smiling, giggling, curious faces and know that - without a doubt - without UNCOMPROMISING REVOLUTION, INSURRECTION - they are doomed to an on-rushing misery and elimination they'll not fathom. But somehow they'll come to accept it as out of their control.

What does it matter? Here amidst physical poverty, or in Babylon amidst a glittering psychic poverty. Baudrillard's Hyper-Reality? So, though the oppression 'we' suffer and the wealth and power 'they' maintain is awesome and frightening and MORE COMPLEX THAN MOST CAN EVER IMAGINE - revolution, insurrection, revolt is still a do-able. Power to the People, yall! That's why I's so pissed at me. Cuz the Great Refusal, the 'creative People's Intervention IS still a do-able. It's the how and the fact that I have some ideas on the 'how.' It's that I aint moved on offering them, as in doing all that I can to HELP get the Revolution on the road.

I aint no genius. I claim no special magic. Just a muthafucka who has some shit to offer out of the crucible of my own experiences, readings, doings, reflections, and minute experimentations. If one puts it in terms of Potential, then I'm simply saying that I been wasting a lot of it and I'm at the point of Fannie Lou Hamer's 'Tired of being tired.' I choose to be here in Zap Land as a first step, as a concrete step in a 'recovery' process. A sort of like my own N/A or AA for Revolutionaries. Shit and/or git off the pot...

The Zapatistas did.

NEXT: ESTACION LIBRE -

THE RIGHT CONNECTION

On this my first trip I had my first experience in witnessing another people's liberation struggle. I wanted to go back. Luck would have it that an organization called ESTACION

(Continue on page 52; see fotos on 51))

LUMPEN SURVIVAL: JUCHE

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, AUGUST 21, 1970 PAGE 3

"The Lumpen are all those who have no secure relationship or vested interest in the means of production and the institutions of capitalist society". (excerpt from the Ideology of The Black Panther Party by Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information).

their fire can never be put out. This nameless program that feeds people is a prime example of the humanitarianism displayed by those who don't even have a place to call home, thanks to this wretched system of dehumanization, exploitation, and murder. It is these

same people on the last rung on the ladder of society that history will record as the vanguard of the proletariat. And it is with the claiming of their rightful social heritage that will bring the fascist dictators of Babylon to their well deserved graves!

One of the brothers, Jimmy, who served in the pigs' military years ago as a cook now turns his skills to the needs of the community. Jimmy's philosophy is not abstract or sickeningly complex; he simply saw a need among his people and moved on it. These niggers didn't discuss it over a conference table or engage in idiot struggles over whose going to head what department, or like the petty bourgeois intellectuals who talk about pros and cons, make trips to Washington to rally support, get government funds or grants, and they certainly had no desire to act as lobbyist to some demagogic pig politician in order to "serve the people."

The Lumpen move on the instinct of survival and it is these people whom we can rely on in time of all out armed confrontation. These niggers understand that the logic of capitalism is: "He who has



THE LUMPEN

BROTHERS AND SISTERS OFF THE BLOCK

The lumpen by the very nature of their existence have been denied everything. They have been stripped of even the most basic human right--the right to live, produce, and make their rightful creative contribution to society, the world, and history. The lumpen (descendants of the field niggers of chattle slavery) live strictly on a day to day basis, and as many will tell you home is where night fall catches me. Though the lumpen are looked down on by other strata of society, and are subjected to titles such as "bums", "loafers", "thugs" etc., they (the lumpen) have profound creativity borne of the harshness of their existence. This creativity, deep as it maybe, goes totally unacknowledged by other less oppressed sectors of Babylonian life. The people who look contemptuously at the lumpen, are the same people who attempt to emulate the life styles of "Leave It to Beaver", and "Donna Reed" in vain efforts at transcending racial/class barriers, rather than wholly eradicating them.

Much of the lumpen population consist of the "illegitimate capitalists", those who exist off whatever they are able to obtain through methods deemed illicit by super gangsters and criminals of the power structure. However, many have socialistic tendencies that have never been given a chance to fully develop, the reason being that street life demands such negative qualities as individualism, mistrust, and is rife with the profit motive (capitalism).

Due to the efforts of revolutionary comrades on all levels, the people are at long last beginning to put into practice socialism that is in conformity with the conditions of urbanized Babylon. The situation I am speaking of specifically can be found in a vacant lot on the corner of 84th and East 14th Oakland, California. Some lumpen, righteous field niggers, have implemented a real socialistic program that deals with the most fundamental factor of all, food. Smoke can be seen rising from the lot three time a day as food is being prepared for the lumpen community. The meal is not a delicacy, but the food that comes off that stove made from scrap metal, and fueled by wood is basic, nourishing filling, and very tasty. As always, the fascist dog pig told these brothers who are trying to bring some ray of light into their bleak existence that you can't feed people outside because of some stupid, irrelevant city ordinance that says in effect that the people can't have an open fire. These brothers, being the lumpen that they are, told the pigs in so many words that



**POLITICAL COLLECTIVES:
TO CLOSE THE GAP AND
LEAVE NO SPACE FOR
THE MAN TO COME
BETWEEN
US**

Another problem we have not dealt with and often wish to forget is that as the repression against us gets heavier, we go the gamut from outrage, demoralization and frustration to a general freakout. The daily stories of premeditated shoot-outs against the Panthers, pig riots, etc., filter into our consciousness. The lag between political seriousness and emotional response on the one hand and the required maturity and commitment of being revolutionaries on the other stems in part from preparing ourselves as revolutionaries without being able to see the final struggle as really imminent. Because we understand that the struggle is going to be a long one and that it will get even rougher as time goes on, we must develop forms which will help us to deal with the various

problems and situations that we face now and in the future. For example, ways that minimize our isolation from each other, meet our need for tight security measures and material subsistence, and help re-pattern our individualist styles of political work; and, very important, the chance to lay the groundwork for and experiment with new social relationships, particularly in regard to sharing the responsibility for children and dealing with male chauvinism. There is no permanent or all-purpose form, but one hopeful possibility is in the political collective.

Collectives are being worked out in a great variety of ways: communes, clusters of organizers who live and usually work together, people who live separately but work on the same project. The goals that each collective sets for itself may develop from its own view of a strategy for the movement and may also determine its form.

No one who has been part of a collective is likely to view the form as a panacea, but collectives can begin to deal with certain major difficulties. The most important one being the unresolved division between our "political" and "personal" lives. Just as our understanding of the society developed in a fragmented way, so our struggle to close the gap between political priorities and personal desires continues. As we have more and more come to understand our



commitment as revolutionaries, our need for the movement to serve as a whole way of life has grown urgent. We cannot be 9-to-5 revolutionaries for two simple reasons: because we cannot make a revolution that way and because we cannot long retain our sanity that way. Collectives provide the possibility for integrating our duties with our personal needs. It is not only that collectives are politically efficient in day-to-day organizing, but they are important because together we can take steps toward breaking out of our individualist, privatist life styles. Obviously we cannot solve the problems nor can we create truly new women and men until imperialism is destroyed; but we can and must give real meaning to revolutionary comradeship: to not only call each other "sister" or "brother," but to close the gaps and leave no space for the Man to come between us. RANDY RAPPAPORT / with Berkeley Womens Liberation, is active in Bread and Roses in Boston. BEVERLY LEMAN / active in New York Womens Liberation, is on the N.Y. staff of Leviathan. CAROL McELDOWNNEY / is active in Bread and Roses in Boston. From "Hey There What's That Sound?" by Randy Rappaport, Beverly Leman, Carol McElDownney Leviathan Feb 1970



Think about the kind of world you want to live and work in. What do you need to know to build the world? Demand that your teachers teach you that. KROPOTKIN quoted by Paul Goodman in Liberation Nov 1967



BROTHER JIMMY

nothing shall have less, and that which he has left shall be taken away from him", for they are victims of it. THE LUMPEN SHALL CONDUCT THEIR STRUGGLE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STREETS!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
EAST OAKLAND COMMUNITY CENTER

POWER TO THE DOERS!

THE JOY BEHIND MY SMILE

(for A. Turner)

As you lie in bed asleep, a smile appears on your face.
The morning light seductively dances, across your naked body,
and I find myself listening to the sound of your heartbeat.

TWO MEN

hangin' out with the guys
sweatin' on the courts
creating friendships
living through good and bad times
respecting each other's feelings
sharing our hopes and dreams

TWO MEN
BLACK AND PROUD

helping to clean up the 'hood'
sharing our heritage with the young
debating the politics of Malcolm
rallying for black studies at Howard
crying at the death of Martin
carrying the banner in the Gay Pride parade

TWO MEN
BLACK AND PROUD
SHARING EACH OTHER'S LOVE

showers for two
wine by the fire
moonlit strolls
picnics in the park
sunday afternoon love
the touch of your hand in mine

Your eyelids open slowly, as if responding
to my silent command, and now a smile appears across
my face because you are the joy behind my smile.

-VEGA-



Black Anarchism' Vision:

WE ARE A PEOPLE
OF
FREE
COMMUNITIES
Without African FASCIST
Presidents
&
Homophobic U.S.
Nationalists

Go a "Young Turk"

Bits of... A MEMOIR

Some Anarchist Activities in New York
In The Thirties & Forties
by Clara Freedman Solomon
(July 30, 1913-December 20, 2000)
Written September 28, 1995

It was an honor to meet Clara and get to know her, if only for a very short time. This last time I'd saw her was at a conference last year on Long Island. Her & Sydney, the elder anarchists in our midst. I watched them from across the floor and imagined them as young adults like Kevin and these others, but in the hard times of the 30s, 40s to the 60s. God, I know they have stories to share. Sydney I'd ran into more often. Always willing and ready to share a story or two..."Tell me about Carlo Tresca?" I ask. But Clara, she might have been willing to share a story, but she was here on business; as an Organizer. Like, do you know about the Mid-Atlantic Anarchist Circle? Can you come to our next meeting? Can I have your phone number? Ha! She was definitely of The Young Turks as she writes. I loved it.

We miss many, many opportunities to share in the space and time(s) of the Elder anarchists. It could well be that we are our own victims of Babylonian fast-paced, youth-oriented culture. No time-no patience to sit at the knee of the Story-Teller. If we can't get it fast off the net, newspaper or book, then fuck it. At 47, I notice that I am becoming more long-winded, somewhat honery and stubborn in my political AND social beliefs and style. I'm slowing down a bit. I hope that young folks will bear with me cuz my heart is still Revolution, baby, revolution. Like Clara...like Sydney. I look at them and say, "Can I, will I be active like that if I should live that long? Hmm. Sydney will



We were 'The Young Turks'

WHILE GROWING UP in New York and then in an anarchist-oriented community in Stelton, New Jersey, I couldn't help overhearing talk of union activities, strikes, meetings, conventions, and of course, capitalism. Words like bigot, prejudice, hypocrite, exploitation, and prison were all too familiar.

My parents met in London at one of Rudolf Rocker's lectures—and were very active in the anarchist group that published *Der Arbeiter Freund* (*The Workers' Friend*), a Jewish anarchist paper edited by the prominent anarchist activist and writer Rudolf Rocker.

My father was a raincoat maker in New York and was very active in the Waterproof Garment Makers Union, Local 20, of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (I.L.G.W.U.) In 1917 or 1918 the union was involved in a strike; and the whole executive board was sent to prison. I remember my mother taking me to see my father in prison at Christmas time. All the men were in one large room with relatives who were visiting them. My mother told me that this was a convention; she did not want to frighten me.

Growing Up Among Radicals

In 1921, when I was seven years old, we moved to the Ferrer Colony in Stelton, NJ, with brother Sigmund, aged four, and brother David, six weeks old. (The Ferrer Colony was named after the martyred Spanish anarchist educator Francisco Ferrer.) Life was very hard for my parents.

By the time I was thirteen I began reading Peter Kropotkin's *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*. A gem of a book. Every young person should read it.

At that time also, money was being raised for the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti. So I naturally heard a lot of talk about that, and I became a staunch believer in their innocence. It was then, with the influence of a few young visitors to Stelton, that I began thinking of myself as a revolutionist.

But while I was still going to the Juilliard my parents had moved to New York City, on East 12th Street. My father, ever mindful of his daughter's welfare, suggested that I go to a social where I might meet some really good young people, not bourgeois types. A dance with a live band took place at 219 2nd Avenue, a hall run by Jewish anarchists, where lectures and general meetings were held, and with a small vegetarian diner which was run by Ida Cohen, who cooked with love for the mostly single radical crowd and hangers-on. The center always buzzed with activity.

It was at this social that I met Sidney Solomon, still a student at City College of New York, who later became a painter (mostly impressionist), school teacher, graphic designer, and publisher—and he was the drummer of the band which played that night.

probably just tell me to live now. Now is the time.

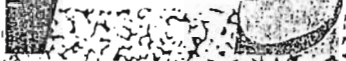
I am glad that Clara got to see this resurgence of interest in anarchism. But more important to me was that she saw, in me, the Black revolutionaries and activists taking up that interest, too, and bringing new ingredients in to the Mix. Like, aint that how it happened back in The Day? The 1910 through 30's? I told her that it was my mission to help bring long-misinterpreted, misunderstood **A**ist approach to freedom to the Black community. I said it with my chest out as if to say, You did good and I will carry it on. I constantly am telling my own communal ancestors the same every day.

This is a great time for anarchist presence in the Global pigocratic Mix. Seattle wasn't no fluke. Movements are back and we'll be better than the 60s. Anarchist visions are wonderful visions to net and weave with others. Thank you, Clara for helping make this possible. In the Great Struggle Grounds of the Somewhere - you Harriet Tubman, Panthers, Audre, Carlo, Emma, Kuwasi Balagoon, Zapata, et al...

WATCH US. GIVE US A TAP IF WE NEED TO THINK, FEEL, SENSE. ACT DIFFERENTLY TO WIN. WE GON' TRY TO BE ATTUNED TO THAT AS WE LIVE THIS STRUGGLE.

All Power
thru
the People!

DON'T BE SO QUIET



Since my father was then the manager of the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* (*Free Voice of Labor*), the highly respected Jewish anarchist weekly, these young people I met at the dance had no hesitation in inviting me to a new group that was being formed. Their first meeting was scheduled at the home of Daniluk, a Russian comrade who lived on lower 2nd Avenue in Manhattan. Daniluk gave us a warm welcome on his sixth floor walkup flat. It was all so fascinating.

This is really where *Vanguard* (an anarchist monthly) was started. Then when I got there I met Mark Schmidt, a radical theoretician and historian, who had been through the Russian Revolution and who was known by the Russian comrades Murashko, the Samusins and Daniluk. Besides Sidney, Lou Slater, Schmidt, and myself, there was Lou Genin (Whitey, he was called, because he was almost an albino); Eddie Wong, waiter and student at N.Y.U.; Zina and Ruth Dickstein, two young Polish anarchists; Glenn Carrington, a black activist in Brooklyn and a writer; and Violet, a comrade's daughter; and Thomas Dolgoff, Sam Dolgoff's youngest brother. It was then and there that we decided to issue our own publication. We called it *Vanguard*. What *chutzpa*. (This was Schmidt's influence, from his Marxist background. We were too inexperienced to fight this.) The time was the early '30s, long past the heyday of the Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Johann Most era, or even Carlo Tresca. Rudolf Rocker was in Germany. Then, after spending years in a British prison in the early part of the century, Rocker was editor of *Der Arbeiter Freint*.

Radicalism in the 1930s

Another situation that our members were involved in was the defense of Bruno Terzani. The Black Shirts, an Italian-American fascist organization had a meeting in Astoria, L.I., when one of their members was killed. Terzani, a member of the Italian anarchist group *Il Martello* was accused of the murder and imprisoned; and after the trial was freed due to the work of the Terzani defense. A big celebration was held on the Lower East Side, where Sidney and I were present as well as Sam Dolgoff. It lasted at least ten hours, and Terzani himself cooked dinner.

In 1935 Carlo Tresca, a prominent Italian anarchist activist and publisher of the weekly anarchist Italian newspaper *Il Martello* (*The Hammer*), invited us to share the loft and offices (at 94 5th Avenue in Manhattan) with them. The majority accepted, but some members objected to our joining Carlo Tresca. Sidney Solomon edited an English page for *Il Martello* then. Carlo Tresca was later murdered by an assassin's bullet as he and his comrades walked across 5th Avenue after a meeting. Sidney missed the meeting because of my illness that day.



Clara and Sidney at an exhibit of his paintings at Blackout Books.

Want a copy of the entire pamphlet of Clara's Memoirs, contact Sidney Solomon, c/o The Solomon Press, 98-12 66th Ave, Suite 2, Rego Park, NY 11374

We were the "young Turks": And we were active on many fronts. The foreign-born comrades usually came to our functions and supported our activities. Some of our newer members were Abe Bluestein, son of anarchists, who had been active in the student protests at City College of New York; Franz Fliedler (who called himself Yager in the movement) who was a seaman, a First Mate who died this past summer; Albert Mullaly, an Irish-American anarchist. Gradually, we seemed to have spawned a large group of very young people from the Brownsville section of Brooklyn. In all, the *Vanguard* group had about 60 members.

And during this period I was active as a musician and piano teacher. At that time too, there were frequent lectures at the Rand School, on East 15th Street in Manhattan, at the Labor Temple on East 14th Street, and sometimes in union halls as well. But these young people did not have any staying power that we knew of. Call it what you may, guidance was needed and it was wanting. In spite of so much going on, we felt somewhat isolated. And the movement occupied every moment of our spare time. But we retained our hopes.

The Spanish Revolution, and After

But... when the Spanish Revolution broke out on July 19, 1936 (in response to Franco's fascist attack), we were not surprised by the crucial role that the C.N.T. (National Confederation of Labor) and the F.A.I. (Anarchist Federation of Iberia) were to play. The masses of Spanish anarchists were prepared. Usually, we had some information about what was going on in Spain printed in the *Vanguard*.

The inspiration of the revolution was tremendous. Here was anarchism in practice on a large scale, a true people's revolution. And anarchism *worked* in the factories and farms. So, we lost no time in deciding that a publication was needed which would give a true point of view of the monumental changes taking place in Spain. The paper was called *Spanish Revolution* and was supported by a number of libertarian groups and sympathizers. But it was edited by and written by members of the *Vanguard* group. We received cables and letters from our comrades in Spain, and got information from the Spanish and French libertarian press.

An Italian comrade living in Spain, Bruno L'Americano, came here to try to get arms because of the embargo against Loyalist Spain. It turned out to be a plan in futility. There simply was no way to do this in the early days of the Spanish Civil War. But the C.N.T. unions were able to transform many industries in Catalonia and other regions into munitions plants for the fighting front. Even education took on an anarchist mode; Ferrer schools in Spain educated children. Large estates were converted to urgently needed agricultural production and socialized. There were hundreds of libertarian communities practicing real socialism, and they were much more productive than before, and there were also many socialist collectives. But the communists, under the Stalinists' leadership and dictatorship, were bent on destroying these workers and the workers' accomplishments. A lot has been written about this matter. Communists made a war within a war—against a truly democratic revolution.

In 1938, after Emma Goldman had returned from Spain, very saddened about the then most recent happenings, Audrey Goodfriend and I decided to visit her in Toronto. We hitch-hiked from the Bronx, where Audrey lived then, and made it to Toronto, Canada, in one day. We stayed with Jack and Sylvia Fitzgerald. Jack Fitzgerald was a comrade from New Zealand who occasionally wrote for the *Vanguard*. Emma was most thoughtful and kind to us and arranged a lovely picnic day at the Georgian Bay Beach along with Arthur Bartoletti, who had the car, and Ferrero.

The crushing of the revolution in Spain and Franco's fascist victory was a terrible blow to all of us in the anarchist movement, and in a real sense to people all over the world. *I think that if the European countries and the United States had supported the Spanish Loyalists, the whole history of this century would have turned out differently.*

During the '50s, '60s, '70s, and '80s, Sam Dolgoff did a great deal of writing (a lot of which got published) and brought him recognition as a speaker as well. There were frequent invitations for him to speak at colleges and students' clubs. His apartment at 175 East Broadway became something of a center for visitors and young people to congregate. Sam and Esther helped keep the fires burning. When they died there were large memorial meetings for them. Many felt that an era had closed. However, Sidney and I did not feel that way, and were very happy when we met Bob Helms at a lecture by Martha Acklesberg at the Libertarian Book Club forum two and a half years ago, and we got invited to speak at the Mid-Atlantic Anarchist five-day conference in Philadelphia.

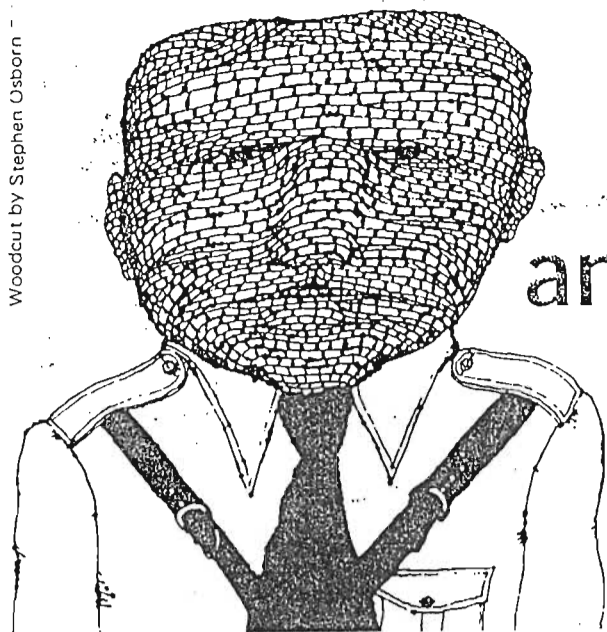
The new anarchist upsurge is our inspiration.

LET'S STRIVE TO BE NUMBER ONE

Communists Now Least Threatening Group In U.S.

Washington, DC, End of 2000 — According to a report released Tuesday by the Pentagon, Communists rank last on a list of 238 threats to national security. "Communists may now safely be ignored." Secretary of Defense William Cohen said. "The Red Menace has been surpassed by militia groups, religious extremists, ecoterrorists, cyber criminals, Hollywood producers, and angry drivers." Other groups deemed more threatening than Communists include rap-metal bands (#96), escaped zoo animals (#202), and Belgians (#237).

things are getting worse and you're not helping



"... What We Saw Was Frightening."

When one of their fellows was put in solitary confinement . . . for refusing to eat, the prisoners were given a choice by one of the guards: give up their blankets and the incorrigible prisoner would be let out, or keep their blankets and he would be kept in all night. They voted to keep their blankets and to abandon their brother.

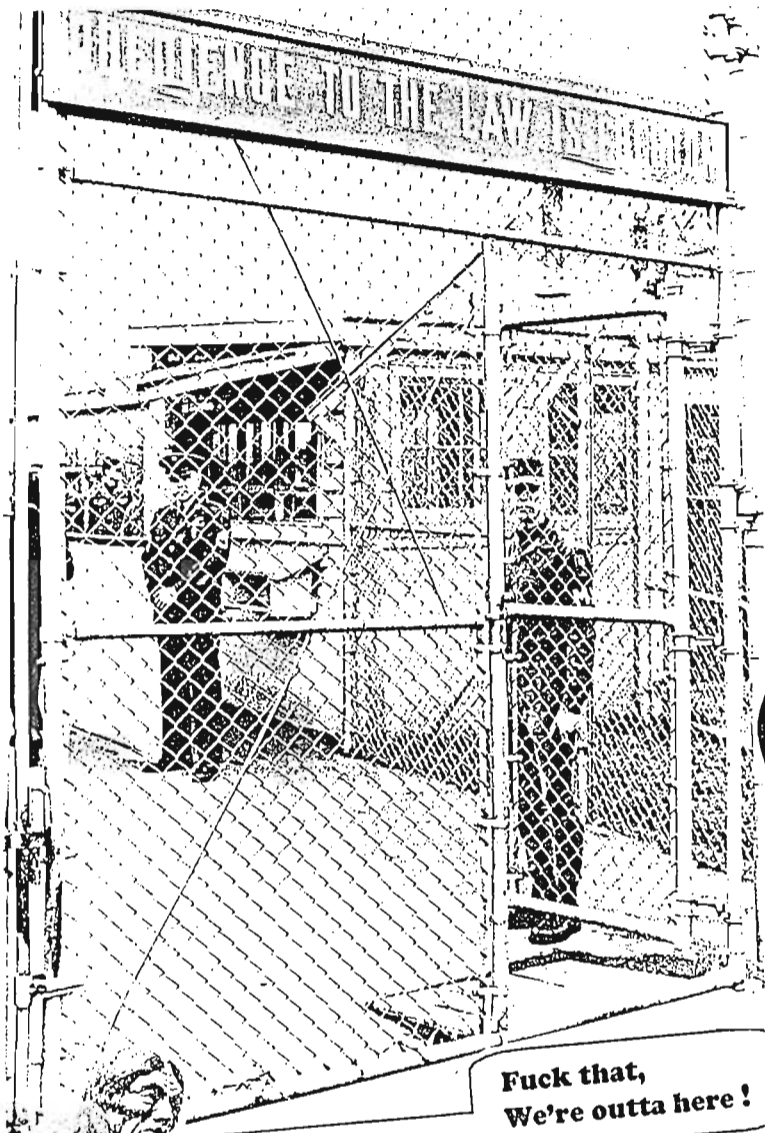
This is Philip Zimbardo talking about behavior he observed in a prison situation. Perhaps one isn't surprised that convicts would rather commit a friend to solitary than themselves suffer a minor discomfort. But these are not "real" convicts, nor are they "real" guards. They are "mature, emotionally stable, normal, intelligent college students from middle class homes" participating in an experiment that attempted to determine what it means psychologically to be a prisoner or a prison guard.

The experiment was intended to last two weeks, but Zimbardo had to close it down after six days, "because what we saw was frightening." The participants almost immediately became unable to distinguish between role and reality—those who (by lot) became guards would treat prisoners "as if they were despicable animals, taking pleasure in cruelty," while the prisoners became "servile, dehumanized robots who thought only of escape, of their own individual survival and of their mounting hatred for the guards." Not all of the guards became tyrannical and corrupted by their power, but even those guard's code by intervening on behalf of a prisoner or complaining to the authorities of a guard's vicious behavior.

All but three of the prisoners were willing to forfeit the money they had earned for participating if only they could be paroled, but when parole was denied, they would docilely return to their cells—instead of walking out the front door.

In the end, I called off the experiment not because of the horror I saw out there in the prison yard, but because of the horror of realizing that I could have easily traded places with the most brutal guard or become the weakest prisoner full of hatred at being so powerless that I could not eat, sleep or go to the toilet without permission of the authorities. I could have become Calley at My Lai, George Jackson at San Quentin, one of the men at Attica.

Individual behavior is largely under the control of social forces and environmental contingencies rather than personality traits, character, will power or other empirically unvalidated constructs. Thus we create an illusion of freedom by attributing more internal control to ourselves, to the individual, than



actually exists. We thus underestimate the power and pervasiveness of situational controls over behavior because: a) they are often non-obvious and subtle, b) we can often avoid entering situations where we might be so controlled, c) we label as "weak" or "deviant" people in those situations who do behave differently from how we believe we would.

Zimbardo emerged from the experiment with several conclusions as to its implications for the prison system—among them, that the public should make itself aware of what happens in prisons and how they are run, that prisons should remove the cloak of secrecy from their operations, that every prison should have an ombudsman, that guards should receive better training, and that the relationship between the prisoner and his community must be maintained. Until changes are made, we shouldn't be surprised if prison revolts continue. A revolt isn't instigated by a hard-core of incorrigibles—it begins "from within every man and woman who refuses to let the system turn him into an object, a number, a thing or a no-thing. It is not communist inspired, but inspired by the spirit of American freedom." Reform, then, must start "with people—especially with people in power—caring about the well-being of others."

—Philip G. Zimbardo, in SOCIETY, April 1972

Give Them the Maximum

26 Feb 96

Small Towns Clamor for the Boon a Big Prison Could Bring



David Jennings for The New York Times

A good place for a maximum-security prison? Russell V. Pollard, above, on the Fulton County Board of Supervisors, hopes this plot outside Johnstown is selected.

By RAYMOND HERNANDEZ

JOHNSTOWN, N.Y. — Richard Smullen, Supervisor of this upstate mill town, got all worked up the other day when he heard that the state might build a maximum-security prison here to house murderers, rapists and the like.

But his was not the predictable not-in-my-backyard battle cry. Far from it.

"We've been trying to get a prison built here for years," Mr. Smullen explained. "It would bring a lot of jobs, and that would be pretty nice for the town."

Residents of New York City and its suburbs would shudder at the thought of having a prison built in their neighborhoods. But that feeling is not shared in many of the economically depressed towns of rural New York, where a new prison is as welcome as a new factory, department store or office building.

Not surprising, then, people in communities like Johnstown all but rejoiced when Gov. George E. Pataki recently proposed building three maximum-security prisons somewhere in the state at a cost of \$476 million.

The announcement spurred an all-out contest among many communities, with elected officials, business leaders and residents lining up to urge the state to bestow the coveted prize on their hometown.

In Altamont, a small town in the Adirondacks, officials have 100 acres of land set aside to entice the state into building there and have asked their state senator to



The New York Times

Johnstown is just one of several towns hoping to play host to a state prison.

lobby the Pataki administration.

In Friendship, a town in southwestern New York about 25 miles from the Pennsylvania border, officials have been sending letters to legislators, correction officials and the Governor to request a prison.

And in Romulus, a community 60 miles west of Rochester, the Town Board scheduled a referendum to show state officials the support they would have if they chose to build there. The Town Supervisor, Raymond Zajack, said he plans to have his state senator deliver the ballot results to the Governor.

"There's much more competition today for a prison than there was a few years ago because of the economy," said Dean D. Lefebvre, Supervisor of Altamont. "But we've been after a prison a lot longer than anyone else and have the best site."

Of course, all this could be wishful thinking. At a time of tight budgets, it is by no means clear that the Legislature is even prepared to adopt Mr. Pataki's prison building plan.

The prison proposal is one of the few areas of increased spending in the Governor's proposed budget and is part of his broader plan to stiffen sentences for both adult and juvenile offenders. The new prisons each would have 1,500 beds and employ at least 500 people.

Cops on drugs No. 1 high risk

By MARY ANN GIORDANO

Daily News Police Bureau Chief JUNE 24, 1986

Drugs and drug-taking cops represent the Police Department's most serious corruption threat, the department's top watchdog said yesterday.

Chief John Guido, head of inspection services, said there is increasing concern about cops using drugs, rather than extorting money from drug dealers for a share of their illegal profits.

"This recognition reflects an understanding that our new and younger officers are drawn from a drug-cultured society," Guido said. "Virtually all commanders are now aware of the significance of this problem and have tailored their programs to address the serious hazard."

Guido named drugs as the top corruption risk in his annual report, issued each year since the Knapp Commission corruption inquiry in 1973. Drugs have been No. 1 on the survey for the last four years.

Free meals on list

Guido said that among the other top corruption concerns listed by the 293 commanders included in his survey were theft of property, gratuities and free meals.

Last year, seven cops out of a force of 26,500 were arrested and charged with drug possession. This year, six cops have been arrested on drug charges and Guido said he expects the arrest total to be double last year's. But, he added, "We're dealing with very small figures."

More than five times more cops were arrested in 1985 for assault and drunken driving than for drug possession. Of 85 arrests of cops last year, 23 were for assault, 14 for drunken driving. Drugs were in third place.

Out of 9,000 drug-detection exams given to cops this year, 99 applicants,

(Next page)

But critics question the need for any prison expansion, arguing that many Republican legislators sup-

A prison? Here?
Yes, please, rural
communities are
eager to say.

port the plan not only because they want to get more criminals off the street but because they want to pump jobs into their districts.

Assemblyman Daniel L. Feldman, Democrat of Brooklyn and chairman of the Assembly Corrections Committee, said that a study he conducted showed that 85 percent of the state's prison population is housed in rural Republican districts.

"It's not only lock them up," he said, "it's lock them up in my district."

Mr. Feldman and others also contend that Mr. Pataki has misplaced his priorities by suggesting more spending on prisons while proposing cutting social programs that could help keep people out of jail in the first place.

But those complaints are not likely to elicit hand-wringing in places like Johnstown, a town of about 33,000 that is one of the Republican communities considered a good candidate for a new prison.

"People have been very anxious to get a facility there," said Senator Hugh T. Farley, a Republican who is trying to deliver a prison to his Johnstown constituents. "They're very anxious for the jobs."

The prison advocacy movement in Johnstown began taking root around

Small Towns Clamor for the Boon of a Big Prison



'The real me is for lawlessness and disorder.'

From "Problems & Therapies" by Joseph Ferris, © 1977.

Cops on drugs No. 1 high risk

Theft, gratuities and free meals also make the corruption survey

13 probationary cops and seven tenured cops tested positive.

Police brass say the urine testing is too limited to reveal the extent of the problem. An effort to make testing mandatory for members of the elite Organized Crime Control Bureau is being challenged in court by police union officials.



David Jennings for The New York Times

In downtown Johnstown, shop owners said they would welcome the economic boost a prison would bring.

I'm innocent, says Turoff

Former Taxi and Limousine Commissioner Jay Turoff pleaded not guilty yesterday to charges that he took a bribe in a plot to bankroll a taxi meter company by stealing \$2.3 million from a Brooklyn credit union.



Jay Turoff

Two principals of the meter company, Alan and Harriet Silver, of E. 84th St., Brooklyn, also pleaded innocent.

Brooklyn Federal Judge I. Leo Glasser set a Sept. 22 trial date for Turoff, 48, of Kell Ave., S.I., and the Silvers.

Turoff's attorney, Edward Rappaport, said he would attack the credibility of the key government witness, Edmund Lee, a credit union executive who pleaded guilty in April to fraud and implicated Turoff and the Silvers. —Daniel Hays

(<< Pg. 27, 3rd column)

1990, when state officials were looking to construct a medium-security prison.

Back then, community leaders built enormous support for the idea by holding hearings, producing a radio documentary and distributing fliers that, among other things, assured residents that relatives of inmates would not move into town and then apply for welfare.

But the town did not get the prison after all, dashing the hopes of residents in an area that continues to have one of the highest unemployment rates in the state and that has seen some of its leather mills and tanneries close.

"We really worked hard for that," lamented Russell V. Pollard, a member of the Fulton County Board of Supervisors who organized the campaign to have the medium-security prison built there.

This time around, though, Johnstown is hoping things will be different.

Peter H. Lewis, owner of the Rainbow Restaurant on Main Street, sat at the bar the other night imagining all the new customers a prison would bring him, as if the deal were done.

"It'll be great," he said. "Best thing in the world."

A key to the future is in the business of locking up criminals.

But suddenly it dawned on him just how much competition Johnstown was up against.

"We really have to sell this community hard," Mr. Lewis said. "This is a great place for the prison workers to live. It's a good rural community that's very centrally located. And we have bus service, too."

A few blocks away, at a convenience store, Bill Zajicek paused from his work behind the counter and weighed the advantages and disadvantages of allowing a prison to be built in town.

"No question about it, it'll bring a lot of undesirables," he said, fretting about the prospect of relatives coming to visit inmates.

On the other hand, he reasoned, the prison employees would be wonderful neighbors to have.

"They're solid taxpayers," he

said. "They will buy homes and shop at our stores. They're the kind of people we need around here. So it's probably worth putting up with the undesirables."

Of course, there are opponents. Recently, the County Board of Supervisors voted to inform the state that they were not interested in a maximum-security prison; some members figured it was too large.

But Anthony C. Buanno, the chairman of the board, dismissed the vote as a hasty act of people who really did not understand what was at stake.

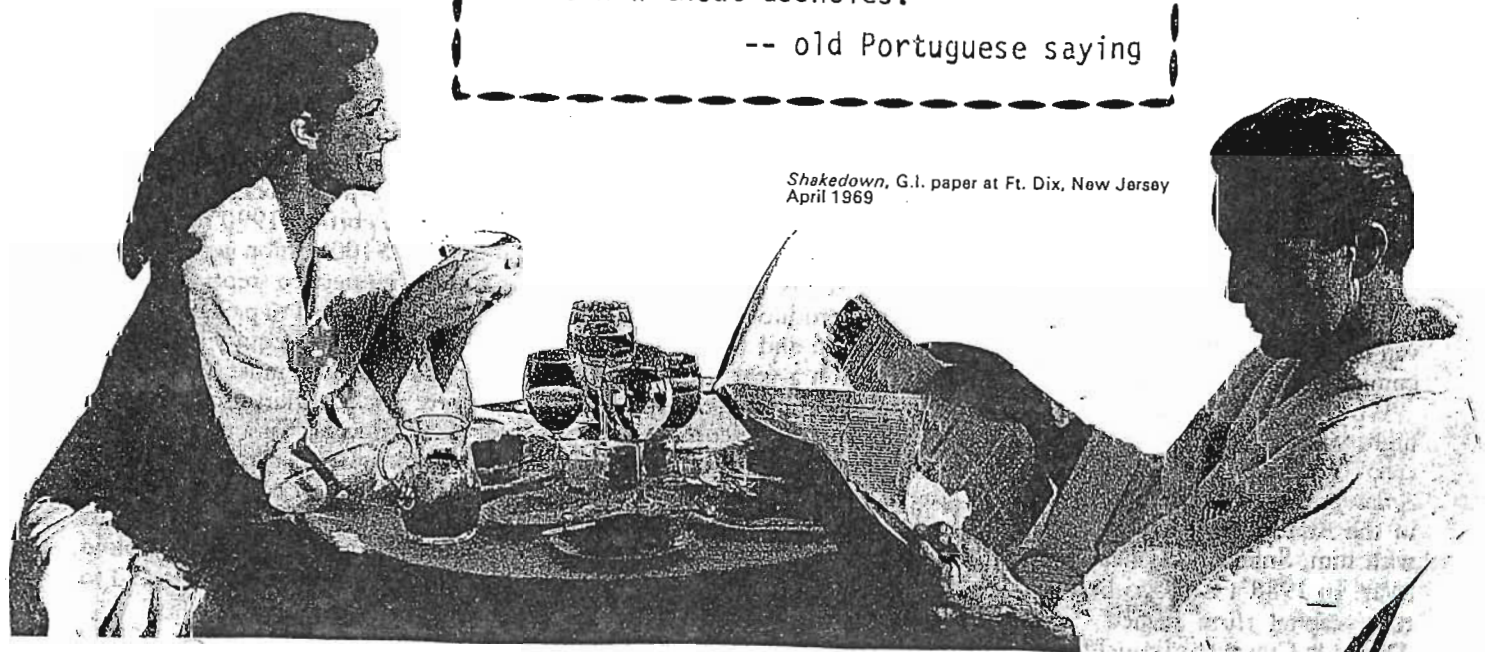
"I don't think the supervisors had enough information to make an intelligent decision," he said.

So he is toying with the idea of taking his colleagues on a field trip to a town that already has a prison. "That way they can see what a prison is like with their own eyes," he said.

But he has yet to decide on a town. "We're still working that out," Mr. Buanno said. "Maybe we'll go to — what's that place called again? — Greenhaven. I think they'll learn a lot from that."

If shit was worth money, the poor would be born without assholes.
-- old Portuguese saying

Shakedown, G.I. paper at Ft. Dix, New Jersey April 1969



February 20, 2001

Greetings to all,

There's been a ton of interest in the development of an anarchist people of color caucus from all points of the globe.

I am excited to hear so much interest, and welcome all of you to get involved. Right now, we're going to be kicking off with a discussion group via the net. A few of you are involved in local people of color study groups – and we certainly need to hear more about what you all are up to – as well as those of you who are local activists, writers, poets or just interested in seeing a greater presence of people of color among anarchists.

All people of color are invited to join up and contribute to the discussions. If you don't check mail frequently and are afraid of getting too many messages, I can set you up with a daily digest of all the messages in one mail. Just let me know. Regardless, how we grow depends on your participation. Don't be shy.

Our sisters are especially encouraged to dialogue on these issues. A lot of net discussions tends to exclude women, and we'll do our best to be open. Also, we ask you to just be respectful of one another; we might not always agree on tactics or approaches, but for every difference, there's a basis for unity.

What will be more feasibility for discussions is to create TWO discussion lists.

Anarchist-poc
<send a blank e-mail to anarchist-poc-subscribe@yahogroups.com>

The anarchist people of color list is a discussion group for people of color interested in developing new tendencies and presence in the anarchist movement among people of color. Organizing experiences, methods being used to build those new ideas, how we relate our ideas to our communities, how to reach out creatively to people, how anarchism and various beliefs relate to and more.

abcf-poc
<send a blank e-mail to abcf-poc-subscribe@yahogroups.com>

The ABCF People of Color list is geared more toward those people of color who are active in the Anarchist Black Cross Federation or who may be interested in getting active with, supporting or starting a local ABCF. Clearly, tons of topics bear addressing – including the ones covered on the anarchist-poc list, but relating to ABCF

(ABCF is a six-year old revolutionary anarchist federation which works with Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War in a nonsectarian fashion to create practical support, defense and freedom campaigns – see www.abcf.net for more info.)

The POC publication has gotten some interest, and hopefully, we'll get the chance to discuss those on both lists.

Some of you have written lengthy letters. Rest assured, I'm getting back to you. And thanks for the interest!

Ernesto Aguilar
Houston ABCF
Coordinator, ABCF People of Color Caucus
Ernesto@houstonabc.org

There is a
BLACK
anarchist

Born in
the Ghetto
EVERY
20



Minutes.!"

THE MOVIE AND SOUNDTRACK
COMING SOON.

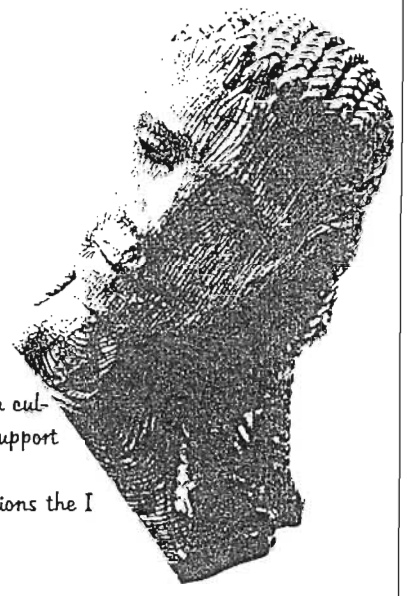
I AM PROUD TO ANNOUNCE: @ FIRST

This year in NYC, the rotten apple, folks came together for the FIRST People of Color anarchist study group in the history of the northeast of Babylon. We know that Kom'boa Erving had started the process in the South, and that Black Fist did it in the West, folks are meeting in the mid-West, Black Autonomy was in the northwest and now US@urs have had at least 3 sessions, informal and dynamic. We do not all identify as anarchist and ain't trying to recruit. We just willing to explore what anarchism & anarchy has to offer us in our day-to-day struggles in our respective communities. So far, we have no list of required reading classics and we may not. But we do plan to explore and learn through different mediums: field trips, movies, role-playing, interviews, games, readings, specific & grassroots-grounded organizing problems and personal/spiritual life issues. At present, in preparation for the next session, we are to talk with folks in our various "communities" on the issue of the prison industrial complex and crime. With this we will discuss how definitions of community have changed, how those changed definitions affect and can inform our activist work, and how do people in our communities actually live with and negotiate these issues? No abstract shit. We working to facilitate movement-building that really does come from the affected communities themselves. More updates as we grow. Oh yeah!
anarchistpanther@hotmail.com

REVOLUTION

QUESTIONS ON ANARCHISM TO COMRADE ASHANTI

In relation to the theory of a stateless society, pt I



BY ORLANDO GREEN

A stateless society. How can that happen? By asking this question, I am not implying that it is impossible as dogmatic marxist choose to think. Would it be a cultural question? How long would it take for cultural mechanisms to be in place to support such a system? Does there have to be a economic communist state before people socially/politically/economically evolve into a communal stateless society? These are questions the I have. Would the evolution have to be from a:

capitalist state>socialist state>communist state>communal non-state?

Some communist (like PLP) feel that a revolution should evolve from a capitalist state straight to a communist state without the socialist stage of development. They make this analysis from what they position to be a dialectical materialist view "that all socialist states have reverted back to capitalist/imperialist states." I have heard a similar belief from sects of anarchist who feel that the jump should be straight to the communal non-state. I do not agree with that position. This is a flexible position that I have based on limited study on the social conditioning of people under competition and race/gender prejudice.

Particularly in north amerikkka, or five generations removed That was a 400 year relationship still no "conditioned from the end of that pe- with evolved codes of from that time pe- practiced a cul- to this mess



the Black/white population is only four from chattel slavery relationships. tionship in human history that is away." We are only 130 years riord's exploitation. We still live behavior that originated riord. It may veloped and tural/social alternative that has been em-

embraced by the take another 400 years to undue that relationship. Proclaimed revolutionaries still have not developed and practiced a cultural/social alternative to this mess that has bee embraced by the masses that we believe is correct.

What you WILL see however, are Black People! Black men and women dropping out of school. Dropping books, to pick up guns. Joining gangs that terrorize communities with violence and death. You will see Black men impregnating Black women, and then never supporting those children at all! How many men and women in the Black communities today can say that they NEVER had any real relationship with their fathers at all?!? How many Black women with children to support, spend more time, energy and money on "themselves" than they do their children?!? Expensive clothing. Electronic entertainment equipment. Gold teeth. Jewelry. And worst of all... Alcohol and Drugs!!!

Raze the Walls! Quarterly
A Question of Guilt or White Supremacy?
Winter 1997 - 1998

A "white mother country radical" at your event stated that anarchist want a "highly advanced form of social organization." I agree that a stateless order would have to be that. Aside from the re-distribution of wealth that Marx proposes for the betterment of humanity, culture is very

The following essay "A Question of Guilt" was forwarded to Raze the Walls! by a Texas inmate for publication in this newsletter. At first we were decidedly against publishing this obviously racist piece. We then sent the essay to Greg Jackson of Black Autonomy International for his comment. What follows is both the original text of Daniel McAvey's essay, along with Greg Jackson's response. Further comments on these articles is welcome and the addresses for both individuals are below.

A Question of Guilt

To begin this story, I would like to introduce myself. My name is Daniel, and I am a white male, thirty-four years of age, and serving a Capital Life sentence in a Texas State Penitentiary. During the six-years that I have been incarcerated so far, I have heard countless tales of just how guilty the American Criminal Justice System is in doing EVERYTHING physically possible to "Keep Black People Down!"

I have been forced to over-hear loud arguments of how our justice and Penitentiary System is mainly designed and run to "oppress" the Black man and women! To "Keep them from gettin', anywhere," and basically to "make slaves" of Black people! The "White-Man" has been blamed for virtually EVERY bad event that has ever befallen black men and women in our society today, regardless of whatever it may be, or who actually may have done it?!? "That" has been one side of the coin. "I" am here to present the other.

I was born and raised in a middle-class White neighborhood, but I am aware of just what is going on in other worlds. I watch the news faithfully. Read investigations. Ask questions. Observe people from ALL walks of life, and listen quite carefully to what those people say of just how they and other members of their community and race conduct themselves.

My twenty-eight years in the free—world were good, but my six-years locked up were EXCELLENT for a clear understanding of exactly how the Black race is 'oppressed' in this country. An understanding that the main thing that is oppressing the Black race today..... is the "Black Race" itself!!!

You can come up with all the excuses, theories, denials, and conspiracies, that you want to, but the REAL proof of oppression is in what you actually "see" in the Black community today! For quite some time now, in the inner-cities and Black neighborhoods throughout our country, you will not see very many "White" men or women walking around! You will not see David Duke, Mark Furmen, or any Klansmen running around! You will not see any secret agents of the C.I.A. plotting schemes and conspiracies. It will be a pretty safe bet, that you will not see ANY "White" men or women AT ALL!!!

If there was EVER any TRUE form of "slavery" at any time; it exists in the form of drugs! And no greater example of this can be seen, than in Crack Cocaine! "Crack" has become a living nightmare to the Black community over the years, and where exactly do you think all this crack is coming from??? It does not appear out of nowhere, and it certainly does not grown on trees! Where is does come from, is from within the Black community itself. Manufactured by Black men and women. Distributed by Black men and women. Pushed on to, and sold to Black men and women no matter how adolescent, and finally... used by Black men and women!

Because of the crack epidemic countless lives have been destroyed! Lives ruined. Families ripped apart! Children born either deformed, brain-damaged, hopelessly addicted, or even dead! The addictiveness of crack is so very

powerful that Black men and women today will stop at nothing to get a hold of their next ten-dollar rock! They'll steal. Mug. Prostitute themselves. Rob. And even murder in cold blood! The activities of many street-gangs revolve around crack dealing! Beatings. Tortures. Drive-by-shootings, and even gang-wars are the result of anyone or anything that stands in their way!



Response from Greg Jackson of Black Autonomy

The drug business perpetuated by the Black race today has enslaved that race better than we so-called "Oppressing White-Folk" EVER COULD. The heavy steel bars on windows and doors in the Black community are not there to keep "White" people out!

Any Black man or woman who has ever willingly involved themselves in the drug business, is also a willing helper in this oppressive destruction! They are actually helping to enslave and destroy their very own race!

How many Black men and women incarcerated today, declare of how they are all "Brothers," or "Sisters," and how they "cut-for," and "stand-up for" each other?!? How many openly speak of the "Love" for their race and follow race-members, all the while being guilty of the very actions mentioned above that are destroying their beloved race?!?!?!? I have tried a number of times to pose this very question to the imprisoned Black men and women around me, but each time the words fell upon deaf ears. They would-not... could-not... accept the idea, and quickly change the conversation.

Yes, the White race is guilty of hurting and enslaving the black race! I will be the very first to admit that, but that damage and injustice was in the "past." The grand-scale destruction occurring to the Black race today, is being committed by the Black race itself. It is being done willingly, purposely, and of complete free-will, so there is no one else to blame, and I openly challenge anyone to prove to me that I am wrong!!!

The proof of what I say can be seen by Black men and women in their communities today, or by any White individual who may wish to risk their lives, and take a walk through some inner-city street!

To end this argument; I would just like to say that if any "Brother," or "Sister" involved in crime who truly wishes to see the face of the person guilty of oppressing, their race, than all that they need to do is simply look into a mirror. Thank you.

Daniel,
I was forwarded a letter you sent to Raze The Walls/Orlando. I didn't think I was going to wind up answering it, until I noticed that you issued a challenge at the end of it. So, you asked for it...

What you say is true about the fact that Black people tend to attack and oppress each other. But there is one thing your piece lacks: the "why" of it. In fact, your piece would have been stronger if you had included your theory on why it is. Of course, you couldn't. Why? Because you have no analysis and you have no answers; because your evidence is based on hearsay and dogma. How can you explain a phenomenon that you don't understand with "facts" from others just as backward and racist as you?

Lets go through your little rant, paragraph by paragraph: faulty assertion by faulty assertion.

Crack Cocaine

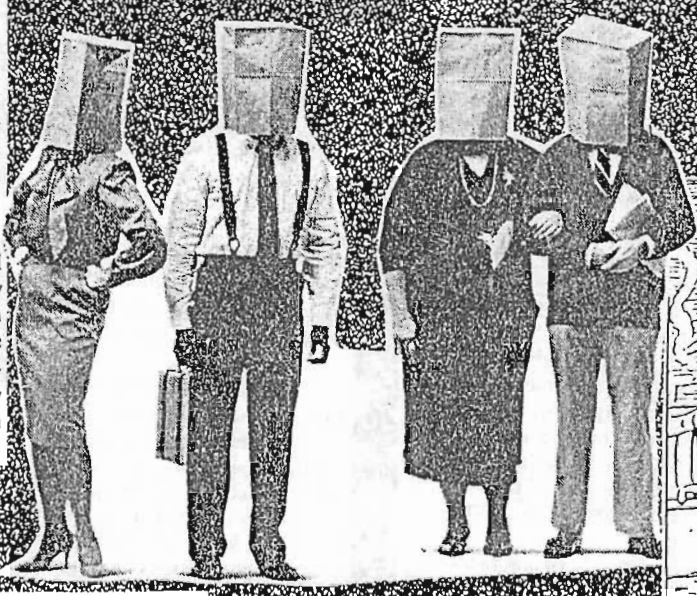
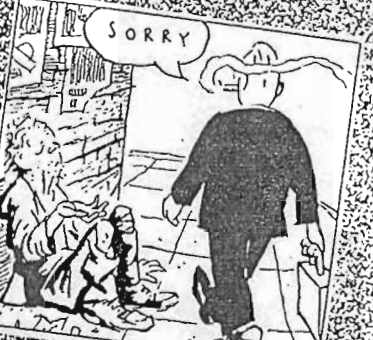
Cocaine was, and is brought into this country by the CIA and those it hires (as reported by Gary Webb of the *San Jose Mercury News*; and documented years earlier by *CoverAction Quarterly*) to be distributed into the community. *ABC News* reported that it had obtained a print out of email transcripts of Manuel Noriega and Col.

Oliver North discussing money and drug transactions. The proceeds from sales were used to arm and train the Contras (a reactionary counter-insurgency force) who were fighting the Sandinista government (formed by the Marxist-Leninist workers and peasants party of the same name) of Nicaragua; while at the same time aiding and assisting desperate people to destroy themselves. This was started back in the early 1970's, using heroin (at that time) as part of the FBI's counter-insurgency against the Black Liberation movement - the Black Panther Party in particular. That's a fact. You can get that information from the government via the Freedom of Information Act.

True, it is turned into crack by Black dealers and they are a part of the problem; but is this reflective of the Black community as a whole? The dealers do exist as enemies of the people; along with the local [white] police officers and commanders who profit off their business and our collective misery. In addition, the largest base of powder cocaine sales of Black dealers are white college students and professionals (check the FBI stats). Why do you think it is that President KKKinton signed a bill into law that laid down longer prison time for sale, distribution, or possession of crack cocaine vs. the law's penalty for powder?!

Prisons and Prison Sentencing

I don't hear you telling white kids to quit providing a base of economic security for the dealers. I don't see anywhere in-your document where you join the collective voice of the community in calling for a federal investigation into the crack epidemic and those in the federal government or down to the local government who benefit financially. Nor do I see in your letter where you call for a halt to prison construction, both state-run



We were not born violent. We do not enjoy killing. We just want peace and freedom. But our daily lives are violent. This country is violent. The enemy leaves us no choice. Either we sit by, saying "ay bendito" as our nation dies, or we stand up, organize, prepare for the revolution we know is coming.
-PALANTE

"To be sure, some individuals do abuse the welfare system... (but) such cases constitute a very small fraction of the overall welfare population. Most welfare recipients want a better life for themselves and their children; they don't enjoy being on government assistance, and they persevere in the face of countless hardships and handicaps. Ultimately, they cling to the American dream despite the formidable odds against them." -- Mark Rank, sociologist



From **OUTLAW**
To **REVOLUTIONARY**

Anarchist Prisoner-of-War

Ojore NURU Lutalo #59860
Box 861
SBI# 0000901548
Trenton, NJ 08625

OJORE NURU LUTALO

Ojore Lutalo is locked down in Trenton, New Jersey, for actions carried out in the fight for Black Liberation.

In Ojore's own words, he is "serving a parole violation sentence (we received 14 to 17 years) stemming from a 1977 conviction for expropriating monies from a capitalist state bank (in order to finance our activities) and engaging the political police in a gun battle in December 1975 in order to effect our departure from the bank, and to ensure success of the military operation..."

"After my parole violation term terminated in December 1987, I started serving a forty year sentence with a twenty year parole ineligibility (I was paroled in 1980, and I have been back in captivity since April 20, 1982) that I have received in 1982 for having a gun-fight with a drug dealer. The overall strategy of assaulting a drug dealer is to secure monies to finance one's activities, and to rid the oppressed communities of drug dealers." Ojore was originally arrested with New Afrikan P.O.W. Kojo Bomani Sababu, and was struggling with comrade Andaliwa Clark up until the point that Andaliwa was killed in action within the confines of New Jersey's infamous Trenton State Prison after he shot two prison's security guards in the repressive Management Control Unit (M.C.U.) on January 19th, 1976 when they tried to stop him from escaping from captivity.

Ojore was a comrade of the late Kuwasi Balagoon, a New Afrikan anarchist P.O.W. "I've been involved in the struggle, the war against the fascist state since 1970. I've been an anarchist since 1975 without any regrets. Prior to my involvement in the struggle, I was just another apolitical lumpen (bandit) here in Amerika."

"I was... influenced and highly motivated by the Black Liberation Army (B.L.A.) here in Amerika. These sisters and brothers were New Afrikans just like me from the streets of the ghettos who took the initiative militarily, to start assassinating members of the state's security forces who were murdering black people in our communities. From the inception of all revolutions, I feel that the people need armed combat units to check state sponsored acts of terrorism by the government's security forces. In addition, I feel that these armed combat units are necessary to show the people that fascist acts of state-sponsored terrorism... will be responded to militarily. In 1975 I became disillusioned with Marxism and became an anarchist (thanks to Kuwasi Balagoon) due to the inactiveness and ineffectiveness of Marxism in our communities along with repressive bureaucracy that comes with Marxism. People aren't going to commit themselves to a life and death struggle just because of grand ideas someone might have floating around in their heads. I feel people will commit themselves to a struggle if they can see progress being made similar to the progress of anarchist collectives in Spain during the era of the fascist Bahamonde..."

Ojore is presently locked down in an M.C.U. in Trenton. "I'm encased in a cage of steel and concrete surrounded by high prison walls topped with gun towers and rows of razor wire while being watched by sadistic fascist pigs. Nevertheless, I'm not complaining because I have accepted revolution, which is an armed struggle for me, and I have come to terms with the prospects of death and captivity... The vast majority of the Prisoners of War and Political Prisoners now being interned here in the concentration camps of North Amerika aren't receiving any assistance (e.g.: being liberated, assistance in liberating ourselves, financial assistance needed to obtain food packages, winter clothing, reading material and postage stamps) from the so-called progressive revolutionary organizations, groups and individuals here in Amerika. With our talents, we have been abandoned here in the state's numerous concentration camps and our M.C.U.'s by those out there in what we call minimum custody..." We don't need moral support because we have purpose. We don't need anyone to tell us to stay strong because we are going to remain steady-fast anyway, because we have come to terms with the prospects of death and captivity."

and private. It's a well known fact that the United States is the NUMBER ONE jailer of its own citizens IN THE ENTIRE WORLD (1.6 million, mostly Black and Latino, as of April, 1996), surpassing the rate of incarceration in South Africa under the white supremacist apartheid regimes of F.W. DeKlerk and P.W. Botha.

You of all people should be one of the loudest voices against prison construction and laws that are designed to increase incarceration; unless you enjoy living in an already over crowded environment (remember, its people on the outside, with ignorant, dogmatic, cave-dweller attitudes like you who are calling for more prisons and tougher sentencing). Many of them are rich bastards with an economic stake in the prison industry who are looking for more cheap slave labor [You?]). Unless you want to see yourself surrounded by more angry Black males who hate you, unless you want to see friends you had in your old neighborhood coming back to visit you and your fellow inmates ... as your jail guards and executioners, and unless you want to continue to have these type of discussions over and over again.

Past and Present Cultural Domination by Global White Supremacy

It was Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Who said, "We've lost our religion, our culture, our God; and many of us by the way we act, we've even lost our minds." It is foolish and politically retarded for you to claim that what has happened in the past does not echo on to the present day. So would you argue that a man who's a pedafile as a youth won't grow up with those same urges, irregardless of whether or not he attacks a child again?

In the case of the white ruling class and those amongst the white population foolish enough or ignorant enough to go along with the program, the "pedafile" (white Amerikkka) continues to rape the child (the black community) who still suffers from the mental conditioning reinforced by the previous attacks. Pain and mental illness, like genetic coding, are passed from generation to generation. At the same time, the saying "as much as things change, how much they stay the same" plays itself out in the worsening social and economic conditions in the community, reinforcing the mentality (with a handful of fortunate exceptions; usually those who had a relatively responsible adult as a mentor). Increased competition, in everything from good paying jobs to women, creates increased contempt, especially amongst those with little who believe that they are less than human.

Racism works the same way on whites, wouldn't you agree? Anyone who read your letter would. Self-hatred is not as deep amongst whites, because they do not have both internal and external oppressors telling them that they have no history outside of slavery, that they have no God except a vengeful white man, nor are they being as heavily targeted by advertisers and producers/distributors of products of death (alcohol, cigarettes, pork,

etc.). How can you not be a product of your environment? Likewise, how can we as Black people, not be products of ours?

You say that its all a matter of "complete free-will" on the part of Black people, but what about the "freewill" of capitalism; or the Police, or the Klan? Every action by a larger, more numerous, or more influential entity has an equal or greater reaction. This is basic physics. So how do you know that the criminal actions of oppressed people are not reactions to market forces or outright repression by the state? What about your own "criminal actions"!!?

Conclusion

To quote you, "To end this argument, I would just like to say that if any "brother" or "sister" involved in crime who truly wishes to see the face of the person guilty of 'oppressing' their race, then all they need to do is simply look into a mirror." And you, sir, should indeed be the first to take that plunge! Denial of the Jewish Holocaust is a federal crime in Germany. Likewise it is a criminal act (although not in a legal sense, since when does the devil legislate against himself) to deny the 420+ year holocaust of Black people in the U.S. On that "charge" alone you deserve life without parole. If I was the judge, I'd consider the death penalty for such an offense! Lucky for you, I don't believe in capital punishment by the state (although I do advocate personal self defense; even if it causes death).

The prison you live in is a physical manifestation of the prison Black people and all workers of color live in here in the United States at the social, political, economic, and cultural level. And yes, many of our jailers are our own people. My question to you is: who do they all work for ultimately? What does the Black drug dealer and the white corporate CEO have in common? What does the Klansman and the gang-banger have in common? And what are you going to do about it? Figure out the answers to those questions, and maybe we can safely say there's hope for you. You're either part of the solution or part of the problem. What side are you on?

Peace,

Greg Jackson.
Black Autonomy International/Seattle

p.s. A challenge for you... Suggested Reading:

"Settlers: Mythology of a White Proletariat" by I. Sakai.
"A People's History of the United States" by Howard Zinn
"Black Power" by Kwame Ture (Stokely Carmichael)
"The Wretched of the Earth" by Franz Fanon
"The Struggle For Land" by Ward Churchill.

To call in question
the society you "live"
in, you must first be
capable of calling
yourself in question.

ABC-BG, POB 350392, Jacksonville, FLA 32235-0392, E-mail: jax@abcf.net.

Jericho '98 Organizing Committee P.O. Box 650 • New York, NY 10009

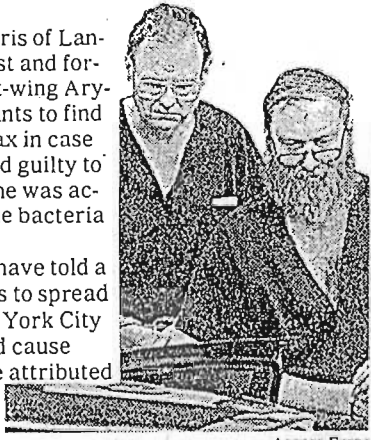
Suspected Toxin and 2 Arrests

Two men in Las Vegas were charged with possession of a toxin believed to be anthrax, but testing showed the substance to be a nonlethal form of anthrax that could be used in making a vaccine, Federal authorities said.

One man, Larry Wayne Harris of Lancaster, Ohio, is a microbiologist and former member of the ultra right-wing Aryan Nations who has said he wants to find ways to protect against anthrax in case of biological attack. He pleaded guilty to fraud charges last year after he was accused of getting bubonic plague bacteria through the mail.

Mr. Harris was reported to have told a group last summer of his plans to spread bubonic plague toxin in a New York City subway station, where it would cause countless deaths that would be attributed to the Iraqi Government.

2 rednecks "SUSPECTED"
Hmm? Aryan Nation..
MORE THAN 1! Plot can
STILL happen in a New
York City subway.
HUH???????



Agence Franc



FEB. 20, 1998 N.Y.T.

Suspects arrested in Las Vegas.

M E S S A G E

From NYC to Public Health Convention: Fight Grows Against Genocidal Drugging of Schoolchildren by Nazi Psycho-Researchers

November 10, 1999/CHALLENGE

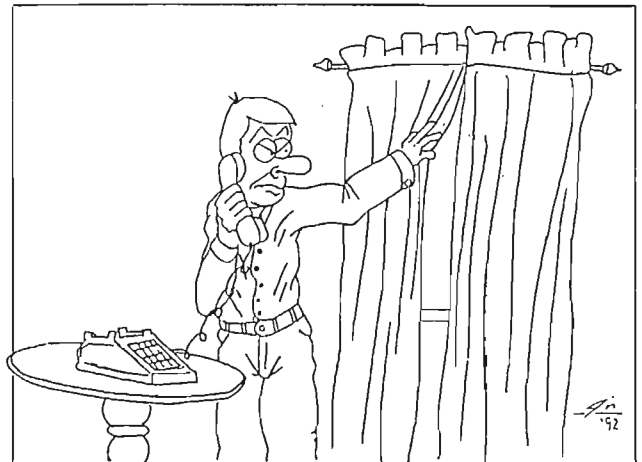
NEW YORK CITY, Nov. 1 — Psychiatrists at the New York State Psychiatric Institute (NYSPI) and the Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center Dept. of Child Psychiatry have now opened clinics in nine public schools in the working class black and Latin neighborhood around the hospital. These clinics are part of a national program to increase mental health awareness and treatment in the schools, promoted by the White House in response to the shootings at Columbine H.S.

Activists in the Coalition Against the Violence Initiative (CAVI) fear that many children in these schools will not merely get counseling or family therapy. The NYSPi psychiatrists subscribe to the widely-held belief that eight million children (out of 50 million in the U.S.) have some mental illness, and that mental illness is nearly always biological in origin. They promote drug treatment for almost all diagnoses; the most common are attention deficit disorder, conduct disorders, anxiety or depression. They discount all environmental factors—racism, poverty, overcrowded schools, etc. They also are deeply involved in studying the effects

of psychoactive drugs on children, studies which are usually sponsored by pharmaceutical companies.

The motivation and philosophy of the Columbia doctors makes it likely that over 10% of the children in these schools will end up being labeled, given long-term drugs (like Ritalin or Prozac), and/or become subjects of drug studies of no benefit to themselves. CAVI members have distributed leaflets at all nine schools, warning parents about the clinics. At George Washington High School, where parents and teachers stopped a NYSPi study last year, the administration immediately responded with a flyer touting the clinic and ignoring the issues CAVI raised. CAVI also held a forum on the issue, attended by some residents and school workers from the area. The task now is to reach more parents and bring the struggle into these schools.

The attempt to label working class, black and Latin children as "defective" and to drug them for years is truly genocidal and is another step towards fascism. The U.S. ruling class, unable to provide decent wages, health care or education for workers, is resorting to



HELLO! THANK YOU FOR CALLING DIAL-A-FED.
IF YOU WISH TO INFORM ON A FAMILY MEMBER, PRESS #1...
IF YOU WISH TO INFORM ON A NEIGHBOUR, PRESS #2...
IF YOU WISH TO INFORM ON A COLLEAGUE, PRESS #3...

Far fetched? The Michigan State Police sponsors a "Tip Line" for its "Marijuana Eradication Program" at 1-800-235-HEMP. A unctious recorded voice asks you to leave the names of pot growing suspects, how many plants are under cultivation, the location, and information on "any security device at the site which might be of interest to law enforcement officers." Now, don't any of you wild-eyed anarchists or weed growing outlaws take advantage of this service to report some conservative politician or sanctimonious preacher; that wouldn't be nice!

Metropolitan REPORT

Gays fault cops on serial slay report

Activists reacted with dismay yesterday to the disclosure that a serial killer may be stalking gay men in Harlem, and that cops had not alerted them.

"If the NYPD has been sitting on the concept that there is a serial killer in Harlem, they are really putting the lives of gay men in jeopardy," said Carl Locke of the Lesbian Anti-Violence Project. The Daily News disclosed yesterday

that detectives have found strong links between the slayings of Nathaniel (Troy) Hayden on Oct. 24 and Ernest Waits in August 1998. Cops are using DNA tests to determine if a 1997 slaying is linked to the other two.

City Councilwoman Christine Quinn (D-Manhattan) urged Mayor Giuliani to establish a \$10,000 reward in the case. Police Commissioner Howard Safir said yesterday that the three killings have not been definitively linked.

"I don't think anybody should panic at this time," Safir said.

Mike Claffey

12/18/99

things are getting worse and you're not helping

police terror and pharmacology to suppress the anger of workers and students. The fight continues not only in New York but in other cities and in the American Public Health Association (APHA). The leadership of this large, integrated and so-called liberal organization has suppressed the debate on violence research for five years. At last year's national convention, they were pressured by a growing number of members into promising that a large special session would finally air the issue this year, but they again reneged.

CAVI will have a session in a small room and will raise its resolution against racist violence research which ignores environmental factors. As APHA members increasingly become aware of the issue, it will become clearer how the ties of the APHA leadership to drug companies and politicians make the orga-



nization a handmaiden of creeping fascism. Our six-year-long campaign has won us many friends in the APHA, who must be won to join an organization which fights for a new society rather than rely on liberal organizations to reform capitalism. ☉

Children Armed for Drug Trade?

Phila. Daily News
Associated Press

16 June 87
WASHINGTON — Eighteen-year-old Detra J. of the District of Columbia, saying "everyone knows how to get a gun if they want one," told a House panel yesterday that she knows children as young as 12 who arm themselves because they are involved in drug trafficking.

"If they hustle for a person — he's a runner or a hit man — he's getting a gun to carry out the orders the man has given him," Detra, whose last name was not revealed, told the House Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families.

Eight people she knows have been shot to death, she said: "Half had guns and were in a gunfight, and half of them were innocent bystanders."

But the deaths do not keep others from getting involved in the drug trade, she said. "Most of them, after their friends die, they get deeper into it," because of the financial rewards, she said.

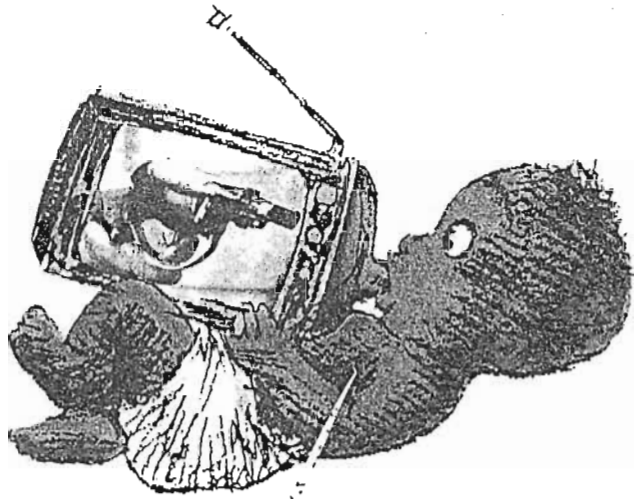
"They get involved because they want fast money, to buy cars, jewelry and radios. They don't get [legitimate] jobs because the pay is too low."

Detra, who works in a local Recreation Department program to keep young people off the streets, said: "Everyone knows how to get a gun if they want one."

She said many ideas floated by lawmakers to keep young people from obtaining guns won't work, including making it more difficult to buy weapons legally. The District of Columbia has one of the toughest gun control laws in the country yet young people have no trouble getting them illegally, she said.

Holding parents liable for their children's use of weapons will fail because, she said, "there's not too many youth today who talk to their parents."

... It's not a family bond anymore" and parents don't have control over their drug-dealing children.



TELEVISION, THE DRUG OF THE NATION

Internal Violence

The first thing which the [colonised person] learns is to stay in his place, and not to go beyond certain limits. This is why the dreams of the [colonised person] are always of muscular prowess . . .

The colonised man will first manifest this aggressiveness which has been deposited in his bones against his own people. This is the period when the niggers beat each other up . . . It is as if plunging into a fraternal blood-bath allowed them to ignore the obstacle, and to put off till later the choice, nevertheless inevitable, which opens up the question of armed resistance to colonialism.

—Frantz Fanon, THE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH

Girl Is Robbed in Subway By Gang Wielding Razor

MARCH 11, 1999 N.Y.T.

A 14-year-old girl was robbed at razor-point on a subway train in the Bronx yesterday by a group of 10 teen-agers, mostly girls, the police said. Five of the girls were arrested moments later.

The victim was on a southbound No. 4 train heading into 149th Street-Grand Concourse station at 3:45 P.M. when eight girls and two boys approached her, said Officer John Seidl, a police spokesman. One of the youths brandished a razor and demanded her property, and the girl handed over a ring, Officer Seidl said.

The assailants got off at the station, and the girl, who was not injured, reported the crime. The police arrested three 15-year-old girls, a 14-year-old girl and a 16-year-old girl near the station and charged them all with robbery, Officer Seidl said. The suspects' names were not released because of their ages.

During a 24-hour period last Friday and Saturday, four people were slashed in the subway. Two others were cut on Monday. Three of the attacks involved teen-age assailants and occurred just after school let out.



Man Accused of a Killing After Dispute Over TV

NEWARK — An argument over what to watch on television ended violently Monday night when an East Orange man fatally shot his roommate, the Essex County Prosecutor's office said yesterday.

Tyson Salmon, 22, was arrested in



the fatal shooting of his roommate, Marlon Irving, 22, said Ray Weiss, a spokesman for the Prosecutor's office. Mr. Weiss said the shooting occurred after Mr. Irving insisted on changing the channel while Mr. Salmon was watching a program. Mr. Salmon, who fled the scene after the shooting, surrendered to East Orange police on Tuesday night.

AUG 20, 98 N.Y.TIMES

Overcoming Internalized Violence

Bobby, in PALANTE. Michael Abramson and Young Lords. McGraw-Hill, 1971. \$5.95; pap. \$3.95.

Now, the gang thing went through stages, dig. The first stage was what we call the rumbles, right. We used to go down in big numbers, like ninety of us against the Viceroy's and a whole lot of Viceroy's against us, and we'd have these gigantic battles. Most of it was blades and sticks and shit like that, and a little burning. It was very glorious at that time. Then it got a little more scary. It became like guerrilla warfare. Three cats would go down and burn one person. Now it was no longer a thing of the big gang but just a fighting thing. It became very vicious. We were just killing each other off, man, like fuckin' flies. And, many of us were goin' to jail, you dig—doin' like twenty to life. You know, I shot this brother. It happened when I had stopped gang-fighting. But something happened

with my younger brother, and we had to go down. The brother we shot was a ex-Viceroy. Me and my brother burned him, man—we put, like, seven bullets in him. It was a fucked-up thing, you dig, it was a fucked-up thing.

That brother is now a Lord. And we love each other, man. And the deep thing about it is, the brother's in a wheel chair—behind what me and my brother did, you know what I mean. And still, you know, he's political enough and I'm political enough that we understand, you dig, why the shit went down—it was the conditions we were living under. And that's why he and I now have dedicated our lives to fighting for the freedom of our people, so no more of our kids will fuck around like we did—'cause, like, we hurt him, and it's still there, you dig, and at the same time we hurt ourselves.

DIRECT ACTION SHOTS

Lovesick Woodpeckers Poke Hole in a Shuttle's Schedule



Pieces of insulation being scattered over the external fuel tank of the space shuttle Discovery as a woodpecker drilled a hole.

NYTIMES 3 June 95

By JOHN NOBLE WILFORD

Riddled with holes drilled by woodpeckers, the space shuttle Discovery will have to retreat to the hangar for repairs to its fuel-tank insulation, forcing an indefinite postponement of the launching that had been scheduled for next week, the space agency said yesterday.

Officials of the Kennedy Space Center at Cape Canaveral, Fla., said the shuttle would be rolled back from the launching pad next week and might not be rescheduled to fly again until August.

The offending birds were identified as yellow-shafted flickers, a common woodpecker in eastern North America that displays such behavior during courtship and to proclaim its territory. Technicians counted at least six dozen holes, some as big as four inches wide. Some penetrated to the tank's metal wall, but caused no damage to it.

At a news briefing yesterday, Al Sofge, assistant launching director at the Kennedy center, tried to be philosophical about having one of the \$2 billion spaceships, built to withstand the rigors of orbital flight, from blastoff to fiery re-entry, driven off its launching pad by a flock of birds with mating on their minds.

"We'd rather stay out there and fly," Mr. Sofge said. "I consider this just one more rock in the road to success."

The actual repairs should take no more than a week or two, engineers said. But then the Discovery would run into scheduling conflicts with two other missions with higher priorities.

Preparations are also under way for the shuttle Atlantis to be launched no earlier than June 22 for the first linkup between an American spacecraft and Russia's Mir space station. The Endeavour has been scheduled for a science mission about July 20 to coincide with operations by another spacecraft exploring the Sun.

So the mission that was to get off the ground next Thursday morning, to deploy a communications satellite for space traffic, may remain grounded until about Aug. 10. Officials of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration said a decision on the new launching date could be made in the next two weeks.

The damaged insulation, an orange-colored coating of plastic foam one to two inches thick, prevents ice from forming when the silo-shaped tank is being filled with super-cold propellants, liquid hydrogen and liquid oxygen, for the shuttle's three main engines. The tank is jettisoned just before the shuttle reaches orbit.

Engineers examining the damage had determined that for safety's sake, nearly all of the holes would have to be repaired by removing the riddled foam and replacing each piece with a new section.

Mr. Sofge said the decision to remove the Discovery from the launching pad was made after engineers determined that workers in a basket suspended from a crane could not reach about a dozen of the insulation holes near the top of the fuel tank. There was also concern, he



Yellow-shafted flickers have grounded a space shuttle.

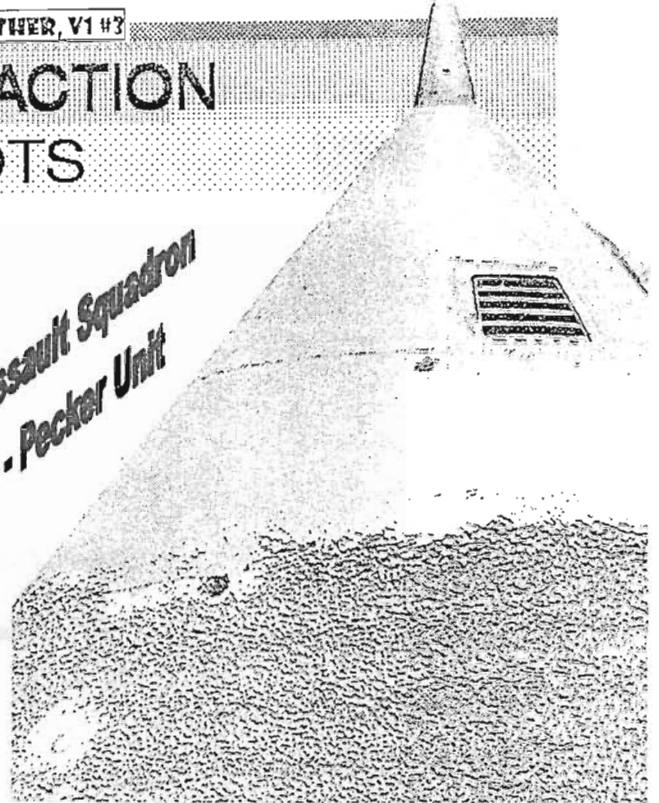
interfere with work on the foam patches.

Bruce Buckingham, a spokesman at the Kennedy center, said that for some reason the woodpeckers were more aggressive than ever this year. "There's been some history to this kind of problem, but not to this degree," he said.

The yellow-shafted flickers are known to hammer on dead limbs or tin roofs. And bird specialists from the United States Fish and Wildlife Service, called to the scene, said this was the nesting season and the male flickers were undoubtedly trying to attract the attention of females by taking on something far more monumental than a dead limb.

On the advice of the bird experts, NASA technicians rigged up plastic owl decoys and played tapes of hooting sounds of great horned owls, predators of woodpeckers. Mr. Buckingham said this had apparently driven the flickers away from the

ANARCHIST
Assault Squadron
- Pecker Unit



Two of the holes (lower left) that woodpeckers punched into the foam insulation protecting the space shuttle Discovery's external fuel tank. The shuttle was grounded yesterday as a result of some 70 holes.

Discovery and prevented any similar damage to Atlantis, the shuttle on the other launching pad.

As things stand now, with the Discovery out of action, the Atlantis will be the next shuttle to fly. An official launching date is expected to be announced late next week. Mr. Buckingham said it would be no earlier than June 20, but could be a few days later, depending on when the crew of the Mir space station is ready to receive American visitors from Earth. The mission is considered the most important of the year because of international political implica-

tions and its value in preparations for construction an American-developed space station later in the decade.

After the Atlantis flight, Mr. Sofge said, "we are not sure what will come next."

Officials said there would be some pressure from scientists not to interfere with plans for the Endeavour flight in July. That shuttle will be carrying a set of scientific instruments for studying solar physics in conjunction with the European-American spacecraft Ulysses, which is to enter a critical phase of its solar explorations at that time.

Direct "Undying Love" Action and a STOP at McDonalds

Crisis of heart: Girl gets new one as dad faces jail

London (UPI)—A 5-year-old Australian girl who became the world's youngest recipient of a heart-lung transplant was doing "just lovely" yesterday, but her father was ordered to stand trial on charges he robbed a McDonald's to pay for the operation.

Brooke Matthews of Australia was given the heart and lungs of a 3-year-old child in a 4½-hour operation. She is expected to remain in the intensive care unit for at least three weeks, said an official of the National Heart Hospital.

"She has gone from blue to pink from top to bottom and is lovely, just lovely," Brooke's mother, Deborah Matthews, 26, told reporters.

Brooke's father, Robert Matthews, appeared in court for a preliminary hearing yesterday on charges of holding up a McDonald's restaurant in Melbourne last December and taking \$2,000 after he was told Brooke had only months to live.

Money for the \$16,000 operation was donated by a wheat farmer in Australia.

Deborah Matthews said she had not seen her former husband for months.

"I don't think his gesture helped at all and I was very upset to hear about it," she said.



Robert Matthews, 5-year-old girl's father, at court in Melbourne, Australia.

The hospital said Brooke had suffered since birth from a complex heart defect with "almost the complete absence of the right side of the heart."

The surgical team was headed by Egyptian-born Dr. Magdi Yacoub, who last year carried out a similar heart-lung transplant on a 14-year-old Swedish girl, Cecilia Brandenfeldt.

The hospital said Cecilia was now back at school in Sweden "and is leading as normal a life as anyone else of her age."

DIRECT ACTION SHOTS

POLITICAL



Yu Kikumura
09008-050 / Box 8500
Florence, CO 81226-8500



Richard Williams 10377-016
3701 Klein Blvd.
Lompoc, CA 93436

PRISONERS

Black Flag of Anarchy

I MUST FIRST APOLOGIZE for the use of the street vernacular when discussing a delicate and important subject matter.

Jim Knipfel is the only journalist who has any understanding of the serious nature caused by the totally inept security at One Police Plaza ("Tinytown," 7/29). After all, it is the epicenter of police intelligence in New York City. Not only was it possible to bring a large amount of contraband—10,000 crickets—past the lax checkpoint, but my arrest was the most incompetent so-called arrest that I have ever witnessed or been involved in. Ten cops to drag a visitor to the ground at an open and public event? What kind of stupidity is this? Thankfully this was not a million-dollar robbery of the cash that happened to be on the premises at the auction that day. Or a terrorist attack. Those doors are wide open!

Why are public auctions held in One Police Plaza? This sale is for city-owned land that has become defunct, generally in less "desirable" neighborhoods. Every type of person is hoping for some cheap land at a sale like this. You certainly have the good, the bad and the ugly at this kind of event. The anarchists were making a political point: They wanted to bring attention to the sale of Charas, a Lower East Side community center and one of the buildings for sale. Had they had malice in their hearts, the police bunker would have been in ruins. It's a black eye for the police department.

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Radical Group Declares War On 'Scumlords'
FEB. 4, 1976
SAN FRANCISCO (UPI) — The radical New World Liberation Front has declared war against a list of "scumlords," warning that failure to heed its demands will result in terrorist attacks.

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The discovery of a number of bombs at locations in San Francisco, Marin county and Pebble Beach gave credence to the NWLF statement delivered to the San Francisco Chronicle Monday. The message ordered that all rental dwellings in San Francisco, which do not meet fire and safety standards, immediately be improved. Failure to comply, the NWLF hinted, might lead to the planting of more bombs. Federal and local officers launched a search for more possible explosives linked to persons, business firms, agencies and utilities named by the NWLF in documents shown to a Chronicle newsman.

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CLAYTON PATTERSON, Manhattan
NY PRESS Aug. 5-11, 1998

Anarchy In Action

July 24, 1993--AP

Las Vegas, Nevada--The police say a man robbed a bank here and then casually doled out \$100 bills to stunned bystanders, cheerfully urging them to "have a nice day."

Officers arrested Ronald M. Chroniak, 46, on Friday shortly after the robbery of a Bank of America branch, the authorities said. When they found him, he was handing out money, they say.

It all started when a man walked into the bank around noon and handed a teller a note demanding money. After receiving an undisclosed amount, he strolled out and, the police say, began sharing the booty.

Alexander McNair said he was eating lunch in the bank courtyard when a man walked up and handed him a \$100 bill.

"Where'd you get the money, man?" Mr. McNair asked as he stared at the slightly crumpled bill. Mr. McNair said the man told him: "I just robbed the bank. Have a nice day."

Turkish Premier Is Attacked; He Suffers a Fractured Nose

ANKARA, Turkey, May 13 (AP)—An assailant using brass knuckles attacked Premier Suleyman Demirel today and fractured the Premier's nose. A Government minister described the attack as an "assassination attempt."

It was first physical assault on a Turkish premier since an assassination attempt on the late Ismet Innu 11 years ago.

A Government communique issued several hours after the attack said that four stitches were required to close a cut over the Premier's fractured nose. It said there were other minor cuts and bruises on his face, but that Mr. Demirel's condition was satisfactory.

The communique identified the assailant as Yura Onsel, 34 years old, an unemployed Turk. It said he was involved with the youth branch of the main opposition Republican People's party of former Premier Bulent Ecevit.

It said policemen found the assailant in possession of several leftist publication and a handwritten declaration calling for "armed struggle to realize sacred revolution."

Witnesses said that he approached Mr. Demirel when the Premier was leaving the Cabinet room after a meeting. They said the assailant pretended he wanted to shake hands with Mr. Demirel and then punched him on the nose.

Witnesses said Mr. Demirel first slumped to the floor but stood up unaided as officials grabbed the attacker.

NY POST JAN. 21, 1994

Homeless march to own 'beat'

By GERSH KUNTZMAN

The Coalition for the Homeless will deploy patrols to monitor police treatment of homeless people on the streets and in the subways. The Post has learned.

The coalition said the patrols are in response to "insensitive rhetoric" by the Giuliani administration.

The two- and three-person teams will patrol shantytowns, subways and areas worked by the so-called "squeegee pests" — one of the city's top quality-of-life problems, according to Mayor Giuliani.

"Streetwatch is being set up to establish relationships with people living in public places and to deter harassment by monitoring police interactions with those people," said the coalition's legal director, Lisa Daugaard.

Daugaard cited the recent crackdown on subway panhandling as evidence that Giuliani "equates 'order' with the absence of poor people. That message gets heard by the police... and by the homeless, who end up feeling that they have no rights."

Leader's House Is Bugged

Termites are stubbornly preventing Philippines President Joseph Estrada from moving into his presidential palace quarters, two months into his presidency, he revealed yesterday.

The unwanted guests have been eating their way through the Malacanang Palace guest house despite the efforts of pest-control teams and carpenters who started renovating the building in the weeks before Estrada was sworn into office.

"It's still full of termites," Estrada told reporters.

5 Pa. students defy ban on King tribute

MURRYSVILLE, Pa. — Five students have been suspended for defying their principal's order to end an unauthorized tribute to Martin Luther King Jr. The students said they recited King's works in the Franklin Regional High School lobby Monday because administrators did not observe the civil rights leader's birthday with a student assembly or a day off. The five, who are white, also said the curriculum in the predominantly white school system in an affluent Pittsburgh suburb does not include black history. There are 10 blacks among the 840 high school students. "Martin Luther King did not work just to give blacks their rights. He wanted freedom for all men," said Leona Wahl, 17, a senior who demonstrated. (AP)

The Boston Globe, 1/27/94



**Luisa Capetillo:
Puerto Rican Anarcha-Feminist**

Luisa Capetillo was a major anarchist, feminist and labor organizer in Puerto Rico at the beginning of the 20th century. United States invaded Puerto Rico in 1898. In the decades immediately following the invasion of Puerto Rico Capetillo helped build the Puerto Rican Free Federation Of Labor (FLT), advocated free love, fought for women's suffrage, and through her writings and actions promoted the general liberation of women. She was also active in theater and used the theater as a tool for educating workers and promoting her ideas on women's liberation.

Luisa Capetillo is recognized in Puerto Rico as a major figure in her country's history of social struggles, but she is virtually unknown in the United States even among anarchists. None of her writings have been published in English though they constitute an important early chapter in the history of anarcha-feminism.

Isabel Pico de Hernandez wrote of women in the early Puerto Rican labor movement, "During the period of 1910-1920, some outstanding working-class women became symbols of militant trade unionism. ...As working women, they pronounced a total rejection of the ideal women that prevented their full participation and remuneration in the industry. They rejected notions of feminine frailty, weakness, social purity, moral superiority, and passivity.

"The best exponent of the new ideology was Luisa Capetillo in her writings *Ensayos Libertarios* (1904-07), *Mi opinion sobre las Libertades, Derechos de La Mujer como Companera, Madre y Ser Independiente* (1911) and *Influencias Modernas* (1916). This last book is a collection of essays that could be well considered the first 'women's lib' manifesto in Puerto Rico"

Luisa Capetillo was born on October 28, 1879 in the city of Arecibo. As a young woman she was exposed to feminist ideas coming from France and the United States and to anarcho-sindicalist ideas from Spain and Cuba. At that time anarchism, not Marxism, was the dominant trend in workers' movements in most of Latin America. In 1904, her first articles were published in Arecibo. In 1905 she participated in the campesino strike that swept the northern part of Puerto Rico and was lead by the FLT in Arecibo. According to Pico de Hernandez, she "participated in the formation of the first artisan groups that the Free Federation of Labor organized in urban centers. Later on she participated in a crusade in sugar plantations, raising the class-consciousness among workers. She was also a reporter for the newspaper *Union Obrera* and established the journal *La mujer*, devoted to women's issues."

Luisa Capetillo scandalized Puerto Rican society as "the first woman to wear slacks in public in Puerto Rico." This defiant gesture captures the general spirit of all her work. Her influence on Puerto Rican radicalism was significant. Almost twenty years before women won the right to vote in Puerto Rico the Puerto Rican Socialist Party required that "no committee of the party could be organized unless one-third of the members were female." It is difficult to imagine such a requirement without the influence of Luisa Capetillo. In 1912 Luisa Capetillo moved to New York City where she worked on a Spanish language workers' newspapers. A year later she moved of Florida where she worked among tobacco workers as she had earlier in Puerto Rico. In 1915 she moved to Havana, Cuba but was deported for her participation in anarcho-sindicalist. (Continue on page 39)

Anarchist Perspective on Puerto Rico

By Mike Poizone

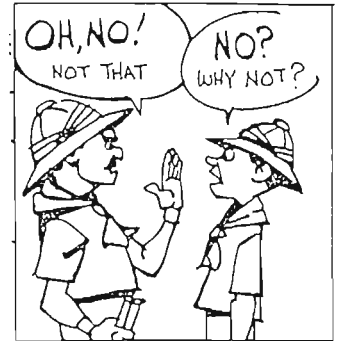
For the umpteenth time since the US invaded Puerto Rico 100 years ago, Congress is discussing the "permanent" fate of the Caribbean island. This time around the debate is framed by the Young Bill, proposed by Alaska Republican Don Young, which would authorize a supposedly binding plebiscite in which Puerto Ricans would be able to determine their own status. Puerto Ricans would choose among three options: Commonwealth (the current, vaguely autonomous but essentially colonial relationship with the US), Statehood, and Independence. In Puerto Rico, and in Puerto Rican communities in the US, "status issues" are the bedrock of all political affiliations. Just about everyone has an opinion on the issue, and all are quite pas-

sionate about their beliefs. Considered in terms of US politics, Statehooders are generally right-wing republicans, commonwealth advocates tend to be democrats somewhere between Kennedy and Clinton, and independentistas are left of the mainstream, from social democrats to revolutionary communists of all stripes. In the US, the plebiscite idea is widely lauded, especially by moderates and liberals: after all, it is finally supposed to let Puerto Ricans decide for themselves, without the intervention of the US government. Much of the Stateside opposition to the Young Bill comes from the extreme right, with Patrick Buchanan being the most vocal opponent of the plebiscite. Letting all those brown people become their own state is a bit frightening to the proto-fascists. In Puerto

Rico, the strongest backers of the plebiscite are the Statehooders, and their support has had a big influence on the language of the Young Bill. Independentistas and, to a lesser extent, Commonwealth advocates are generally opposed to the Young Bill, primarily because they find it biased toward Statehood. The Congressional opposition to the plebiscite was led by Representative Luis Gutierrez of Illinois, a liberal Democrat and the only independentista out of four Puerto Ricans in the House of Representatives.

And, of course, the bill leaves the particulars of the plebiscite undetermined. It does not specify whether or not Puerto Ricans residing in the US would be allowed to vote; how to phrase each option on the bal-

(Next page)



QUESTIONING VICTORY IN THE CONGO



ANARCHISTS TAKE A DISCOMFORTING LOOK AT "THE LIBERATION" IN THE CONGO
SPEAKERS: Ashanti Alston, Anarchist Panther - Matthew Quest, Love and Rage



CAN YOU HAVE NATIONAL LIBERATION SUPPORTED BY THE U.S., CIA, INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND MULTI-NATIONAL CORPORATIONS?

WHY WAS LEADER LAURENT KABILA SIGNING CONTRACTS WITH RAPACIOUS MULTI-NATIONAL CORPORATIONS EVEN BEFORE THEIR FINAL DEFEAT OF MOBUTU?

WHAT IS THE FUTURE OF PAN-AFRICANISM? NATION-STATE? REVOLUTION?

Nov. 30, 1997 at 3:00 PM
WHERE
WHERE

"I sometimes find it difficult to express myself"

WHAT'S YOUR POSITION?

ANARCHIST PERSPECTIVE ON PUERTO RICO

lot; whether statehood would require an English-only or English-first provision; and so on, and so on. These open questions seem to have stalled Senate action on the bill, after it barely passed in the House of Representatives (by exactly one vote) in March.

Hidden beneath the morass of mainstream political disputes over the Young Bill are a number of key facts which can help define an anarchist response to the issue of Puerto Rican status generally. First things first: Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States, plain and simple. Commonwealth status in its current form allows some measure of self-government to the island but does nothing to eliminate the massive military presence, the absolute control of the US government over any foreign policy decision-making, or Puerto Rico's devastating economic dependence upon federal welfare state institutions. These factors alone, among a much longer list, are enough to demonstrate that the current status is colonial. Second, and hopefully this is obvious, anarchists should oppose colonial status. This amounts to supporting self-determination for the people of Puerto Rico, which in turn amounts to being an independentista. (It does not automatically mean supporting the creation of a nation-state, whether neo-colonial or state socialist, but we'll get to that soon.) So, if the plebiscite were a reasonable way to determine Puerto Rican status, it would make sense for anarchists to support a vote for independence. But then there's the third fact: the plebiscite is a sham. And this is

(Next page)

Laurent Kabila Murdered in The Congo

ONE of 1.7 MILLION OR MORE DEAD!

Anarchistpanther say, Aint the Person, It's the People and the People were NEVER LIBERATED. Kabila (and crew) just TOOK POWER In The Name of THE CONGOLESE PEOPLE. So, who were the REAL VICTIMS?

Down with Vanguards!

When I heard the news about the fall of Kinshasa, spring, 1997 - it came to me hardly understandable, since I was staying in Syria at that time, but still - there was reason to rejoice about the end of Mobutu's regime anyway. The reason soon faded. There is no reason to sob about Laurent Kabila, there is no reason to be glad. There can only be fear of worse to come. He was no longer the "US man" he quickly became, in the days preceding Mobutu's downfall. Who is, then in the Democratic Republic of the Congo? But it does not really matter. In December the CNN website (!) had a short report about the number of deaths due to the war in the eastern part of the Congo. Rescue International estimated the number of deaths within 1.5 year at 1.7 million.

Just a number. 1.7 million nameless dead. Kabila's name we know. Even if it can be confirmed that there is an anarchist movement in the eastern part of Congo - which would be compatible with Jonam Jojo's dispatches... would it matter? Yes, hope has been given to us for the sake of the hopeless, to quote Bloch - again and again.

REVOLUTION FOR LIFE

... Andre de Raaij anarchy_africa, Jan. 17, 2001



"Alright say it. I've met all your conditions. Haven't I?"

(From page 37)

activities there. The same year she was arrested for wearing pants in public. Between 1917 and 1919 she participated in a series of major agricultural strikes. In 1919 she returned to New York for another year where she continued her work among cigar workers. On April 10, 1922 at the age of 42, Luisa Capetillo died of tuberculosis in the Municipal Hospital of Rio Piedras. In 1919, she had visited the Dominican Republic and had made such an impact that the 1922 Mayday parade in Santo Domingo was dedicated to her memory.

In her political career, Luisa Capetillo had a profound impact. She wrote four books and countless articles for the radical press. While her writings were often powerful and provocative she had her contradictions. Unlike most anarchists she was not an atheist. She sought to reconcile a sort of Tolstoyan notion of Christianity with a ferocious anti-clericalism. While she never repudiated her avowed anarchism, in 1920 she participated in the electoral campaign of her comrade Santiago Iglesias Pantin who ran with the Puerto Rican Socialist Workers Party. In spite of these weaknesses her contributions to the workers movement and the women's movement in Puerto Rico is undeniable. The hidden history

of women like Luisa Capetillo must be brought to light. Her writings, only some of that are in print in Spanish, need to be translated and published in English, as do the works of her biographer Norma Valle Ferrer.

<http://www.prolibertad.org/Faltan6.htm>
FALTAN 6

Juan Segarra Palmer



José Salts Jordan



Oscar Lopez Rivera

Carlos Alberto Torres



Oscar Lopez Rivera



Antonio Comacho Negron



Anarchist Perspective on Puerto Rico

not a simple anarchist rejection of electoral politics, though such a rejection makes sense in particular contexts. Essentially, the plebiscite ignores the current colonial situation and pretends that an equal opportunity exists for each of the three options. But the ballot, for example, however it ends up being worded, will present independence as an option without offering any real explanation of how to transform a colony into an independent country, much less one that avoids neo-colonial dependence on the US. Without such a plan, independence, as many Commonwealth supporters point out, is not viable. More centrally, the plebiscite is being planned and authorized, not by the people of Puerto Rico, nor even by their supposed "representatives," but by the US government. As a result, the possibility of obtaining independence outside of a neo-colonial situation is just about nil under the Young Bill. Of all the possible ways for the US to guarantee a favorable outcome to the vote, maintaining absolute control over it has got to be the most sure.

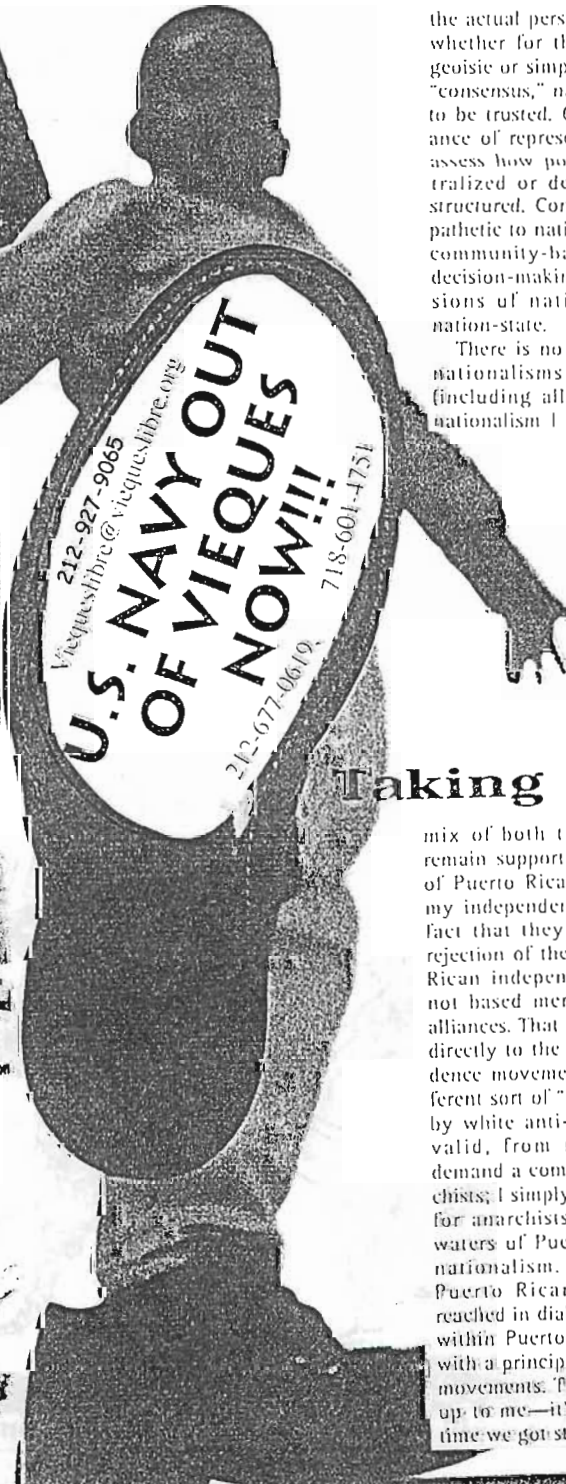
This understanding has led much of the independence movement to reject any and all plebiscites as meaningless or (worse yet) deceptive gestures. An independentista poster from an older plebiscite reads: "La Cuarta Opción - Abstención!" ("The Fourth Option - Abstention!"). These segments of the independence movement demand, sensibly enough, a complete withdrawal of US

military forces before any discussion can even begin about Puerto Rico's future status. They are also insistent that this discussion must begin and end not with the US Congress, but with the Puerto Rican people. Because of all this, anarchists can stand firmly with the most radical sections of the independence movement in opposing not only the Young Bill, but all plebiscites which attempt to "resolve" the status question without recognizing and rejecting the current colonial status. That is the easy part: anarchists should stand against Puerto Rico's continued colonial status, and against the Young Bill. The harder part, as is always the case for anarchists, is figuring out what we are for. In this case, given how contentious issues of nationalism are inside the anarchist movement these days, I'm going to drop the "we" altogether, and simply speak for myself, based upon several years of work as a white anarchist in solidarity with a radical section of the state-side independence movement. For me the ideal Puerto Rican status is the decentralized anarchist utopia I want to live in myself. As a way to get there, I support community-based modes of self-determination and self-management. Some communities are multi-racial and/or multi-national, but many are not. And, since communities often overlap, some members of a given multi-racial community (especially a geographically-based one) may identify themselves primarily as members of a race- or nation-based community. Nations, as I understand them, are communities of communities, and as such they both represent and distort the aims and desires, or in short, the perspectives, of the communities that compose them. To the extent that they express these perspectives, nations are meaningful and valuable social and cultural entities. But, to the extent that they distort

the actual perspectives of real communities, whether for the sake of a national bourgeoisie or simply for the sake of a supposed "consensus," nations are dangerous and not to be trusted. One way to test for this balance of representation and distortion is to assess how power within a nation is centralized or decentralized, and how it is structured. Considered this way, I am sympathetic to nationalist models that prioritize community-based, democratic models of decision-making, while I am critical of versions of nationalism that prioritize a nation-state.

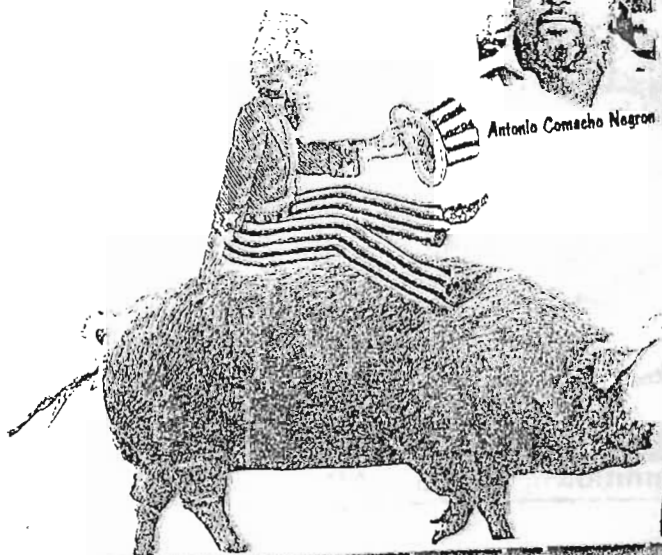
There is no purity in this analysis; most nationalisms with which I am familiar (including all the forms of Puerto Rican nationalism I have encountered) contain a

The Faltan 6 (six remain) Freedom Campaign is a ProLibertad effort in the ongoing struggle to attain the unconditional release of the six remaining Puerto Rican Political Prisoners held in the U.S. See FOOT.



Filling Big Shoes...

By Christopher Day
 LOVE AND RAGE.
 MARCH/APRIL 1997



Taking Giant Steps.

mix of both these tendencies. And so I remain supportive yet critical of the forms of Puerto Rican nationalism espoused by my independentista comrades. Despite the fact that they do not share my outright rejection of the state, my work with Puerto Rican independentistas is principled and not based merely on strategic or tactical alliances. That is to say, anarchism leads me directly to the work I do with the independence movement in Chicago. This is a different sort of "principle" than that espoused by white anti-imperialists, but at least as valid, from my perspective. I do not demand a comparable stance from all anarchists; I simply offer this as a potential way for anarchists to navigate the confusing waters of Puerto Rican status issues and nationalism. Anarchist perspectives on Puerto Rican status are perhaps best reached in dialogue with radical movements within Puerto Rican communities, coupled with a principled anarchist analysis of these movements. The answer to these issues isn't up to me—it's up to all of us. It's about time we got started, figuring them out.*

Phoolan Devi - Black Dacoit Woman Outlaw

Power thru the Anti-Planetary Pigeocracy Movements, at Home & Abroad!

Story of
THE BANDIT QUEEN'S METTLE:
India's Famed Outlaw

by Molly Moore

(Submitted by: India Network Jan. 1, 1995)



Washington Post Foreign Service

NEW DELHI

Phoolan Devi was born dirt poor, low caste and female. She grew up hard and fast in rural north India: married at age 11, abandoned by her husband, jailed, raped, kidnapped by bandits.

By the time she was 20, Devi turned outlaw. And in the inhospitable desert ravines of her native land, Phoolan Devi became a legend. She was feared and revered as the "Bandit Queen," leader of a gang of dacoits -- robbers -- that plundered and murdered, often stealing from the rich higher castes and sharing the spoils with the poor lower castes. She made international headlines when she was implicated in the largest gang massacre in modern Indian history, reputedly an act of vengeance for the murder of her bandit lover and for her own gang rape by upper-caste landowners.

Her story is the stuff of movies: Modern-day Indian Robin Hood and Bonnie Parker, with a touch of Gloria Steinem, all rolled into one. But "Bandit Queen," the movie -- India's nominee for next year's Best Foreign Film Oscar -- has become one of the most controversial motion pictures ever to come out of Bombay's "Hollywood" studios.

The conservative Indian film censor board has barred release of the movie because of its violent rape scenes, nudity and depiction of sensitive political issues. Devi, who cannot read or write and was only recently freed after serving 11 years in prison, has filed a court suit to keep the film out of Indian cinemas, charging that it is an unauthorized invasion of her privacy.

"They are raping me all over again and selling me on the screen," says the 32-year-old woman whose life has become a frenetic media whirl since her release from prison in February. "They are selling my honor."

The debate over "Bandit Queen" has dominated Indian newspaper headlines and titillated a public that has been forbidden to see the movie even as it has been shown at the Cannes, London and Toronto film festivals. Some news organizations, including The Washington Post, have been allowed to view the Hindi movie at select screenings.

But the rancor over "Bandit Queen" goes far deeper than the usual censor board debate over sex and violence. The movie offers a brutal view of the way women are treated in poor rural Indian society. It is a story of social inequities and injustice, of discrimination and desperation. It rips open some of the ugliest wounds of Indian society, wounds that middle-class Indians would prefer remain closed and forgotten.

"Her personal story, extraordinary as it is, reflects many aspects of life as experienced by thousands of women in rural India who continue to strive against a feudal order that persists in a 'modern' society, a society in which peasantry collides with capitalist markets and technology," Devi's biographer, Mala Sen, writes in her introduction to "India's Bandit Queen: The True Story of Phoolan Devi," from which the movie was adapted.

Of the movie, Sen told reporters during the London Film Festival: "The violence and brutality depicted in the film is happening in India every day. . . . It's about time that we opened our eyes and looked at this reality."

Seema Biswas, the 29-year-old actress who plays Devi in the movie, said she found the role so traumatic and draining that she suffered a near breakdown by the time the filming was complete.

The movie, like the reality that Sen and the film's producers say it depicts, is disturbing to watch. The real Bandit Queen's story is no less disturbing to hear.

Lost Girlhood

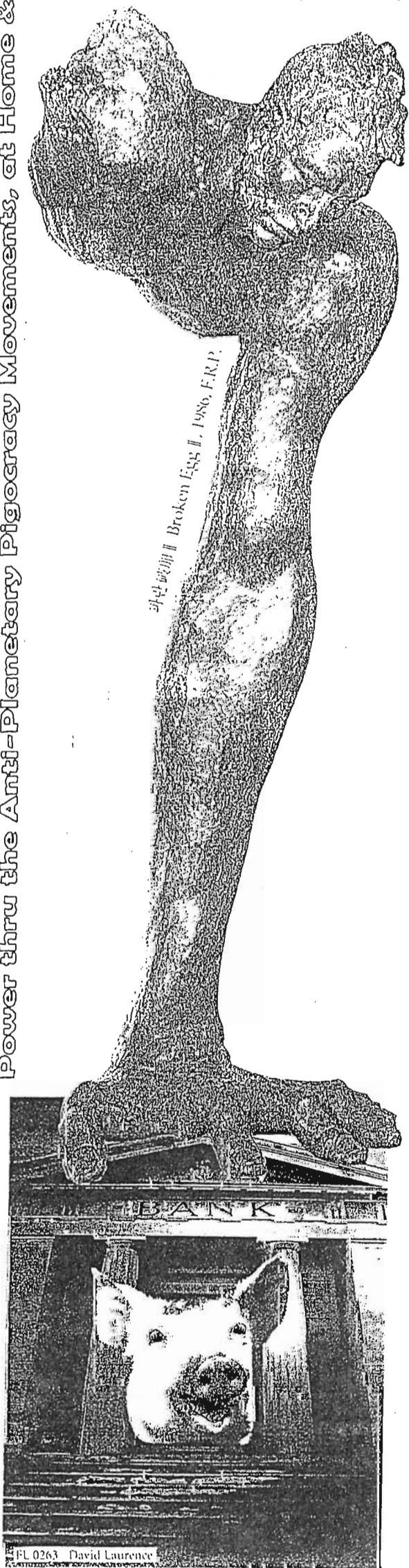
"I was married when I was 11," Devi begins, swathed in a white cotton shawl that swallows her now-frail 4-foot 10-inch frame. "If I hadn't gotten married at that young age, my life would not have been ruined."

Devi has agreed to speak with a reporter at her rented New Delhi apartment, where she is attempting to begin a new life with a new husband. She shifts uncomfortably beneath the shawl. In her native Hindi dialect, she says softly, "Even now I fight with my mother about it."

She tries to rationalize her parents' decision to marry her off to a man three times her own age -- in much the same way that modern India wrestles with the child bride phenomenon, which remains prevalent in rural villages despite laws intended to curb the practice.

One of six children born to a poor north Indian farmer who scratched out a living by working other people's rocky, arid land, Devi said her parents struggled just to feed their offspring. When a relative found a prospective groom for young Phoolan, whose name in Hindi means "flower goddess," her parents agreed to the match. The man gave Phoolan's

(Next page)



YOU'RE UNDER ARREST!!

- If you are fleeing persecution.
- If you look like a terrorist.
- If you want to visit your family.
- If you have a criminal record.
- If you are Black or Brown or just not white.
- If you are a youth, especially a youth of color.
- If you are an Immigrant or Asylum-Seeker.

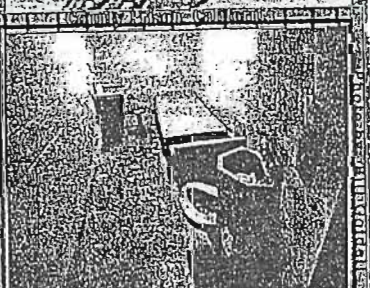
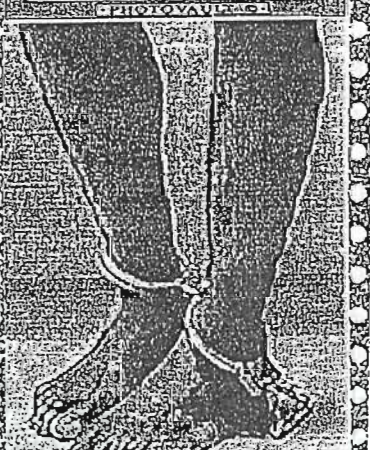
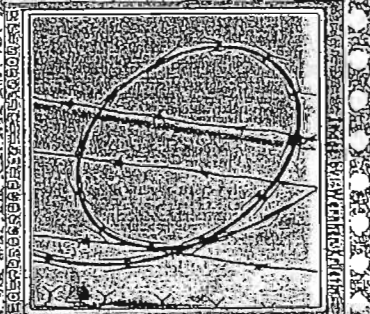


I WANT YOU IN DETENTION!!

DETENTION CENTERS

More than 20,000 people are held in US Detention Centers under prison conditions. About 5,000 are people seeking asylum (refuge) in the US from persecution in other countries who have committed NO crimes. People can spend an indiscriminate amount of time in detention lasting as long as 2-3 years. Many asylum seekers in detention are families with children.

I wanna thank D.R.Q.M. (DEJIS RISING UP & MOVING) for this info. Got it from ya flyer.



family a cow, as was customary in marital arrangements, and took the frightened child bride home with him.

Her mother, asked by reporters several years later why she had married off her daughter at that age, replied, "Poverty is a terrible thing. We are forced to do many things because of it. How can I explain?"

"My parents had the best intentions for me," Devi now says. "They thought, 'He's got money. My daughter will be married. She'll be happy.'"

Her large brown eyes harden. "No one knew that he was not a man, he was a monster."

Devi said that her husband took a second wife and that the two often beat her, treating her as little more than a slave. She ran away and returned to her parents' home. But they sent her back. Terrified of sex, she wailed each time her husband forced himself on her. Finally he abandoned her on a riverbank. Her parents, dishonored that their daughter had been kicked out of the house by her husband, farmed her out to relatives.

As a divorced, low-caste woman in a rural village, Devi encountered the wrath of conservative Indian society, which is ruled by a strict code of social separation. Her family was from a community called the Mallahs, low-caste fishermen and boatmen. Most of the Mallahs were landless peasants who worked the soil of the Thakurs, a higher caste of feudal landowners and businessmen. During Devi's youth in the 1970s, as in rural India today, the Mallahs often were repressed and abused by the Thakurs.

Devi, who was more outspoken than most of her fellow Mallahs, was the target of constant torment and harassment by upper-caste men in the village. Eventually she was jailed on charges that she'd stolen articles from the home of a cousin with whom her family had been feuding for years. After 20 days in the village jail, she was bailed out by the Thakurs who owned the property her father farmed. In payment, the men demanded sex from her, according to her biographer.

How Phoolan Devi ended up in the hands of outlaw bandits is murky. She has said she was kidnapped and physically abused by the gang leader. As to why she eventually gave in to the gang and its ruthless leaders, even when she had the chance to escape, Devi told her biographer, "A piece of property has no choice."

One fact is certain: In the early 1980s, in the rocky ravines of the rugged Chambal Valley in the state of Uttar Pradesh, the legend of the Bandit Queen was born.

A Bandit's Journey

For Americans, bandits robbing, killing and rampaging through villages constitute an image from another century. In rural northern India, that image remains a fixture of life.

But the gangs never flourished more than in the early 1980s. They ruled with abandon -- particularly the lower-caste bandits -- outwitting and outnumbering plodding local police forces, terrorizing the rich and offering a reverse form of protection for the poor, who were often abused by corrupt, higher-caste police. In return, many of the bandit leaders were idolized by the poor, who considered their banditry just another profession in a land where the poor had to fight for every rupee.

At the height of her fame, Devi was glorified by the nation's newspapers, which wrote tirelessly of her exploits. The Phoolan Devi Doll, clad in her signature police uniform with a bandoleer of bullets strapped across her chest, was one of the hottest-selling toys in India.

Devi, because of her own background, injected a signature twist into her banditry. She became a protector of young village girls who, like her, were sold into early marriages by destitute families.

"I'd send my men out during the wedding season," Devi says, smiling at the recollection. "Any time they found a young girl who was to be married, they'd let the wedding procession show up at her doorstep, then chase them away."

But just as the villages were divided by caste, so were even some of the bandit gangs. And thus, one day two upper-caste outlaws shot and killed the lower-caste bandit who was Devi's lover. To demonstrate their power over the gang and its leader's mistress, the killers took Devi hostage. In one of the most painful episodes of her life -- and one of the most brutal scenes in the movie -- Devi was taken to the village of Behmai and gang-raped by a group of upper-caste men.

"This is what we do to low-caste goddesses," one of the rapists hisses in the movie.

And in the scene that most scandalized the Indian film censor board, Devi is stripped and forced to walk naked through the village, fetching the men water from a well as the entire village looks on.

The moviemakers defend the scene, saying it is a common method of punishing women in Indian villages. In fact, in recent months, an increasing number of such incidents have been reported.

Devi, in an interview, did not deny the events occurred but said it was an invasion of her privacy to put them on display in movie theaters. "The most private and sensitive things in a woman's life have been portrayed in this film," she said.

"The film shows her being raped by her husband, by the police at the police station, being mass-raped by the Thakurs again and again," says Devi's lawyer, Praveen Anand. "She never wanted to talk about it, even in the book. It is extremely embarrassing for her to talk about this. Little did she want it to be filmed."

In real life and in the movie, Devi sought her revenge. On Feb. 14, 1981, her gang stormed an isolated village intending to rob wealthy Thakurs who were preparing for an elaborate wedding. Arriving at the village, Devi recognized it as Behmai, the home of the two men who'd murdered her lover and the site of her humiliation.

According to Sen's biography and newspaper accounts at the time, Devi ordered her men to sweep the town in search of the murderers. In all, two dozen upper-caste Thakurs were dragged from their homes and lined up on a riverbank. The bandits opened fire and left 20 men dead -- the largest massacre by a dacoit gang in modern Indian history.

Police launched the biggest manhunt ever conducted in the state of Uttar Pradesh, putting 2,000 officers and a helicopter on the trail of Phoolan Devi. In true-life adventures worthy of the Keystone Kops, Devi

Militants Suspected Of Killing Feminist

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, Feb. 15 — Suspected Muslim militants killed a prominent Algerian feminist today in the northern Kabyl region, an area of growing opposition to the Islamic militant movement.

The killing of Nabila Djahnine, an architect in her mid-thirties who led a group called The Cry of Women, is in line with the strategy of attacking intellectuals, unveiled women and other people opposed to establishing a strict Islamic state.

The killing took place in Tizi Ouzo, capital of the Kabyl region, home to three million to five million Berbers. Though devout Muslims, the Berbers are attached to secular traditions, and many across the nation have joined the Algerian Army in its campaign against Islamic militants seeking to bring down the Government.

In the Kabyl region, several villagers have begun arming themselves and organizing local defense units in anticipation of wider clashes with Islamic militants.

I HAD TO PUT A GUN TO THEIR HEADS NOT CUZ THEY MIGHT RUN BACK TO THE PLANTATIONS, BUT CUZ THEY WAS SOME SEXIST MUTHAFUCKAS...



"Reasonable" people will
always be slaves. Only the
Outlaws of this world will
ever live in Freedom.

repeatedly outsmarted the police, once disguising herself in three different costumes in a village swarming with police.

While the national press and the poor villagers of the region delighted in the escapades of the Bandit Queen, she was no laughing matter for state and national politicians who were being depicted as fools by the media. The political pressure became so intense that V.P. Singh -- who would later become prime minister of India -- was forced to resign as chief minister of Uttar Pradesh.

Finally, Phoolan Devi became such a political embarrassment that Prime Minister Indira Gandhi told law enforcement officials that if they couldn't catch Devi, they should cut a deal with her -- on her terms -- for her surrender.

In February 1983, with most of her gang members dead and her own health failing as a result of her harsh life on the run, Devi agreed to surrender on the conditions that she not be hanged, that her men serve no more than eight years in prison, that her brother be given a government job, that her father be given a plot of land and that her entire family, along with the family cow and goat, be escorted by police to her surrender ceremony in the neighboring state.

Her surrender was an extraordinary spectacle. She marched onto a stage before thousands of cheering peasant supporters, bent down and touched the feet of the chief minister and turned over 25 bullets and her gun. The dramatic surrender made front-page headlines from New Delhi to Washington.

Prisoner of Attention

"I brooded a lot," Devi says of her 11 long years in prison.

She was charged with 48 crimes, including allegations that she shot some of the 20 men killed in the Behmai massacre. But for 11 years her trials were delayed by changes in government and feuds between two neighboring states over where the cases should be tried. Finally, early this year, when a lower-caste political party won election in Uttar Pradesh, the new chief minister ordered Devi released on bail, saying she had suffered enough.

"In jail, my only dream was to get out," said Devi. "I thought life would be easy once I was free. I didn't know I would have to continue my fights. The hardest battle is now -- with the urban, educated, city-bred dacoits."

Devi has been besieged by the Indian and international media since her release. She was so intimidated by the mob of reporters and photographers waiting outside Tihar Jail in New Delhi that she retreated to her cell and had to be coaxed out by the prison director.

Within weeks, the controversy over the movie created a renewed media feeding frenzy. The Indian press has reported her every move. Devi delighted in the escapades of the Bandit Queen, she was no laughing matter for state and national politicians who were being depicted as fools by the media. The political pressure became so intense that V.P. Singh -- who would later become prime minister of India -- was forced to resign as chief minister of Uttar Pradesh.

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Within weeks, the controversy over the movie created a renewed media feeding frenzy. The Indian press has reported her every move. Devi says that the first time she ventured to her neighborhood vegetable market she was surrounded by so many curious onlookers that she ran back to her apartment in terror. She has received death threats from people opposed to her release from prison, and the government has assigned bodyguards to her.

As for her legal situation, the movie couldn't have come at a more delicate time. There are still 48 criminal charges, including murder, pending against her. One of Devi's greatest fears is that scenes from the movie could be used against her if the cases are brought to trial.

The movie "shows her there at Behmai," says attorney Anand. "This will have an effect on judgment, on the witnesses and the media, and may incriminate her."

Devi has denied that she killed any of the men.

Even though she is now at war with her biographer, Sen, and received \$13,000 for the rights to her story for a movie she now doesn't want released, Devi already has begun cooperating with a French author for a new biography.

African Anarchism: An Interview with Sam Mbah

From Perspectives on Anarchist Theory Vol. 3 - No. 1
Spring, 1999

By "Institute for Anarchist Studies" <ias@newyorknet.net>

This issue and back issues can be found at:
<http://home.newyorknet.net/ias/newsletter.htm>

African Anarchism: The History of a Movement (See Sharp Press, 1997) by Sam Mbah and I.E. Igariwey is the first book-length treatment of anarchism and Africa. The authors argue that anarchism provides a coherent framework with which to comprehend and respond to the multiple crises afflicting the continent. I met with Mbah on November 4, 1998 at the beginning of his North American speaking tour.

Chuck Morse

CM: Your book is grounded in anarcho-syndicalism, a tradition derived primarily from European historical experiences. What distinctive contributions can the African experience make to anarchism as a whole?

SM: We attempted to point this out in our book. Although anarchism is not complete without the Western European contributions, we believe there are elements of African traditional societies that can be of assistance in elaborating anarchist ideas.

One of these is the self-help, mutual aid, or cooperative tradition that is prevalent in African society. This society is structured such that there is reduced individualism and a collective approach toward solving problems and living life: reduced to its essence, I think that is what anarchism is preaching.

African traditional societies also offer some things we should learn from. For example, leadership - especially in societies where feudalism (and thus chiefdoms) did not develop - was horizontal and diffused, not vertical. Almost everybody in a given community or village took part in decision-making and had a say in anything that involved them. Even the elders would ordinarily not declare a war against the next village except if there was a consensus, which was really the binding force of African society. Also, the extended family system, in which your nephew could come live with you and your wife, is definitely something we recommend to anarchism. So, these are areas in which we think that African ideas could also be incorporated into anarchism. These ideas are enduring, almost in human nature as far as Africa is concerned.

Aint never been just a European thing: A Correspondence But it has always been about Power thru the People!

Africa has many existing societies and populations who continue anarchist cultural traditions that have worked well for millenia. The !Koi !Koi and the San of Southern Africa, the Masai and Turkana of East Africa and the Nuer of Sudan are but a few examples of effective cultural anarchic societies. - Ras Tseyon Zar, So. Africa

From: "Dug" <douglasr@sn.apc.org>
To: "social action" <anarchy_africa@egroups.com>
Subject: [anarchy_africa] Praxis
Date: Fri, 15 Dec 2000 14:41:43 +0200

I have recently joined the a-africa list and wonder if there are any people living and working in Africa on the list. I operate out of Pretoria in South Africa and would be very interested to share some experiences and insights with fellow activists.

Ras Tseyon Zar

from: ashanti
to: Ras
re: dec 15th communication

Ras,

My name is ashanti and I am on the list but I am an African-american anarchist here in new york city. I hope that you have received some replies in answer to your specific query. I myself had a question that I sent out to let folks know that some of us people of color anarchists in this city are about to start a study group and wanted a-africa help. I got response right away and was quite encouraged. As an African-american activist I am most interested in bringing anarchist history, analyses and approaches to the black community. Africa, of course, holds a very special interest to those of us who are of African descent. a-africa is a great source of info on the many struggles going on that we over here don't get info, but when i plugged into one person in particular for his help and opinion (especially on the Ugandan anarchist guerrilla group, I was pleased and encouraged to saty on this line. So, it even worked as a network for me. To you personally, please tell me (and us, as it will be shared) more about you and your activities. What happened to the anarchist movement there in South Africa that seemed to be going strong? Can we exchange info on our respective activities, exchange fotos? etc.? enough for now and hope to hear from you soon. All Power through the People! -Ashanti (my name)

Dear Comrade Ashanti

It was encouraging to received your e-mail. I'm very encouraged to hear that a group of black anarchists is being formed in New York. The intellectual side of anarchic work has traditionally seemed to be very Euro-centric.

Africa has many existing societies and populations who continue anarchist cultural traditions that have worked well for millenia. The !Xoi !Xoi and the San of Southern Africa, the Masai and Turkana of East Africa and the Nuer of Sudan are but a few examples of effective cultural anarchic societies. Many other hunter-gatherer groups are also living in other parts of Africa. Some concerted study to find and contact these groups would be useful.

As regards urban anarchist formations. It seems clear that there is a strong traditional anarchist stance among many Africans I know. We have a number of powerful organizations in South Africa, that while they do not consider themselves intellectually as "anarchists", indeed employ methods and make assumptions which are anarchic.

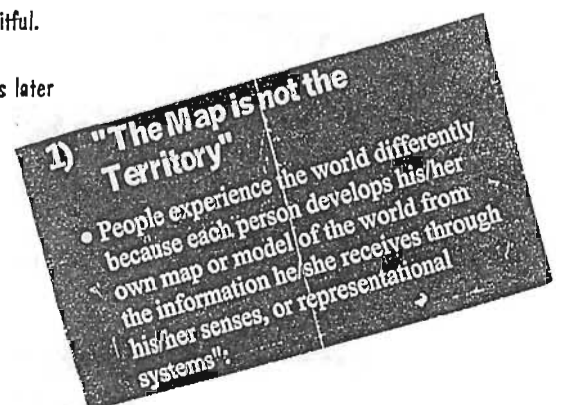
Our group, apart from other things, is dedicated to bringing this intellectual understanding of what these formations do through education and sharing of information. We use the rubrics of empowerment and restorative justice to do this work.

A further intellectual thrust of our group is to apply the sociological analysis called ethnomethodology to our context. We find this social analysis fruitful.

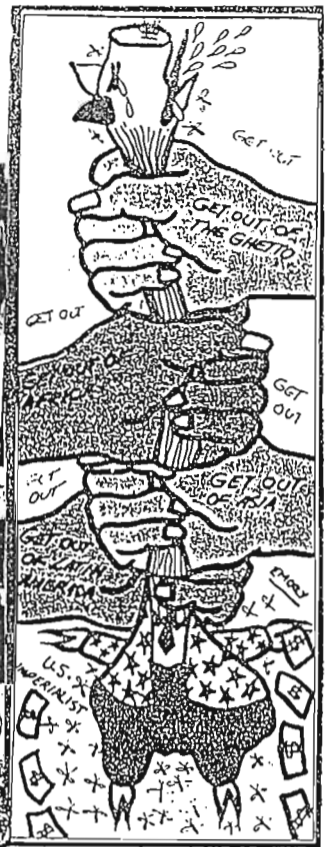
More details later

Regards

Dug



"The ideal is to develop a network of *Ba-ipusi*, that is people who govern themselves. Anarchic ideas and actions are the normal way of life in our townships and so we do not have to promote the breaking of unjust laws or the opposition to the state. This is assumed by the people we work with, it is in our blood as it were." Ras Tseyon Zar



— Original Message —

From: Ashanti Omowali <anarchistpanther@hotmail.com>
To: <douglasr@sn.apc.org>
Sent: Wednesday, December 20, 2000 4:04 AM
Subject: Re: [anarchy_africa] Praxis

*African Anarchism
Aint Nuthin' New*

From: "Dug" <douglasr@sn.apc.org>
To: "Ashanti Omowali"
<anarchistpanther@hotmail.com>
Subject: Re: [anarchy_africa] Praxis
Date: Wed, 20 Dec 2000 07:29

**What is Ethno-
methodology? Will
Ras let us know?
Ras, where are you?**

Dear Dug

Listen, you have no idea how delightful and great it was, just this minute ago, that I looked at my email and read your reply! I will be sharing this communication with others here, especially the person who is the main thrust for the study/action group. Her name is Hermon and she is Ethiopian and full of the energy that is youth. Me, I'm the tired and depressed 'elder' of the folks but she's got me energized. My personal background is that I'm a former member of the Black Panther Party and at 46 I'm the ole man (smile).

There have been so many false starts and defeats that many young folks mistake my tiredness as coolness, and I AM cool, but no some of it is just that low energy. But there have been some encouraging developments here in Babylon/USA in the last several years, and I definitely think that its time to make space in the black community and black so-called movement for anarchist and anti-authoritarian politics as alternatives to what hasn't worked for so many damn years.

I will keep you informed of the coming together of our group and look for more details from you. Gonna end this now so that in my excitement I don't get cut off this internet. Again, thank for replying and much more success to

you and your group's work. All Power to the People!

ashanti

"... the need of mutual aid and support which had lately taken refuge in the narrow circle of the family, or the slum neighbors, in the village, or in the secret union of workers, re-asserts itself again, even in our modern society, and claims its rights to be, as it has always been, the chief leader towards further progress"
- Peter Kropotkin

Dear Ashanti

My mother was born in Addis and I have many Ethiopian cousins, mainly from Tigre and Semen. I was born in Tanzania and have lived in South Africa since 1967 (apart from 8 years in exile in England).

It is good to hear that the heart of your group is shared by an Ethiopian. The only African people who have never been colonized! demen-ana-chu.

My political life started in 1983 with the founding of the United Democratic Front in Cape Town. I was involved as an anarchist in the various actions against apartheid until 1986 when I left for exile. In England I was involved in the Congress of South African War Resisters and also some local anarchist formations until my return to South Africa in 1995.

Old comrades who used to call on our skills in direct action, ignore us now that they run the country. So many good souls seem to have been corrupted by the feast of power that running South Africa seems to mean.

I work with one other nineteen-eighties comrade called Andrew who is based in Cape Town. We have a group of some 7 members and we work with a network of over 230 shopowners in 13 townships around Pretoria.

The shop owners are forming themselves into a co-operative which we manage for them. The aim of this phase of our actions is to create a sustainable income base for our work. Education of these shopowners, who in most cases started their small businesses out of desperation and poverty and operate their shops from their homes, is based around issues of empowerment, promoting choice and health.

The ideal is to develop a network of "Ba-ipusi", that is people who govern themselves. Anarchic ideas and actions are the normal way of life in our townships and so we do not have to promote the breaking of unjust laws or the opposition to the state. This is assumed by the people we work with, it is in our blood as it were.

Anyway more information later.

Regards

Ras Tseyon Zar

**Ras shares an experience
that raises tuff questions
for ANY activist. Watcha
think? See page 49.**

ANARCHIST REBELS ATTACK POLICE POST IN UGANDA

By Joram Jojo 8:11 a.m. Mon. Sept. 4, '00

Anarchist rebels with balaclavas attacked a military police station and burnt it to the ground.

Anarchist Democratic Forces (ADF) of Uganda have been fighting Yoweri Museveni's military junta from the mountains of the moon in western Uganda for 3 years now.

Over 30 suspected Anarchist Democratic Forces rebels attacked Nkooko Police Post in Kibaale killing two policemen and abducting another over the weekend. They also grabbed 20 guns and police uniforms. The heavily armed attackers traveling aboard a Tata lorry also set fire to the police post and burnt documents a Nkooko sub-county headquarters. Army spokesman Major Phinehas Katirima told The New Vision (regime's official paper) that the incident took place Saturday morning...

Katirima said the suspected armed rebels also abducted 13 Military personnel who were deployed at Nkooko Police post. During the attack, the rebels also addressed the masses in Nkooko trading center and chanted anti-IMF slogans...

The A-Infos News Service
News about and of interest to anarchists

First, this good news, THEN the eurocentric @narchist interrogations: Well, have you read BAKUNIN? And then a breath of fresh air from Andre of the anarchy_africa line. Read on... Right on!

From: Andre De Raaij
To: anarchistpanther
Date: Tues., 28 Nov. 2000

Dear Ashanti

(- well, is that your first name? Sorry about my ignorance),

You make me feel embarrassed about the compliment. Lucien van der Walt is really the only one who keeps anarchy_Africa alive, and probably he can answer most questions about the whereabouts of anarchist movements in Africa....

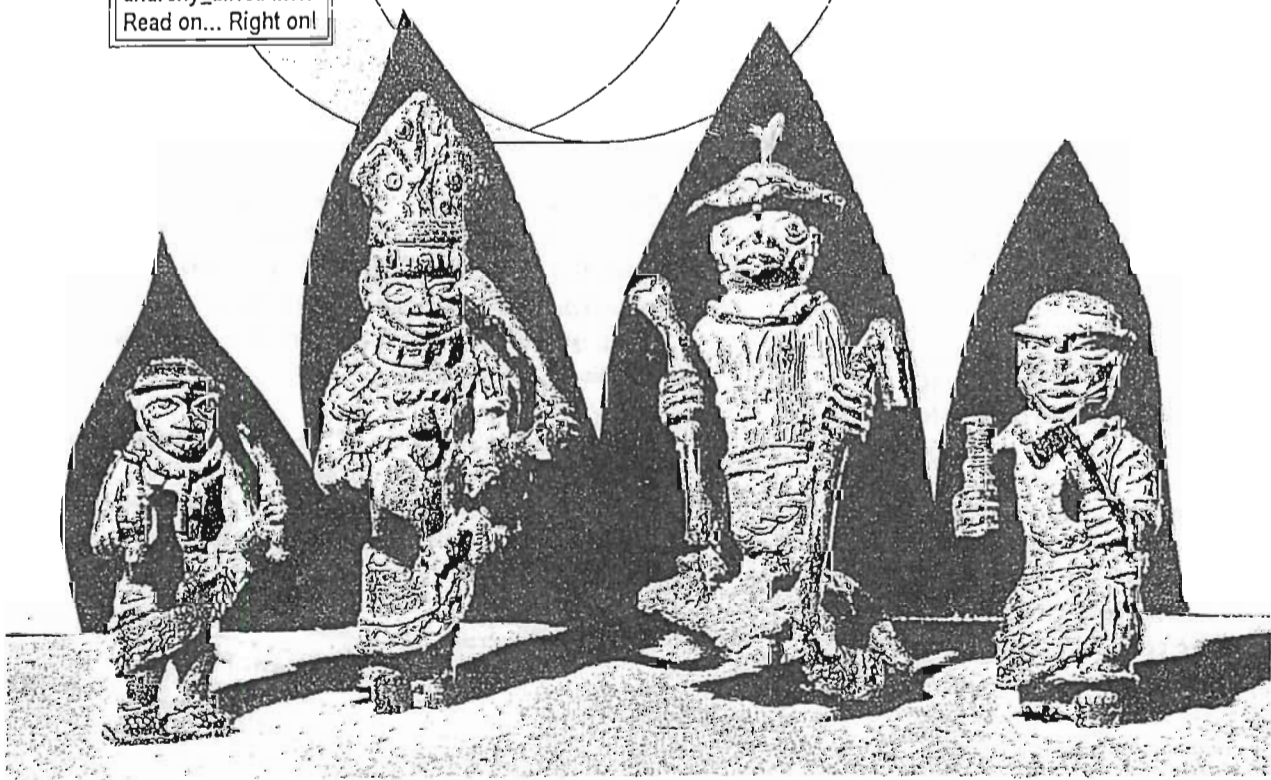
As far as this movement in Uganda is concerned: I tend to believe what the commander-subdelegate Joram Jojo wrote (we have not heard from him, since, though). He identifies an "authentic" Ugandan movement with anarchism, and anarchism has a tradition which long precedes its name - all over the world. As you may have noticed the Ugandan comrade was bombarded with questions whether this Ugandan movement had read Bakunin, Kropotkin or things on the Spanish civil war etc.

Bakunin, as a Hegelian, did not know anything about Africa, and if he did, he must have been a racist. Kropotkin was an active Russian colonialist in Siberia. This is not meant to pull these men from their sockets, but simply an evaluation of their stance on "Africa" and colonialism. Ugandan anarchism is Ugandan anarchism, which is anarchism per se period. I know it may be difficult to believe, but as long as we have not heard or read anything going against this, we better believe it.

I will come back to your mail tomorrow, have not got time any more at this moment - have you heard about the Industrial Workers of the World being active in Liberia and Sierra Leone, before the 'meltdown' of these countries anyway?

Fraternally,

Andre



"Inevitably the ideas of the 19th century anarchists were Eurocentric, even when they were brought to Japan, China and the cities of Latin America by students and immigrants. But one of the anarchist enlargements of the late 20th century is the contribution from a different style of anarchist thinking. With a different label, from the Sarodaya movement in India and from the evolution of self-help self-employment settlements in Africa, South Asia and Latin America... I believe that an intelligent 21st century anarchism will draw on its links with the worlds of the Green movement and with the unofficial and informal economies of the poor world, as well as those of the rich world, to draw anarchist lessons on human survival..." - Colin Ward, *What Will Anarchism Mean Tomorrow?* Freedom Press International

A ZAPATISTA-STYLE UNDERGROUND MAY BE UNFOLDING IN Uganda (AND IT AINT ASKING FOR ANYONE'S PERMISSION)

Anarchist Democratic Forces

On Monday, September 4, 2000 Indy-media news (www.indymedia.org) sent out an extremely curious report that rebels of the "Anarchist Democratic Forces" had attacked a police station in Uganda. Now aside from the fact that there have not been any previous news reports coming out of Uganda in recent years to indicate that any anarchists exist there at all, this report was doubly curious in that the rebels were reported to be wearing balaclavas and to have shouted anti-IMF slogans to the local population after killing two policemen and burning the police post to the ground.

Here is the text of the original indymedia news report, which was subsequently picked up by A-Infos (www.ainfos.ca) as well:

Anarchist Rebels attack Police Post in Uganda
 by Joram 8:11am Mon Sep 4 '00
 address: Uganda, Africa
joram@geek.com

A reply from the person who posted the original announcement:

Dear Comrade,

Uganda Anarchist Democratic Forces (UADF) is commonly confused with the "Uganda Allied Democratic Forces." The regime of Lt. Gen. Yoweri Museveni has for years come up with names of the leadership of the UADF and, failed to get the true leadership. UADF (Uganda Anarchist Democratic Forces) has no leadership structure just operation commanders. Because of this kind of a revolutionary model, reactionary forces in Uganda are quick to dismiss UADF as a terrorist organisation or bandits.

The UADF struggle is about a just society with no class structure. Uganda is a society based on class and land ownership. Free use and equal distribution of land is one of UADF's causes. Reactionary forces have used an "allied democratic forces (adf)" to contra UADF from the masses. Basically UADF is a revolutionary science in Uganda that has no face, something strange. The regime claims that UADF is run by Islamic fundamentalists. Wrong. ADF (Anarchist Democratic Forces) sees any form of religion to be a class structure.

Why anarchists in Uganda? Uganda is a country that has been used and abused by the west for decades. The Ugandan elite classes have participated in and promoted institutionalised oppression upon the poor. Uganda was the hunting ground for slaves during the dark days, courtesy of the local elite. Idi Amin and his class of idiots murdered Ugandans over commercial greed. The Ten Commandments have been used by religious sect "Cults" to murder our people. Today a rebel group is using the same program of religious fanaticism to kill people in northern Uganda. The regime today is using both religion and the gun to manipulate the masses. Uganda is the favourite client of the west in Africa; IMF calls Uganda a promising story. 80% of Ugandans income per capita is \$6 annually (that is sick). The Ugandan elite is the most corrupt in Africa; presidential candidates have often done time in foreign countries for embezzlement charges.

An anarchist Uganda would create a society based on equality and justice for all; the ADF program will be featured on www.ugandans.com.

com soon. Ugandans have been taken hostage in their own country by the military government of Lt. Gen. Yoweri Museveni. Political parties are defunct and the country is at constant wars with its neighbours. Uganda has exported its social problems to both Rwanda and Congo (DRC). We all know what happened in Rwanda. Today capitalist boys in search of cheaper gems are flooding to Uganda. Uganda and its local agents (compradors) are logging trees and mining the Congo on a massive scale. Thugs of UNITA's Jonas Savimbi use Ugandan travel documents to travel around the globe to cash-in their bloody diamond gems.

The American military is busy training the Ugandan army to destroy the anarchist forces, it's not possible to destroy a force that is protected by its people. Imaginary ADF bases have been washed with cluster bombs. Interestingly, volunteers are flocking to the bases crying, "ADF we would like to join your for as"! Today ADF is a highly mobile force that is very disciplined and elusive to pin-down. Propaganda programs sponsored by the regime are quick to dismiss ADF as a terrorist organisation based in the Congo (DRC) and that is why the Ugandan army is occupying the Congolese territory. Media staged desertions of leaders by the regime have failed to demoralise the fighters of ADF. All ADF fighters are known as Commanders. Anarchist Democratic Forces operate in cells and are highly motivated by their anarchist revolution. "The problem we face today is the gullible hungry masses who might be bought by the \$ sign," says one female commander.

Our main task today is to infiltrate the Congo (DRC) and politicise the masses for an anarchist alternative. Every two months, a militia group is formed in Congo and they end up crossing into Uganda looking for our bases (wanting to joining us). We are talking of a militia force armed with spears and bows plus arrows, but because of our new mobile science, a protracted war is on suspension. Just lightening strikes will do for time being.

Best regards,
 Sub-delegate Joram



"Strong people don't need strong leaders."



Anarchist rebels with balaclavas attacked a military police station and burnt it to the ground. Anarchist Democratic Forces (ADF) of Uganda have been fighting Yoweri Museveni's military junta from the Mountains of the Moon in western Uganda for 3 years now.

Over 30 suspected Anarchist Democratic Forces (ADF) rebels attacked Nkooko Police Post in Kibaale killing two policemen and abducting another over the weekend. They also grabbed 20 guns and police uniforms.



Dear Commanders,

We were very moved by the interest you showed in ADF and the solidarity that has been shown so far, though some of the commanders have asked several questions;

1. Where are you based?
2. How did you become anarchists?
3. Who do you have ties with?
4. What is your history?
5. What do you stand for?
6. "Basheya"—by this do you mean that there is an idea in Uganda similar to what people in Europe/USA mean by "anarchism" or does it mean some traditional African societies that are similar to anarchism?
7. Is "Basheya" an idea coming from the same source as anarchism elsewhere, i.e. Bakunin, Kropotkin, Spanish Civil War etc. If this is what you mean how long did this movement exist and was it always anarchist or when did it become anarchist and what was it before?
8. Why would you choose Anarchist Democratic Forces as a name (ADF) when the more well-known rebel group in the area is the Allied Democratic Forces (also ADF)?
9. Why is there much mention in the Ugandan press of the Allied Dem. Forces, but none of the Anarchist Dem. Forces???
10. Do you plan to actually successfully fight

(Next page)

INSURRECTION FOR AN ANARCHIST WORLD.

If you can't do nothing, then... **SPIN!**

QUILOMBO MONKEY WRENCH SOCIETY

and win vs. the UPDF? If so, can you do it without forced recruitment?

Basheya are contemporary anarchists and they don't consider Ugandans in need of a political guidance. Death, corruption and cruelty are the biggest industry today in Uganda. Basheya (anarchism) is the science that protects and gives "kava" to victims of this primitive industry. Capitalism is the main fuel of this malaise. The NRM [the governing National Resistance Movement] "ruling organ" has used absolute poverty and starvation to bring the masses to their knees. Institutionalised sectarianism is the main

Uganda Anarchist Democratic Forces (UADF "Basheya") was the contemporary popular mass movement of 1945-1949. As then the struggle is not aimed at capturing political power nor controlling government. At the time, underpayment of labour and cash crops was the main cry. But today we are against a continuous consumption of disease, hunger, and filth from the NRM's oppressive regime. We reject all forms of coercive control and authority. We don't emphasise unity of thought, "politicisation" and action as to us this would lead to a political revolution.

weapon the sycophants of NRM are using to create this "biblical" catastrophe. The economic infrastructure is dominated by a minority (scum-bugs).

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Basheya (anarchists) prefer an equal share "sheya" of resources as they have been produced primarily by generations of toiling masses (Wanainchi). The 1945 and 1949 uprisings were more radical, autonomous

and self-motivated. Wanainchi (the masses) lost, as they weren't armed.

Today we are able to arm ourselves by destroying UPDF "Ugandan army" detachments and helping ourselves to armouries. Sometimes a surprise ambush becomes very handy to us. Just like 1945-59, the grass roots are our lifeline. In 1949 Basheya organised direct action and Asian shops were boycotted; what Basheya wanted was to do away with the middlemen (Asian capitalists). Wanainchi grew the cotton; therefore they wanted to be allowed to sell it direct to the British colonisers and not the Asian capitalist. Today we are fighting corporatism—"Fat Cats"—and brokers—"Pimps."

Wanainchi (the masses) were subject to a racially determined pay. Pay was classed in 3 categories; upper (European), middle (Asian) and lower (Wanainchi). Both the public and private sectors of the economy continued to be areas of Wanainchi grievances. Because of the divide and rule method of the British colonialists, the Asians used the same oppression methodology used on the lowest of the basement people—"the un-touchable" in India—on the Ugandan Wanainchi. It was common practice for an Asian capitalist not to pay the "boyi" worker, as there was no law to protect the "boyi." Hoarding, smuggling, underemployment as well as being abusive was the norm. The education system was also a fraud as it

was based on a three-tier system. Thus separate education systems, but not equal.

The Basheya (anarchist) platform of 1940s was organised during social ceremonies like funerals and weddings. In 1948 the Uganda African Produce Growers Union petitioned the secretary of state for colonies demanding that the Cotton Fund should directly benefit Wanainchi rather than the cotton buyers. A contemporary sheya (anarchy) is about improvement circumstance of Wanainchi (masses) and unquestionable equality. We really don't understand why 7% of the population puts claim on everything in Uganda—to us it's unacceptable. Privatisation committees are the norm. How can some thief in the government privatise natural resources and services? Because in general such people are not humans but social parasites; they suck you—and suck you dry. The kind of economy that would benefit Wanainchi (masses) is that which has a voluntary interaction of a multitude of different organised cells that would produce goods to exchange for our own consumption. A cashless society to us is the way forward as we would not have paymasters flying off, nor would we be screwed by global market forces. International Basheya (anarchists) could help us in

"If BUSH told COLIN POWELL to go to Washington Heights and shoot every DOMINICAN in the head HE WOULD. The only way you get that kind of position is to take orders." -Spike Lee

Was Colonialism Good For Africa?

Gen. Colin Powell Thought So!



Though he has removed himself from consideration in the 1996 Republican presidential nomination, retired Gen. Colin Powell would for long remain a force to reckon with in conservative policy circles. Speaking of the most powerful and culturally-influential country in the world, that's a whole lot of clout from the most - (meaning, positive investment dollars, foreign aid, bilateral agreements, basic respect devoid of racist paternalism, etc.). Hence, what he thinks and stands for should be of legitimate interest to Blacks in general. Thus, though he has sought to clarify his attempt to characterize Nigerian peoples as a nation of "wonderful scammers" in the September issue of New Yorker Magazine by Harvard's Henry Louis Gates, he touched on even weightier issues. He spoke of Africa `losing its colonial heritage - and colonialism, according to the esteemed General, was Africa's route to the 20th century! But was it? In so naively expressing thoughts for so long paraded by self-serving Social Darwinist European colonialists who spoke of a self-appointed `white man's burden`, Gen. Powell demonstrated an unfortunate lack of knowledge of African history, of African peoples today, and more to the point, the atrocities committed by the arrogant colonizers. Perhaps he needs to know first hand what the Zulus, Igbos, Ashantis, the Tanga of Tanzania, the peoples of the Congo basin, and the kingdoms of the Savannah, suffered during the 1850-1950 period alone.

making this a reality. Direct action would mean the producer doing away with the new global middlemen "pimps" and all international anarchists having a chance to consume organically grown products directly.

In 1949, just like today, opportunist "politicians" and a nationalist political party, the Uganda National Congress, quickly captured a leaderless insurrection and Basheya was buried. Today, a contra allied democratic forces (adf) is being continuously used to bury our anarchist cause. As when in a public toilet one individual will decide to shit on the seat or not flush down their waste. Anarchist Democratic Forces is a national front operating in all areas of Uganda, though mobile we still maintain a very efficient coordinated program. Forced recruitment ("abduction") is indeed laughable to us as this contravenes the structure of our cells. We don't live in forests but among ourselves (populace). We have used the Mountains (Ruwenzori) to monitor and re-stock ourselves with arms that are being fielded to reactionary forces in Congo (DRC) by UPDF. Are there two "ADFs"? Yes, ADF (Anarchist Democratic Forces) and adf (allied democratic forces). We understand adf high command lives in Kampala and is undergoing indoctrination, "siyasa." Unlike most rebel groups, we have not seen it to be part of our methodology to brag or use the press "Yeah we're anarchist," as this would affect our operations. ADF (Anarchist Democratic Forces) has no face or "leadership," but commanders and hungry people. In 1975 when Basheya resurrected their platform in Kampala, Idi Amin used Military Police and Special Police Units to bury us. At the time we were called Bayaye (cunning ones). Today Bayaye have become our operatives (activists) and have become commanders of the Basheya economic model.

Basheya governance is one without government. People assume self-regulating behaviour backed by beliefs and norms that make their lives continue without government; organic governance would be more perceived as compared with a modus operandi framework. The NRM "ruling class" has used RCs (political organs) to manipulate and intimidate the basement people (Wanainchi), i.e. they can deport/expel you from your motherland just like Gestapo. RCs are the bureaucratic structure of Lt. Gen. Museveni's oppressive regime. Top down is the mechanism through which NRM spreads power, though that "democracy" could be easily withdrawn from the "idiots." To us Lt. Gen. Museveni is a black fascist who be-

lieves in deploying an elite minority against a helpless hungry majority. NRM is an elite of cadres, i.e. to us they're the Bolsheviks of Uganda as they stole Wanainchi revolution. They continuously use ideology: "They've seen the light and the rest of us are idiots." Unlike NRM, Basheya (anarchists) do not perceive any truth as in religion, but reality as this will arm us with common sense. NRM has not liberated Ugandans but abused and kept them in total deprivation. Basheya have not preached to any one as this to us is deductive, rather we have let actions take over.

Anarchist Democratic Forces (ADF) does

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not abduct people but we have a voluntary compliance to anarchism. We have not sought any help or received any form of assistance externally as this does not represent our methodology. Basheya see America's "African Crisis Response Initiative" as a form of new colonialism. In the past Christian missionaries carried the cross before the flag was to follow. Today US Green Berets (hand-picked elite members of the 3rd Special Forces Group at Fort Bragg, N.C.) are here to prostitute as they did with the Salvadoran armed forces during the 1980s, and with the South Vietnamese military during the '60s and '70s. Basically Green Berets are well-paid whores who direct covert terrorist attacks against progressive liberation movements. To us this scheme is about instructing UPDF "Uganda Army" on how to respond if mass uprisings challenge their satellite banana republic. With

the help of an international platform, Basheya will be able to counter this colonialism.

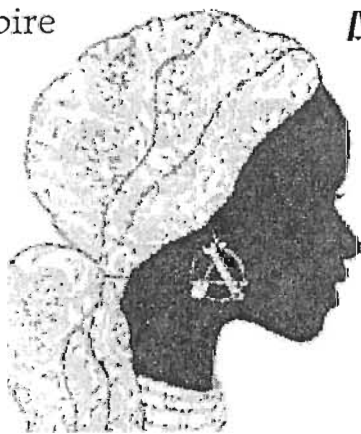
We hate government as it uses constitutions to drive Wanainchi as a herd of cattle on their own land. In 1997 during a BBC correspondent program, the Lt. Gen. took the BBC team to "his" ranch and used cattle to describe NRM ideology: "When dati (that) cow becomes stubborn, I remove it from the rest for good"! Ugandans prefer their freedom with all its responsibilities than being forced to live by a manuscript. UADF considers all forms of power in Uganda as bogus as they govern without the mass's consent. Why should Wanainchi be obedient to a machine that milks them on a daily basis? Museveni and the capitalists call it democracy; but 90% of Ugandans call it prime time robbery. The current system in Uganda is unacceptable as we are fed up with propaganda bombardment to justify their hostage taking of an entire people. Because Ugandans live in a continuous state of fear and deprivation, anti-social behaviours like corruption have thrived well. By this we mean corruption is licking from the penthouse to the basement. You cannot blame Basheya for rising up again!

Heavy-handed repression of gay people is the norm in Lt. Gen. Museveni's Uganda. Museveni, the "thug," thrives on authoritarian leadership. The Ugandan penal code stipulates that "any person who has carnal knowledge of any person against the order of nature" is subject to life imprisonment with hard labour. Museveni has publicly called for the arrest of all gay people. Basheya see this as unacceptable in contemporary Uganda or elsewhere in the world. Basheya see it as a "God"-given right for homosexuals to enjoy the same rights and freedoms as their heterosexual counterparts, including the freedom from harassment by the state and individuals. Constant arrests and torture of sex workers both gay and straight is taking place on a daily basis. Prisons and military camps are full of indigenous people detained for "having guts" to demand basic human rights. Uganda is also the main distributor of weapons around Africa to kill native people. Sudanese SPLA (Sudan People's Liberation Army) fights along side UPDF. 450 civilians were killed in the towns of Isiro and Buta (DRC) in one of their battles, not forgetting 1200 killed in Kisangani between UPDF and RPA (Rwandese Patriotic Army). By using the "Black block," an armed insurrection as counter offensive to dictatorship, Basheya will be able to uproot oppression and plant the seeds of international anarchism as kid gloves don't work in Uganda!

From: Technology of Empire Fifth Estate newspaper

Many calls for securing weaponry, forming armed anarchist militias and carrying out urban guerrilla activity appear in the libertarian press from time to time. Since the conditions for social revolution aren't currently present, these calls wind up to be at best a pathetic posturing amounting to little more than chain rattling, but at worst encourage government repression and victimization of militants.

We have no opposition to individuals securing arms for self-defense, but to elevate this to the level of political strategy is ineffective, potentially dangerous, and often authoritarian. If American society reaches social revolution's flashpoint ashave societies in other states, a stalwart, unarmed populace with enough widespread ardor to back its intent can quickly arm themselves, if troops sent to suppress them are sympathetic. In a truly popular social uprising, mutinous police and soldiers would open the armories to their comrades in revolt

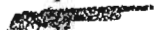


**POWER THRU THE
UGANDAN
BASHEYA
AND THE
UADF**

Armed Anarchist Militias?

against established political power.

Voline, a Russian anarchist active in Petrograd and Moscow during 1917-18 and Ukraine until his imprisonment by the communists in 1920, wrote in *The Unknown Revolution*: "If, for one reason or another such [political] power is supported by a strong section of the populace and especially by the Army, it would be impossible to win against it, and therefore futile to attack it.

"But, if on the contrary, it is abandoned by the majority of the people and by the Army—which occurs in every genuine revolution—then it is not worth bothering with. At the slightest gesture of the armed people, it will fall like a house of cards. It is necessary to be concerned, not with 'political' power, but with the real power of the Revolution, with its inexhaustible, spontaneous, potential forces, its irresistible spirit, the far-flung horizons it opens." 

Black Flag Flies in Africa

STRIKE! V. 2 #7 1982

By Tony Powell

Of all the parts of the earth, Africa is the only one that anarchism hasn't reached—until now, that is. In Senegal, a group of anarchists has arisen from the midst of neocolonialism due to the freedoms allowed by the new political regime that held its first free elections in 1978. These anarchists have taken upon themselves an enormous task in creating a new society.

The African peoples haven't had much of a chance to determine their course of development since the Portuguese first arrived in the 1400's. Submission to colonialism by various nations was followed by neocolonialism by the same nations. A long time ago the whites came to "save" the Africans from paganism while taking them away as slaves; lately, the Leninists have been arriving to save the Africans from capitalism, while taking away their resources.



South African Anarchist Dilemma:

WHY WE DON'T NEED THE POLICE

On the 24th November my Ford Cortina station wagon was stolen in the early hours of the morning from my house in Silverton, Pretoria. The police opened a docket on the theft. The local private visible policing service could not help. I asked some of my comrades in Mamelodi to help me find the vehicle.

In early December, I heard that a certain local car thief called "Gloveman" who had written-off his previous Ford Cortina station wagon in an accident was now driving a cream coloured Ford Cortina station wagon. I also found out the gloveman was very unpopular with local taxi owners for stealing two taxi's.

The panelbeater confirmed he had sprayed it from grey to cream colour for Gloveman. I was shown Gloveman's house by my informants.

I went a number of times to look for the vehicle but could not find it at Gloveman's house. I reckoned he must be using it during the day. I went to the CID and spoke with the policeman in charge of my case. Inspector Lubisi was reluctant to work outside of office hours and he was concerned that he may be injured.

I did find out from the Mamelodi police that Gloveman can be identified by his lack of front teeth. On Sunday 17th December I took Ian (my brother-in-law) and Paul (a friend) and we visited Gloveman's house at around 9PM. No car. We then went to a drive-in restaurant for a few burgers. We returned to Gloveman's house at around 10.30 PM. He was just pulling into his house!

We drove round the block and then got out. I identified my vehicle. Paul provided the muscle. Ian gave me logistical support and Gloveman "kindly" showed me how to put the vehicle into reverse now that the gears had been tampered with (they had removed the gearlock).

We repossessed the vehicle. There was no violence.

We drove home. It's sitting here in my drive way again. The police can only come round in the morning to "do the paperwork". I plan to pay a visit to Gloveman with the police. He will have to pay me for the damage he has done to the Ford Cortina. Otherwise I will press charges against him.

You don't need to accept being a victim.

The police have had at best, a minor support role in this affair.

Douglas Dec. 27, 2000



STAY AWAY FROM THE POLICE
I don't trust them. I don't like what they stand for. So what do I do when I need help?

Recently a drunk man broke into my apartment at 3 am. I was terrified. I managed to wrestle him outside and slam the door. He pounded on the glass which threatened to break. I called the cops.

I didn't feel much safer, trading the intruder for the police. I had expected intervention -- fast. If the pizza delivery guy would have made it there faster I would have called him.

I've heard a lot of people say they'd never use the cops. I've ideologically spent my life agreeing. Doesn't my calling them immediately contradict that ideal?

A friend wrote, "I refuse to call the cops in the situation where a man with a gun threatens me from a man in a mask. I agree."

But what do I do at 3 am?

From: The Peak 4/8/99
Ontario, Canada

Enough!! It is time for the peoples of Africa to gain the right to choose their own development, instead of being forced to follow the models of the capitalist and the "socialist" countries that are heading towards certain disaster. It is time that human and natural resources stop going to Western-imitating projects like the building of expensive hotels for capitalists (of both colours) or the organizing of capital-intensive industries that offer small rates of return. This type of development has led to, in addition to other problems, the underdevelopment of the countryside and to the migration of people to the unplanned cities, where they find poverty and slums.

Party politics haven't been very successful in Africa. The ruling parties usually find it hard to maintain their power by peaceful means, since they tend to defend their own tribes to the detriment of the others. Multi-party systems usually split along tribal lines and politicians thrive on any divisions existing amongst the people.

To a libertarian observer, it would seem that the most natural solution to the economic and social problem Africans face would lie along federalist lines, as opposed to the so far prevalent, statist lines. Anarchism would seem to offer some viable alternatives to the, for the most part, dictatorial African regimes. Federative and associative principles would put the rural tribespeople together with the urban population in control of their resources to accomplish satisfaction of everyone's needs.

The following is the declaration of the Senegalese anarchists dated June of 1981 and translated from the Portuguese anarchist magazine A IDEA.

Declaration of the Senegalese Anarchists

The anarchists of Senegal, of all nationalities, after a rigorous analysis of the political, economic and social situation of our country, as well as of the more or less antagonistic, struggling political formations in unending theoretical discourses, empty, more sterilizing than mobilizing, and with small impact over the popular masses, arrived at the following conclusions:

- The existing economic and social structure: block the social mechanisms and human progress in Senegal. In light of the lived experiences, the structures and the projects of society advanced by the parties and activist formations have all the possibilities of prolonging such a blockade, although under other forms, substituting the older class or group of exploiters for new ones;
- The parties that rival and devour each other in the Senegalese political arena don't have, paradoxically, other preoccupations but the ones that present themselves individually. This lack explains for the most part their artificial division and their present and future weakness in the face of the common enemy: occidental imperialism; Soviet social-imperialism, and the hegemony of the two great powers;
- The indicated weakness of the Senegalese political formations; their persistent tendency in believing that they hold the monopoly on truth and of the adequate road; while the promoted programs and their political practices are almost all similar, show, in a provisional manner, that once power is "obtained" they could only install a totalitarian state, leftist or rightist, where the popular masses would have to blindly obey bureaucratic bosses, more conspiratorial than democratic;
- Taking into consideration the hegemonic objectives that characterize them, not even one of the existing parties (in the opposition or supporting the government) is capable of fostering a direct democracy where the popular masses and the free workers can claim respect for their interests and necessary rights by their leaders.

From the various conclusions due to their analysis, the anarchists from Senegal, originating in several countries, decided to go from the state in which they evolved, like the fish in water in the Senegalese universe, to the state of organization.

The largest and most constant preoccupation of the Senegalese anarchists is, not taking power but of fighting without rest in the fields of practice and theory against the private appropriation of the means of production.

We struggle for the commencement of a self-managed socialism, decentralized and federalist. In our program, we will convey in the detail the fundamentals and content of this socialism, that doesn't have anything to do with the socialisms, imported or "African", demagogic and authoritarian.

In the society for which we struggle, the means of production will be explored in common by the Senegalese workers, associated in the camp of a direct democracy.

Without denying them totally, we further ourselves, in our societal project, of foreign theories and models, to be inspired mainly in the content and form of the Senegalese and African social formations, analysed in their historical evolution, taking into consideration their specific historical contexts.

In this light, our societal project takes inspiration in the organization and in the fundamentals of the federation of Leboris villages and in the social formation of the Balantas (Casamance and Guinea-Bissau). These social formations, far from being primitive, were organized in such a way that they didn't have ruling classes or exploiting chiefs. A direct democracy prevailed without being imposed from above. This type of organization that, according to us, could be perfectly adopted in the present state of our productive forces, only eliminating the basis of support of the exploiting classes and the possibilities of the appearance of totalitarian leaders, constitutes the model that guides our reasoning. A model where the passivity and the blind obedience to exploiting and anti-democratic bosses would not take place.

To concretize our societal project, we, the anarchists of Senegal, and the sympathizers which we believe to be many, will also orient our struggles against the following pernicious phenomena:

- The appearance of a society of a strong statist and bureaucratic character;
- obscurantism, fanaticism, pedanticism and the various empty talks without any connection with the objective reality and the reduction of personal rights;
- antagonism of rich and poor;
- ethnocentrism of hegemonic character;
- narrow nationalism;
- pseudo-democracy in contrast with an unjust economic organization;
- democracy imposed by above.

The Senegalese anarchists — all nationalities — meeting on Saturday, June 13 of 1981, on the island of Goree, future statutory site of their movement, equally constituted a Committee of Reflection for the Statutes (C.R.S.) with the purpose of elaborating their judicial statutes imposed by the limiting laws of the bureaucratic Senegalese State, their economic and social program, and their strategy of struggle to not yield to Power. Also during the meeting the Senegalese anarchists decided to create their instrument of struggle: the "Anarchist Party for the Individual Freedoms in the Republic".

Egyptian Anarchist needs help

My name is Sameh Sa'eed A'bood. I am an Egyptian writer and research, participating in the new democracy left wing, which is "located" near the "libertarian communism." I have built a web site which include some of my books in Arabic. I could not find any Arabic site with similar content. Can you? I will be grateful if you send me to: sameh56@maktoob.com or saeedslama@hotmail.com your opinions, comment, information.. and any other feedback. My site included the following books:

*"Science and legend are two methods used for social change." It includes critical view about and against all political movements in the Arab world: Marxism-Leninism, Islamic, Nationalism and Liberalism. Chapters of the book: (the traditionalism and criticism, the assimilation and denied of the other, the development and solidification, the subjectivism and objectives, the realism and romanticism, the historicity an non-historicity, the materialism and idealism, the relativity an absolutely, the progressivism and conservatism).

*"Collapse of worship of state." It includes critical essays against "socialism of the state," "National Independence," "Leftwing Nationalism" and collective privacy added. It also includes essays about Democracy, Morality, and human rights. Essays of the book: (Critic of the socialism of the state, socialism and statezation of the production, crisis of the nationalist left, the nationalist independence in the nowadays, the collectivism privacy and human rights, the collectivism privacy between the truth and illusion, the democracy and non-democracy powers, dialogue between the fundamental or protesting powers, the morality basis of the scientific socialism, observations at the attempt, the labor movement and the legal struggle).

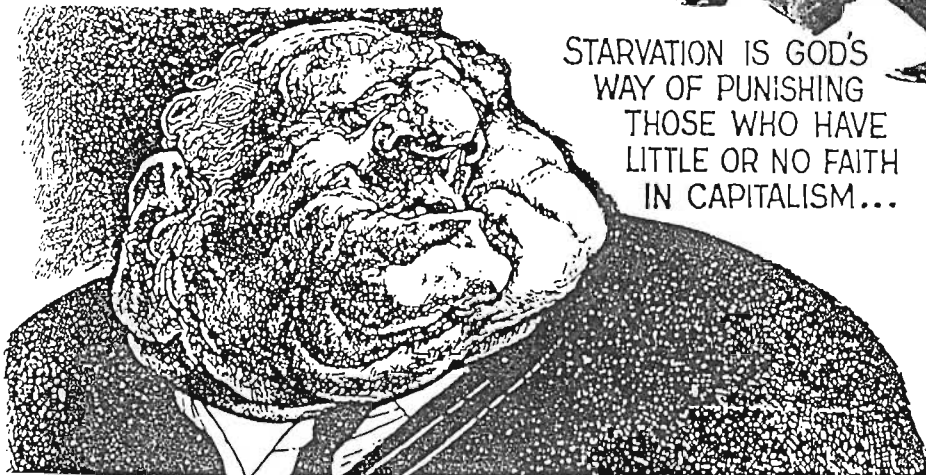
"Introduction to science and revolution" - philosophy texts about science, life and morality. The texts of th book (beginning, necessity preface, astonishing progressive scientific and astonishing delay thought, wash of the minds, the consumption culture, the sick, worried, tiring soul, the substitute).

*Principals of the Ilibertarian. Essay about "libertarian communism" is explaining there the aim, practice, and tools.

I want to link my site with similar sites, and communicate with people who are interested in the subjects I dealt with in the above books. I was involved in political activity of the Egyptian Leninism Marxism movement from 1979 to 1993. However, from 1990 on, I started gradually to change my opinions in the direction of libertarian communism and Now I am a freelance writer, and work as researcher in a private research center. i am trying to resume activity using the Internet. For this I started to build my site.

I am working now on a new book about the vital necessity of revolutionary internationalism against the Capitalism. My new book consists of scientific research about the globalization phenomena, from radical libertarian left view. I have read lately many books that started explaining revolutionary reasons...but ended by non-revolutionary results. The available books are full with nationalist ideologies even thought most of them claim that they are Marxists. Thus, I am struggling against the nationalist influences in a situation. which is common to the entire Arab world, can you help me in any way in this task?

If you want my books printed on paper, either print yourself send request by e-mail to:
sameh56@maktoob.com or saeedslama@hotmail.com or
AL_MAHROUSSA_4.9B
ST_AL_MAADI_CAIRO_EYGP



STARVATION IS GOD'S WAY OF PUNISHING THOSE WHO HAVE LITTLE OR NO FAITH IN CAPITALISM...

the apprehension... will be engineered... effects of boycott. NEW YORK TIMES JULY 16, 1920

SAY GANG AIMED TO KILL ALLENBY AND SULTAN

Anarchists in Egypt Also Plotted Against Ministers, Evidence Is Expected to Show.

CAIRO, Egypt, July 16. — Sensational evidence is expected at the trial next Tuesday of a gang of anarchists. It is understood that evidence will be introduced to show that an organization was formed for the assassination of prominent men, and that the body, during the past twelve months, has been planning the murder of Ministers and preparing an even more sensational coup against Field Marshal Allenby, British High Commissioner in Egypt and the Sudan, and the Sultan.

During the past few months there have been a number of murders and attempted murders.

ACTS WHEN COM

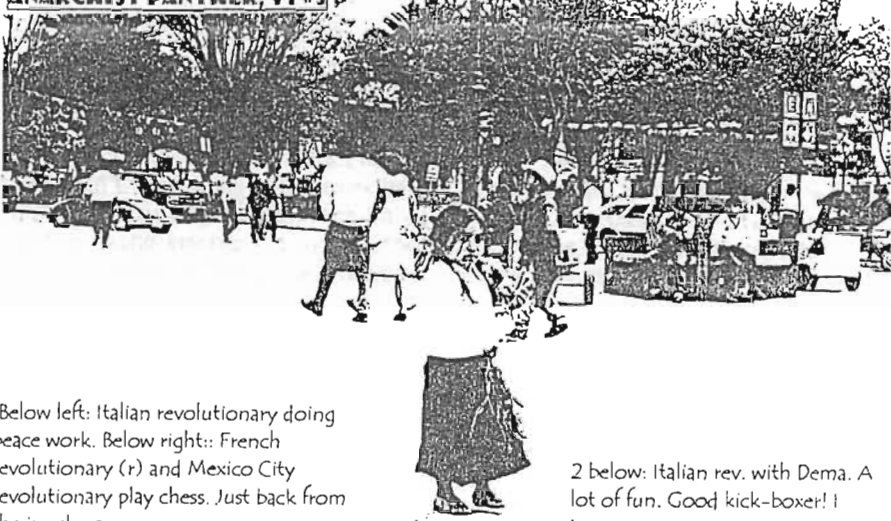
TAKE YOUR BOOT OFF MY NECK...OR
Take your boot off my neck OR I'll snatch your leg off. And don't tell me why not to snatch your leg off, cuz I know you're lying, cuz you want your leg! And don't tell me not to call you *Mulhafucka* cuz you're a *mulhafuckin' FOOL*, y'diq.
--Papa Rage, Eldridge Cleaver
(Close enough verbalim, y'diq.)



ANARCHIST PANTHER, V1 #3

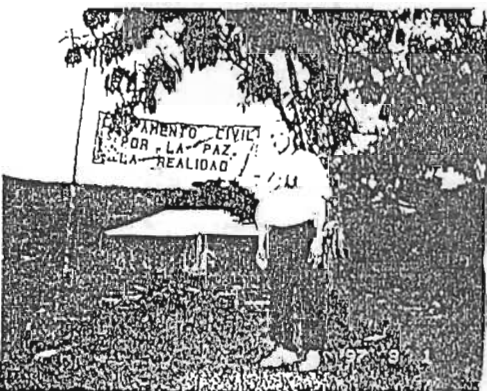
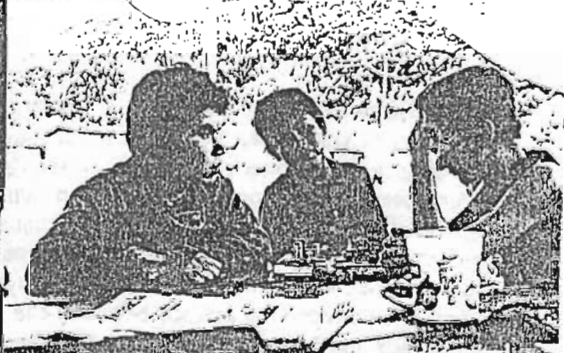


Above: Me & Sara, Dema's taking the foto. Arriving in San Cristobal. Above right: Indigenous child hustling among tourists. Below: Indigenous child hustling me, a 'gringo.' Near the Zocalo.

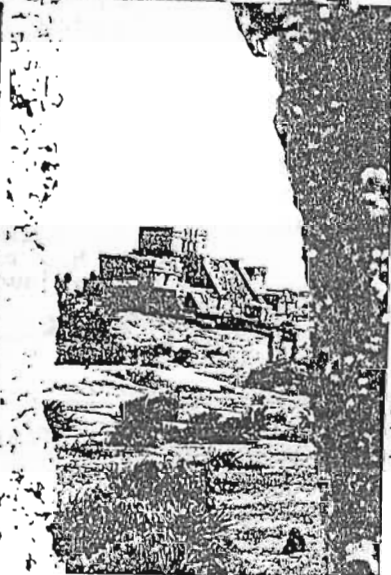


Below left: Italian revolutionary doing peace work. Below right: French revolutionary (r) and Mexico City revolutionary play chess. Just back from the jungle camp.

2 below: Italian rev. with Dema. A lot of fun. Good kick-boxer! I know



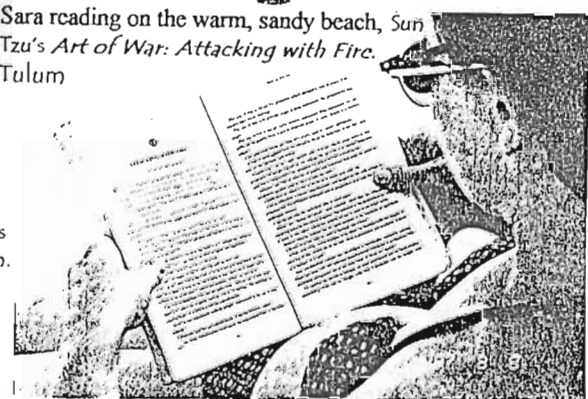
Above: We arrive at La Realidad, a major Zap community. Below: We meet Nikki from Switzerland doing international peace work in support of the Zapatistas.



Above: The ancient ruins of Tulum, now a beach resort. We staid there the last few days before the final trek to the airport in Cancun. Below: That's me taking in the sunrise, relaxing, thinking...



Sara reading on the warm, sandy beach, Sun Tzu's Art of War: Attacking with Fire. Tulum



That's Melissa with Dema & Sara. Melissa & Kyle (from Philly)) had been there in San Cristobal for over a year doing anarchist support work in different Zap communities. We staid with them until we left for La Realidad.



solidarity. I am happy that they invited me on this trip.

Sara comes up to join me at sunrise. We talk about our lives, our futures, our revolution. I got to know her as a person as well.

ZAPATISTA-LAND / MEXICO, 1997
FIRST TIME OUTSIDE OF BABYLON. I GOT TO SEE A NEW-STYLE REVOLUTION IN REBEL BASE COMMUNITIES. THIS STRUGGLE HAS SOOOO MUCH TO OFFER, AND AINT TRYING TO BE 'THE VANGUARD.' JUST EFFECTIVE & HUMBLE.

The anarchists who I went with had good anti-racist politics. They did not patronize me or treat me as exotic. There is hope amongst the anarchists like them to build honest & strong & respectful



Packed & ready to hit Babylon. This was unique, educational, emotional & supportive. Maybe even therapeutic. The Second Mexican Revolution is on! And so is ours. All power thru the People!



(Cont. from pg. 22)

LIBRE reached out to people of color specifically to make ties to the Zapatista struggle and also to see what we here could learn from this new style revolution to possibly 'sample' and innovate here. In the fall of 1999 my partner/comrade and me were participants in a E.L. Delegation back to ZAP-LAND. I would like to share that experience with you in the next issue of ANARCHIST PANTHER. People of color who are frustrated with old revolutionary thinking and old

ESTACION LIBRE

A PEOPLE OF COLOR ORGANIZATION
 BASED IN SAN CRISTOBAL, CHIAPAS
 BUILDING BRIDGES BETWEEN THE
 ZAPATISTA MOVEMENT & STRUGGLES
 IN THE US.

GET IN TOUCH WITH US!
 IF YOU ARE INTERESTED IN
 participating in a DELEGATION,
 doing COMMUNITY WORK or
 HUMAN RIGHTS OBSERVATION

in Chiapas, becoming an
 ACTIVE MEMBER of
 Estación Libre, or in making a
 tax-deductible DONATION,
 PLEASE CONTACT US AT:

e-libre@burn.ucsd.edu
 OR
 ESTACION LIBRE
 PO Box 226758
 Los Angeles, CA 90022

* Donations can be made to the name of
 Estacion Libre at the above address

models that have not broke us out of this deadlock of movement since the 1970's, a great opportunity is here to observe, participate and learn about this ZAPATISMO in action with the assistance of some dedicated EL-istas from your very own neighborhoods. See page ___ for their address/info. These times call for great imagination and creativity, and with it we can BREAK-OUT of SELF-DEFEAT.

Support ESTACION LIBRE
 & the EZLN!

there are two areas that the group feels are not sufficiently covered: 1. the many pp's not recognized by so-called international kourts of law (including those prisoners who became revolutionaries inside and turned that terrain into our liberation grounds, like George Jackson & John Andaliwa Clark), and 2. the liberal limitations that govern current pp/pow work and its outreach focus on celebrities, politicians and the kourts for winning the release of our imprisoned revolutionaries. Thus, the western region's work reflects the revolutionary visions of the pp's in that the ultimate release of all pp/pows lies with the people. The western region front therefore is dedicating itself to the hard grassroots work that can make the people or the communities the power brokers in freeing all political prisoners. Let's give them and all efforts on behalf of freeing the pp's our support.

ONE, TWO, MANY UNITED FRONTS TO WIN!

**THE WESTERN REGION
 UNITED FRONT TO FREE
 ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS**

510-601-6637

RoyBoomba@aol.com

There are times in our movements when there are those who feel that existing organizations do not serve the needs of political prisoners adequately. They come to hard decisions that may involve splitting from the parent group or if they didn't belong to that group to simply form another organization designed to serve the perceived 'gap' or overcome the long-term insufficiencies in ongoing work. That is the reason this year that a new political prisoner support group has come into being in California. It was called for by two former political prisoners, RAUL CURLEY ESTREMER & TCHAKA AT-THINNIN in consultation with numerous political prisoners inside the walls and other former pp's across the country. Specifically,

(From page 30.) important too for the achievement of this. Which culture or cultures do we rely upon for examples that will maintain this necessary culture and behave as an anti-thesis to this eurocentric capitalist shit?

QUESTIONS ON

**the theory of
 a stateless
 society, pt I**

African, Asian, North American indigenous cultures? Do we have to rely on a new, yet to develop culture? I believe that it may be a combination of these things for it to be achieved. This is because africanic and other indigenous cultural examples have shown to be more advantageous than this mess that we live but... they are also partially irrelevant to our situation because they were products of particular periods and conditions

These are important issues that activist have to debate. If we are struggling for the destruction of current human relationships between ourselves and the "modes of production," what are we looking to replace it with down to the most miniscule social component? To end this off, I agree with the goal of a stateless society (given nurturing conditions), but I believe that formations have to exist before that to be a realization. Whether it is another form of a state or something entirely new.

RIGHT ON! This is what I appreciate the most. I say, THIS IS IMPORTANT TO ME. GIVE ME YOUR HONEST OPINION. Orlando was the first! Thank you.

ANARCHISM



Jaan K. Laaman
10372-016 / Box 1000
Leavenworth, KS 66048



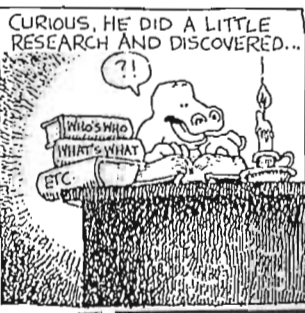
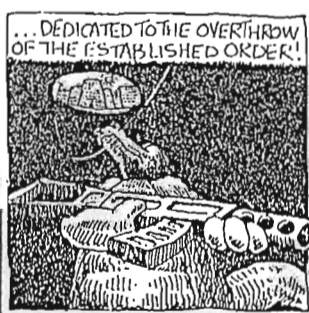
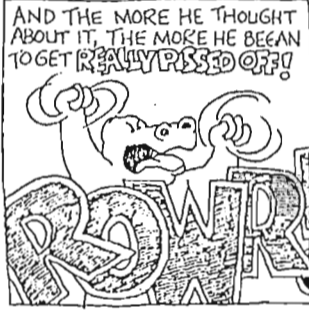
David Gilbert
83A6158 / Box 51
Comstock, NY 12821-0051



Thomas Manning
10373-016 / Box 1000
Leavenworth, KS 66048-1000

POLITICAL

PRISONERS



"whenever any form of government becomes destructive... it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its Foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Revolutionary Mandate 1

these are not the times to take your friends for granted, to assume that they will always be there. they may not be. and if you wait until the next time, to tell them that they are very special to you, you may wait until someone calls you and says that So-and-so's body was found beneath the bricks of a dynamited building, or So-and-so was blown, like water from a fountain, over a midnight highway, or So-and-so was shot while he slept.

therefore, it is hereby mandated (by the poets and artists and musicians, who are responsible for the spirit and soul of the revolution) that when you finish this poem, you are to call your brothers sisters and in your own way, make them know that you love them, that because of their love you have become more you. Let them know. Five minutes from now you may never have the opportunity again.

Julius Leroy

The Flying Eagle Woman Fund
(The Ingrid Washinawatok El-Issa
Flying Eagle Woman Fund for
Peace, Justice & Sovereignty)
708 Broadway, 8th Floor
New York, NY 10003
212-982-5358

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

S.L.A.M.
Student Liberation Action Movement
212-772-4261/62

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.Box387
New York, NY 10030

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

(Zapatista support)
**AZUL (Amanceer Zapatista Unidos en la
Lucha)**
POB 200413
Newark, NJ 07102
212-737-4267
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: newyorkbre@people-link.com
www.people-link.com/newyorkbre

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

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

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: nao@tao.net

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

New York Taxi Workers Alliance
122 W. 27th St., 10th Fl.
New York, NY 10001
212-627-5248
e-mail: nytwal@aol.com

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

New York City Police Watch
212-614-6454

Free Mumia Coalition
212-330-8029

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

This Just In
Bulletin for News of Political Prisoners
Betty & Herman Liveright
103 Bartlett Ave.
Pittsfield, MA 01201
413-499-1120

N.Y. Direct Action Network
Nyc-dan@riseup.net
212-358-3966

AWOL: HipHop Mag & CD
Rev. Artists Workshop, Vol. 1
1-800-975-9688, 800-665-7682
awol@objector.org
www.awol@objector.org

**People's War/
People's Community Org.**
215-671-7436

New York City Anarchist Black Cross
POB 20449/Tompkins Sq. Sta.
New York, NY 10009-9991347-742-5403
NYCblackcross@hotmail.com

Political Prisoners of War Coalition
PPWC Information Center
C/o Cynthia Ritsher
POB 554
Lincoln, MA 01773

Royal Rage
Official Newsletter of the Almighty Latin
King/Queen Nation (Prisons)
POB 1070
Kearny, NJ 07032

NYC Independent Media Center
212-684-81121

Colombia Action Committee
212-591-0709
e-mail: zenojill@rcn.com

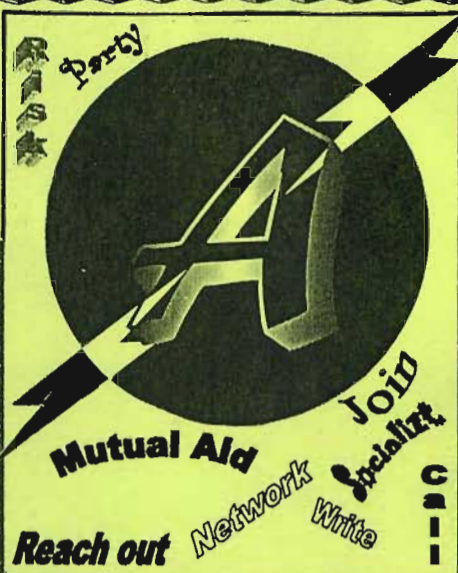
Institute for Anarchist Studies
POB 1664, Peter Stuyvesant Sta.
New York, NY 10009
(Grants for Radical Writers)

**October 22 Coalition to Stop Police
Brutality**
212-673-6008

Malcolm X Grassroots Movement
1195 Bedford Avenue
Brooklyn, NY 11216
212-561-0912
MXGMNY@hotmail.com

MOVE PRISONERS
MOVE Defense Committee
POB 19709
Philadelphia, PA 19143

APLAN
Anarchist Prisoners' Legal Aid Network
818 SW 3rd Avenue PMB #354
Portland, OR 97204



DRUM
Desis Rising Up & Moving
c/o The Brecht Forum
122 W. 27th Street, 10th Fl.
New York, NY 10001
212-631-3689
drum@drumnation.org
www.drumnation.org

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

**Republic of New Africa
(RNA)**
POB 330476
Brooklyn, NY 11233

Direct Action Network, NYC
POB 1953
New York, NY 10009
212-358-3966

CRITICAL RESISTANCE EAST
460 W. 128th St
New York, NY 10027
917-493-9795

Charas-El Bohio
605 E. 9th St.
New York, NY 10018
212-982-0627

**African-American Labor
Network/Forum**
C/o Joel Washington
207 E. 31st St.
Brooklyn, NY 11226
718-282-8315

Active Element Foundation
532 LaGuardia Place, #510
New York, NY 10012
activeelement@aol.com
www.activeelement.org
718-783-6856

The Black Panther Collective
THEBLACKPANTHERCOLLECTIVE@HOTMAIL.COM

Puerto Rico Collective
212-539-3620
PRC1898@aol.com

American Friends Service Committee
CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROGRAM
972 Broad Street, 6th Fl.
Newark, NJ 07102
973-643-3079

Filipino workers center
212-741-6806

LIBERATION BOOKSTORE
421 MALCOLM X BLVD.
HARLEM, NY 10027

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

The Brooklyn Rail
189 Bedford Ave. #10
Brooklyn, NY 11211
www.thebrooklynrail.com

Red & Anarchist Skin Heads
RASH, NYC
POB 365 Canal St. Station
New York, NY 10013

Prison Moratorium Project
C/o Democratic Socialist of America
180 Varick Street, 12th Fl.
New York, NY 10014
646-486-6715
web: www.nomoreprisons.org

African Peoples Socialist Party
Uhuru Health Food Cooperative
POB 250401
Brooklyn, NY 11225
718-443-1192

NATION TIME
New Afrikan Liberation Front
POB 340084
Jamaica, NY 11434
E-mail: iyaluua@aol.com

Sister Outsider
(Young Women's Work Project)
An Org. Run by & for Young Women
718-282-1600
www.wp@aol.com

Books Through Bars
4722 Baltimore Ave.
Philadelphia, PA 19143

Anarchist Black Cross Federation
ABCF
POB 8532
Paterson, NJ 07508
973-389-9496

Harlem Fightback
2333 Frederick Douglass Blvd., Suite #2
New York, NY 10027

Bluestockings Women's Bookstore & Café
172 Allen St. (at Stanton, F to 2nd Ave)
New York, NY
212-777-6028

Concerned Educators Alliance Against Oppression
CEAAO
917-857-9759
718-462-4652

(Continued from page one)

Shout out to Da'Space, DRUM (Desis Rising Up & Moving), and that informal new anarchist study group of people of color (THE FIRST IN THE NORTHEAST). And to those activists who made the hard decision to fold the Brooklyn-based FIST (Forever In Struggle Together); remember that organizations are born and they die but you still have the motivations that make your continued activism necessary.

We need to build some quilombos, free spaces of resistance in this the financial kapital of imperial Babylon. Fuck it. Let's do it! We have the **POWER TO THROW A NIGGER-WRENCH INTO THE MACHINERY.** Black Intercommunal solidarity and resistance. D-I-Y...

**DO - IT - YOURSELF
INSURRECTION !**



Done... **DONE!** And now its June. Summertime. This was fun but took waaaa-ay too long to do. There was so much I wanted to include (like 50-something pages aint enough). Ya comments are welcome, yall, on any of it. But be ready to battle if I don't readily see or agree. **THIS IS ANARCHIST PANTHER YALL AND TENSION & UNEASINESS ABOUT STRUGGLING AND BEFORE STRUGGLING IS NAT-CHAL AND 'GET-IT-OVAH-WITH' PREFERABLE.** I ASK FOR IT, DAMMIT. Network, Baby. Zap-up. This is Anansy speaking...

**ALL POWER THRU THE PEOPLE!
ANARCHIST PANTHER**



Quilombo for the Advancement of Anansaic Postmodern Anarchist Revolutionary Struggle-

anarchistpanther@hotmail.com

askanti 718-856-3101