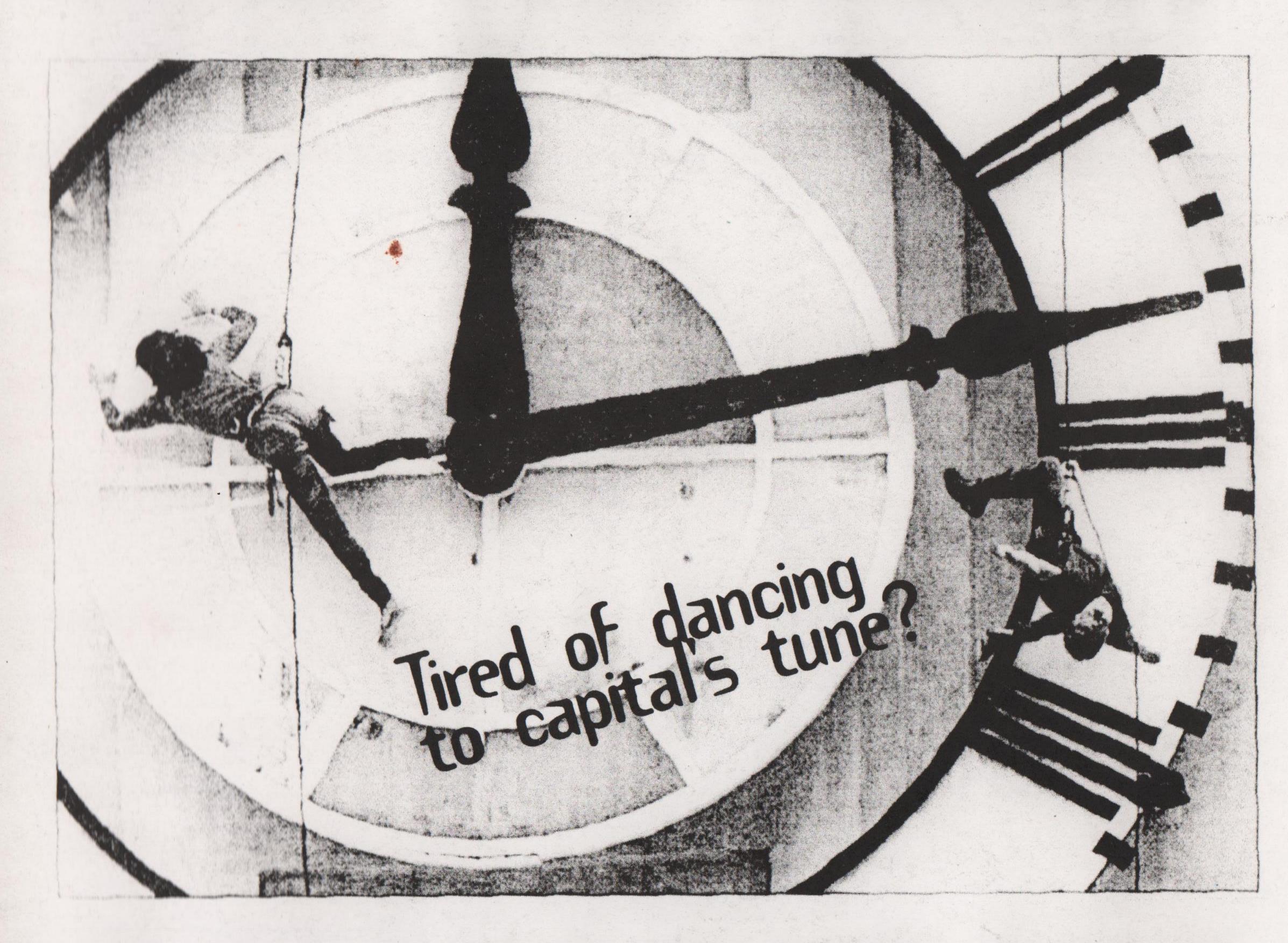
# FARE EVASION



JUST DO IT

# THE POOR, THE BAD AND THE ANGRY



A MAGAZINE FOR POWER-HUNGRY PROLETARIANS



Winnowing the wheat from the chaff

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### Issue #2

We write about our actions in the class war to encourage others to engage in similar actions. All articles and graphics in this publication are anti-copyright, unless otherwise noted. We encourage reproduction of the material in this publication. We ask only that you credit the authors of the individual articles, or our magazine, as sources.

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# A Brief Introduction:

"American workers do not share France's tradition of general strikes and mass unrest"

New York Times, Dec. 24, 1995

"I hope it never comes to that here". AFL-CIO chief and enemy of the working class John Sweeney, referring to the mass strike wave that rocked France at the end of 1995

This publication exists to contribute to the emergence of an enduring culture of conscious opposition to capitalism rooted in the daily life of the working class and the poor, here in the United States and world-wide. With this in mind The Poor the Bad and the Angry #2 describes the activities of this magazines authors and our comrades in the class war over the past several years. We offer information about, and critical analysis of, proletarian resistance to capital the world over.

In upcoming issues we will offer critical reexaminations of the strengths and limits of revolutionary movements of the past, for example, at the beginning of the Spanish Civil War and the May 1968 movement in France.

The first issue of PBA came out three years ago. We intend to make future issues come out more often.

### Our perspectives:

Our world is devastated by social relations based on money and market exchange. Every government and government-to-be, every politician, army and police force on this planet defends this system. Politicians and parties propose different management strategies for capital, but regardless of their real or imagined differences, Yeltsin and Mandela, Time Warner and MTV, Fidel Castro, the ecology lobby and the most bedraggled college campus socialist groups all agree - the world of wage labor must be maintained. In today's world, most human beings have nothing but their labor power and they must sell it to an enterprise to be able to live.

Everything exists to be bought or sold. All social relations revolve around money. These seemingly normal and inevitable facts are the result of a long and violent process, the most murderous five hundred years in the life of our species.

This global system, capitalism, is a historically specific form of class society based on the exploitation of human labor power as a commodity, on wage-labor, money, commodity production and the nation-state. Imposed and maintained by terror, mystification and inertia, modern capitalism is a totalitarian system. It has invaded and devastated all aspects of human life and degrades the planetary environment to an accelerating degree. But capitalism has also given rise to social forces that can bring about the revolutionary destruction of this system; the mass collective actions of proletarians fighting against the conditions of our exploitation and impoverishment.

The class struggle is the primary liberatory social force of our time. Class struggle is not only our fight as wageworkers against our employers. The class war includes all the individual and collective struggles of exploited and propertyless people across the global against the conditions of our exploitation and impoverishment. It encompasses our fights against racism, sexism and homophobia, but not as separate reformist issues. Class warfare involves fights for concessions from capital and the fight for our power outside of and against capitalist social relations.

The state is the monopoly of armed violence of the ruling class, the terrorist apparatus by which capitalist property relations are imposed and maintained. The state is not a neutral institution, or a mechanism that can be of any use to the working class. A revolutionary perspective is unconditionally and uncompromisingly hostile to all forms of the state and to bourgeois elections and legality. Electoral politics is a source of mystification, a negation of class consciousness and the antithesis of the direct, collective action that characterizes our efforts in the class war. A central objective of any

revolutionary movement must be the violent destruction of the state and of any quasi-statist formations. A key element in revolutionary struggle will also be to bring about the collapse of the armed forces by desertions, sabotage, fraternization and revolutionary mutiny.

In time of war, revolutionaries must actively work for the defeat of the war efforts of "their own" countries. All forms of patriotism or nationalism are counter-revolutionary.

In the past hundred years, labor unions have come to serve capitalism both as labor merchandising outfits and as organizations that restrain and inhibit workers' struggles. Even those unions that were authentic products of working class combativity, such as the Spanish CNT, came to function in this manner. As 20th century states have been compelled to frequently intervene in the economy, labor unions, regardless of their ideology or the subjective intentions of their members, have effectively become control mechanisms of the state and of bourgeois legality. In taking action in the workplace and in extending actions beyond the workplace, wageworkers have to fight against and outside of all unions and unionist ideologies. The working class must create anti-hierarchical self-organization for struggles inside of and outside of the workplace.

Throughout the 20th century, counter-revolution has often appeared in seemingly radical forms. The former Soviet Union, Mao's China, Cuba, etc. were not socialist societies but state capitalist systems, moments in the unfolding of capitalist domination over the earth. The left, so-called Socialist and Communist parties, social democracy, all forms of Leninism and much of anarchism are the left wing of capitalism, the left side of capital's political apparatus. The social movement of the future must ruthlessly examine the past and break with failed strategies and obsolete poli-

National liberation movements have been means for non-exploiting classes to

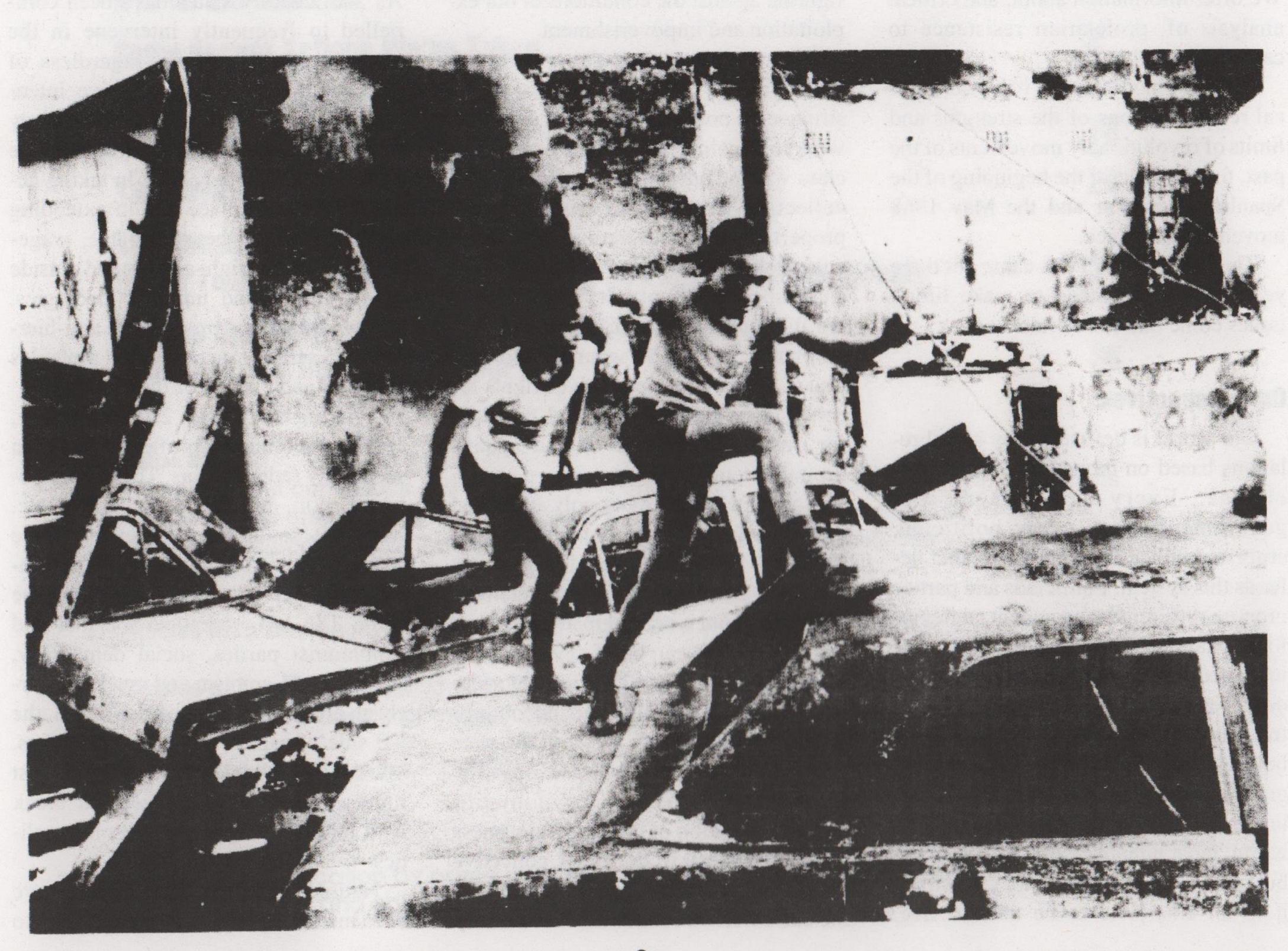
be marshaled to fight and die for the political ambitions of the local bourgeoisie, a wing of the local bourgeoisie, or a substitute bourgeoisie of guerrilla bosses and professional intellectuals. National liberation struggles have always produced regimes that have been voluntary or involuntary cops for the world market against the needs and struggles of proletarians, impoverished peasants and indigenous peoples. A Turkish proverb says it well: "When the ax came into the forest, the trees said: the handle is one of us." The FMLN, IRA, PLO, ANC, ETA, etc. are capitalist organizations and enemies of the working class. They have more in common with existing nation states and multinational corporations than with "the real movement that abolishes existing conditions." The exploited must fight alone against the propertied classes. All "popular fronts" or "united fronts" between the exploited

and other social forces inevitably lead to the defeat and massacre of the exploited.

The abolition of capitalism is not democracy, nationalization of major industries, state power in the hands of leftists or workers' self-management of the economy. The goal of an authentic revolutionary movement is the abolition of wage labor, the abolition of all forms of market relations, the destruction of all states, police forces, and national borders; the emergence of new social relations where poverty is abolished and labor no longer rules social life, a classless, stateless, moneyless global human community. In a post-capitalist world, productive activity will be performed for the free and direct satisfaction of human needs while respecting the integrity of the planetary environment.

In spite of their flaws and limits, the defeated social revolutions of the 20th

century, and the mass collective violence of the poor in revolt from Los Angeles to Iraqi Kurdistan, are embryonic expressions of the future anti-statist class dictatorship of the poor against capital worldwide, what must become a consciously communist movement without frontiers or compromises, a new world trying to come alive. Social revolution, and class struggles that tend towards communism, require despotic action by the dispossessed against the system that dispossesses us. The destruction of commodity relations and the emergence of authentic human community aren't just measures that will be enacted "The Day After The Revolution". These communist urges live today as an impulse in collective struggles, and in many small gestures and attitudes. We fight for this. We seek to systematically spread and develop these perspectives. We seek companions in this effort.



# Some Recent Actions We've Taken:

In the spring of 1993, San Francisco Mayor Frank Jordan launched an attack on the living standards of the working class in San Francisco by demanding 25 cents per ride fare increase on MUNI. MUNI is San Francisco's primary municipal public transit system, made up of motor coaches, trolleys, metro trains and the famous cable cars, with approximately 686,000 passenger boardings every weekday.

As we pointed out in the first issue of our magazine in the context of a similar action oriented towards Bay Area Rapid Transit workers, class struggles occurs not only in the context of wage struggles by wage workers in workplaces, but wherever the exploited and dispossessed confront market relations and the state. The potential social power of proletarians is greatest wherever we are gathered together in large numbers. The overwhelming majority of MUNI riders are wage workers and poor people. We engaged in a seven-month long campaign against various possible forms of fare increases, using a number of different approaches.

Our efforts were inspired by what we'd heard and read about similar social struggles in other countries, particularly movements for self-reduction of prices in Italy in the mid to late 1970's:

"With an inflation rate of over 25%, widespread unemployment, and increasing repression, Italy's current economic crisis shows how far capital is willing to push its attack against the living conditions of the working class.

"One of the distinct marks of this crisis - in Italy as well as in other capitalist countries - is the extent to which class conflict has widened, involving directly the area of social consumption. The dramatic increase in the cost of living is in fact setting off a wave of struggles dictated by the working class need to protect their wage gains, and to ensure adequate access to essential goods and services such as food, housing, utilities and transportation...

"The practice of 'self-reduction' - i.e. the refusal to comply with price increases of essential services - 'is the answer that has emerged from this terrain of struggle...

"Self-reduction is not an entirely new phenomenon in Italy...What is new is the way in which this practice has spread to other sectors of essential social consumption, such as public transit, electricity and home heating.

"When viewed in the context of parallel practices - such as squatting and organized mass appropriation of groceries from supermarkets - this struggle becomes more than a merely defensive one. It becomes - as some militants have called it - a struggle for the re-appropriation of social wealth produced by the working class but unpaid by capital."

from The Working Class Struggle
Against The Crisis: Self-Reduction of
Prices In Italy, by Bruno Ramirez, February 1975

One year after the riots of '92 we hoped to catalyze potentially explosive anger in San Francisco against an attack on a largely atomized and divided working class.

# **Leafleting Drivers**

Our first step was to draft and distribute a leaflet to MUNI drivers and station agents. We drew a clear connection between the impending attack on proles who ride MUNI, and inevitable future attacks on the wage levels and benefits of MUNI employees. We began with only the vaguest notion of how to go about getting copies of our stuff to roughly 2,000 drivers and train operators and a much smaller number of station agents in MUNI's underground stations.

Clearly our efforts had to begin with MUNI employees. The wage workers of the transit enterprise are in the most crucial position for making a self-reduction effort possible. And we wanted to undercut the anger of proles who ride MUNI being inappropriately directed at MUNI

workers, and help focus anger at the proper target, the commodity system and its administrators.

Our leaflet mimicked the layout and font of the San Francisco Examiner, one of SF's two daily bourgeois lie-sheets. The Examiner had run a series of attacks, penned by the asshole journalists named in the leaflet, against city employees. These articles had singled out MUNI workers as overpaid, shiftless bums. We put our address at the bottom of the leaflet.

We began our campaign by boarding a MUNI streetcar, briefly talking with the driver and giving him or her a leaflet, then leaving the train car at the next stop. We went in this manner from one car to another up and down the main inbound and outbound underground MUNI line from Church Street to Embarcadero. After several days of this we were running into a number of the same train operators that we had earlier leafleted, and moved onto leafleting bus drivers.

Conveniently for our leaflet distribution efforts, a large number of MUNI bus lines begin and end at Mission and Steuart Streets, and also in front of the Transbay Terminal building a few blocks away. We spent between two and four hours during several afternoon rush hours, giving leaflets to drivers at these locations. Over the course of a couple of weeks we were told by drivers that other drivers were reproducing the leaflet on MUNI photocopy machines and distributing leaflets in workers' mailboxes at MUNI yards.

Around this time we received a letter from two MUNI workers running for election to the Transit Workers Unions International Convention. Among other things they said, "We agree with No Fare. We are organizing at MUNI around that concept and others. Please send us more details on fare boycotts and fare strikes. We would like to publicize this. Also let us know what you plan to do at MUNI besides leafleting at the Ferry Terminal."

LEAFLET TO DRIVERS

# Some ideas on fighting Muni's attacks on employees and riders

Workers, riders should take mass action against Muni and City Hall

By N. Raged with Max Damage RIOTERS NEWS SERVICE

The city government and MUNI have been waging a campaign to divide MUNI workers and MUNI riders. One part of this has been the refund cards riders can fill out to complain about the bus being late. The function of these cards is to blame the individual drivers for the way management has run the system into the ground. MUNI bosses and City Hall are trying to establish an identity of interests between riders and management against MUNI employees. This campaign of attack has been spearheaded by articles in The Examiner by Eric Brazil and by Phillip Matier and Andrew Ross, now of The Chronicle.

The latest example of the attack on MUNI employees is the scapegoating of Johnny Wong, the street car operator whose car rear-ended another in the Twin Peaks tunnel, April 4th. After Wong was summarily fired, supervisor Carolle Migden called for more effective oversight and drastic action - against

you; MUNI workers. They are out to make your working conditions more difficult than ever.

City Hall and MUNI management have initiated this campaign of lies against MUNI workers in order to divide riders from you. This way they hope youll will have no interest in resisting massive fare hikes and service cutbacks. And in 95 when the your contract is up, they hope riders wont care that your wages and benefits are under

massive attack by the city. There is an alternative MUNI workers and riders can act together against our common enemies, MUNI management and City Hall.

# What drivers and riders have done in other places

In Italy in the late 1970s, working class and poor people fought back against newly-inflated prices for goods and services in what became known as the self-reduction movement whole cities saw a mass refusal to pay increased prices. In 1978 the bus drivers of Nantes, a large industrial city in northwestern

France, staged an on-the-job action with a difference. Instead of walking off the job, they kept the buses rolling, but forgot to collect any fares. The same thing has been done by public transit workers in other places in recent years in Turin, Italy; Seoul, South Korea; Hanover, Germany; Montreal, Quebec, and Birmingham, Alabama. During a French rail workers strike in 1987, workers issued a leaflet calling on passengers not to pay fares. Actions of this sort have been called social strikes because they avoid the inconvenience or actual hardship to other working-class and poor people which result from some walk-outs.

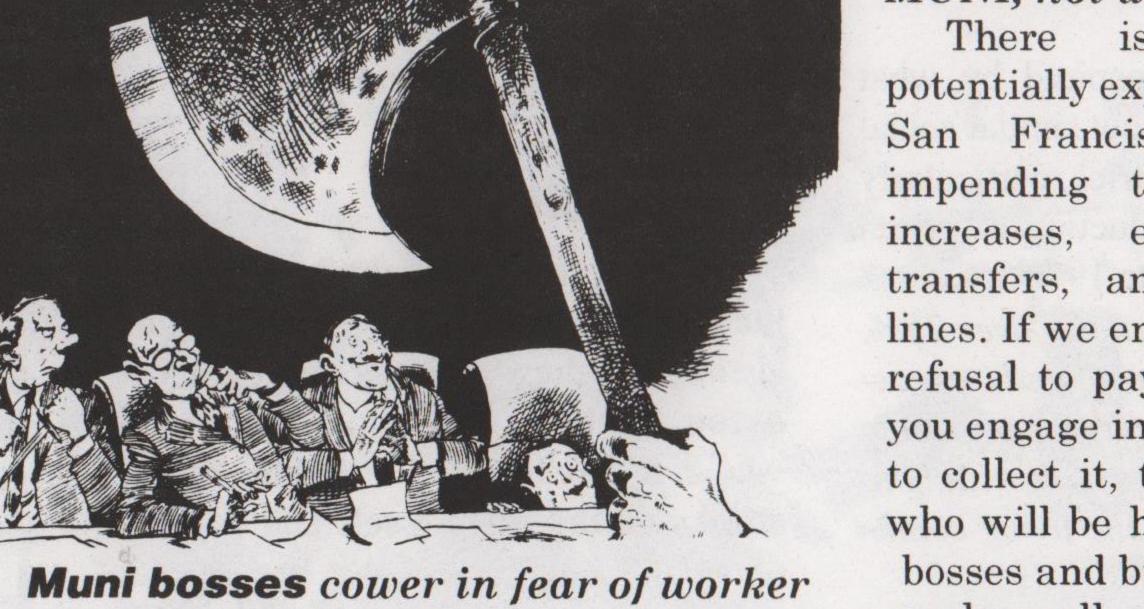
# No fare is fair fare

Today this system is out to crush our living conditions, making us work harder for less pay then work even harder for even less pay, and on and on until well all be living on cardboard mats in doorways somewhere.

Most of us take public transit to get to and from work, the welfare or unemployment office, shopping, etc. Our time on MUNI is part of the time we are forced to sell to our exploiters. *The rich scum who own this* 

city should be paying for MUNI, not us.

There is a lot of potentially explosive anger in San Francisco over the impending threat of fare increases, elimination of transfers, and slashing of lines. If we engage in a mass refusal to pay the fare, and you engage in a mass refusal to collect it, the only people who will be hurt will be the bosses and bureaucrats who make all of our lives miserable. This kind of



**Muni bosses** cower in fear of worker action

have the power to bring the city grinding to a halt. The bosses would be forced to cave in on the fare increase, and theyd have to think very hard before trying to impose mass layoffs and attacking your wages and benefits in 95.

action would make you the heroes of the city. You

Corporate clowns Frank Jordan, Johnny Stein, and the rest of them are trying to make us pay for their budget crisis. Lets return the favor. We shouldnt pay anything to ride public transit. When the system has a crisis, make employers and bureaucrats pay for it! Its not our system its not our crisis.

# The Poor, The Bad And The Angry

They enclosed a copy of their electoral program. It included demands for shorter hours with no loss in pay, part-time work by choice only, and a third point:

"Increase transit funding by a transit assessment district on the downtown. [Getting employers to pay] No fare increase or service cuts."

Their fourth point: "Strength through working class unity and organizing. Unite with riders and other bay area transit unions. Our goal: through education every transit operator to become an organizer."

Many of these goals are valid and

useful, and we debated contacting them, but partly due to time constraints we didn't get around to doing it. We were and still are interested in talking to combative workers who hold what we feel are mistaken ideas about the validity of unions as organizations of working class struggle. But we also knew this particular effort was a project of MUNI workers who are politically allied with or members of the Progressive Labor Party. PL doesn't have much of a public presence today, but in the 1960s they were the most prominent and combative Marxist-Leninist group in the US New Left. Unlike other M-L groups, PL was and is clear on the need for a proletarian revolution that would abolish wage labor, commodity production and national frontiers. However, their model for this allegedly having once existed was the Stalinist Soviet Union of the 1930s and Maoist China in the 1950s. While we are willing to talk to almost anyone under the right conditions, we do not engage in any form of joint action with Stalinist groups, and we are determined to fight for a communist perspective that will eclipse Stalinism, Trotskyism, Maoism,

At the time that we wrote our leaflet to MUNI employees we didn't make specific reference to the union. We didn't know what union officials were up to, and chose not to speak rather than shoot our mouths off without a clear understanding of what was up. We also suspected that we would learn more about the unions' specific police function against MUNI workers as we made

further contacts with drivers. The leaflet was generally received with sympathy from drivers, and drivers frequently asked for a few extra copies to give out to other MUNI employees.

By the middle of the summer we'd received sufficient verbal feedback from MUNI bus drivers to indicate we'd reached a saturation point among the employees of the system.

# The Mass Psychology Of Democracy

Soon after the asshole Frank Jordan announced plans for a fare hike, a series of public meetings were convened in high school auditoriums in various San Francisco neighborhoods. These meetings were excellent examples of how democratic regimes allow their victims to petition the exploiter class to govern them more effectively. At the meeting one of us attended at the Mission High auditorium on March 30th, 1993, the vox populi enabled the stupidest members of the audience to suggest measures more draconian than those initially proposed by the mayor.

Mayor Jordan appeared on the platform with several other city government bureaucrats and entrepreneurs,
their freedom of speech and assembly
guaranteed by nine or ten armed policemen in the lobby and at posts at the
entrances of the auditorium. Jordan's
press secretary Noah Griffin walked
around the audience with a microphone, like on <u>Donahue</u> or <u>Oprah</u>, offering members of the audience a
chance to express their opinions while
the real decisions, of course, were being made off stage.

NOTE: In SF, when you pay the fare, on request, you get a little paper transfer. The hours of the day run up one side of the transfer, the transfer is usually torn by the driver so it is good for around two hours, or two more boardings, whichever comes first. For many years, street people have sold "Late nights" for 25 or 50 cents. These are intact transfers, not torn by the hour and good for the entire day. Books of intact transfers are either ripped off from idled, unat-

VOID IF DETACHED TO BE COLLECTED BY DRIVER SATURDAY VALID UNTIL TIME INDICATED TRANSFER/ FARE RECEIPT 12 10 LATE NIGHT SPECIAL

tended busses, or are sold by MUNI drivers to people who in turn hawk them to riders waiting for the bus at the plazas of BART stations, like 16th and Mission, and at 24th and Mission.

Towards the end of the evening, a number of speakers from the audience

# THE DAY THEY RAISE FARES, OR TAKE AWAY TRANSFERS ...

There is enough potentially explosive anger in San Francisco to derail a fare increase. Most of us have to take public transportation to get to and from work, the welfare office, shopping, etc. Our time on MUNI is part of the time we're forced to sell to our exploiters. The rich scum who own this city should be paying for MUNI, not us.



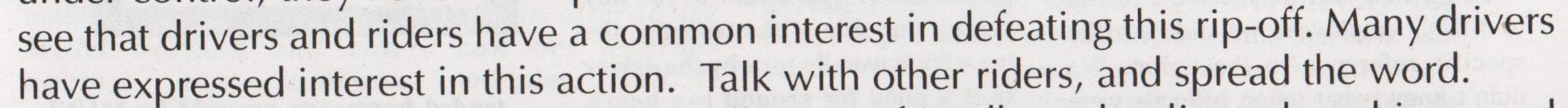
If we all act together, we can make them pay.

A fare hike will be impossible to enforce if MUNI riders and MUNI employees unite in a mass refusal to comply. Politicians' and bosses' power to make our lives more difficult is limited by the degree to which we cooperate with their plans. We'll find our lives greatly improved if we take one of their own commands, throw it back at them, and JUST SAY NO!

In Italy in the 1970s, working class and poor people fought back against newly-inflated prices in what became known as the "self-reduction of prices" movement. In 1978 the bus drivers of Nantes, a large industrial city in northwestern France, staged an on-the-job action with a difference. Instead of walking off the job, bus drivers kept the buses rolling, but "forgot" to collect any fares. The same thing has been done by public transit workers in other places in recent years - in Turin, Italy; Seoul, South Korea; Hanover, Germany; Montreal, Quebec, and Birmingham, Alabama. During a French rail workers' strike in 1987, workers issued a leaflet calling on passengers not to pay fares. Actions of this sort have been called "social strikes" because they avoid the inconvenience or actual hardship to other working-class and poor

people which results from some walk-outs.

Before this goes into effect - talk with MUNI bus drivers, station agents, and train operators. Spread the word about riders and employees coming together against city government and MUNI management. To keep us under control, they have to keep us divided. We need to



The day the new measures take effect - Be friendly and polite to bus drivers and train operators - and pay nothing. Ride for free.

RIDERS - DON'T PAY!

DRIVERS - DON'T COLLECT!

# NO FAREIS FAIR FARE

# The Poor, The Bad And The Angry

denounced the hardships that would result from a 25 cent (and 25%) fare increase. Concerned for the fate of the city government's budget, they demanded more action by the SFPD against sales of stolen bus transfers, and deploring the prospect of a 25% fare increase, these mathematically-challenged suppliants demanded an alternative - that transfers be eliminated altogether. This would result in a 100% fare increase each time a rider boarded MUNI. Given that many MUNI lines were designed with a pattern of transferring from line to line in mind, this would mean that riders coming from outlying working class neighborhoods like Bayview or Excelsior, going downtown to work, to deal with the welfare office and social worker pigs, or shop, and possibly having to transfer two or three times in either direction would face a whopping 400% to 600% MUNI fare increase.

After three more public meetings, the mayor's office announced that the representatives of the people had been swayed by the will of the masses. Instead of jacking up the fare by a quarter, the mayor's office decided to put a measure before the Board of Supervisors proposing the elimination of transfers.

# **Everywhere A Small Party**

At this point we drafted and began putting up copies of an 11 by 17 inch wall poster, Refuse To Pay, aimed at MUNI riders, encouraging mass collective fare shirking. On one or two occasions we had enough people to form two separate wall-postering squads. More often than not we only had enough people to form one postering group. Three or four of us would get together sometime after sundown at a punk rock record store in the Mission District. We'd mix a one pound bag of wallpaper paste into a one gallon bucket of lukewarm water, then go out postering, slapping wallpaper paste on inviting surfaces with a large paint brush. The person carrying the bucket did the brush work, (and ended up wearing a lot of wallpaper paste) the person carrying the posters would pass a poster to the third member of the group, who'd slap the poster into place. We usually scammed 100 to 150 photocopied posters each night before

going out of a photocopy store that has admirably lax security. Going out two to three nights a week, over the course of six to eight weeks we covered streetlight poles, ground level billboards and other spots near bus stops along a number of busy streets in central working class neighborhoods of San Francisco, the Mission District, the Western Addition and Fillmore District, the Tenderloin, areas around key BART stations, around City College and SF State University and to a more limited degree the foot of Market Street in the Financial District. The day after postering one of us would usually check to see if the posters were still up or if they had been trashed by responsible citizens. Except for some reactionary working class alcoholics at McCarthy's bar on Mission Street, for the most part no one messed with the posters. After foggy nights the posters would often still be damp by dawn. But once they had dried they clung to streetlights and walls as if welded into place. After several months of this the posters attained a high degree of visibility along key bus routes in the city, which was gratifying, since this part of our efforts in particular had been bustass hard work. In retrospect we should have covered outlying working class neighborhoods like Hunters Point and Bayview, but there was only so much time, none of us knew those neighborhoods well, and usually only two or three people were willing to show up for postering.

# Pay No Attention To The Man **Behind The Curtain...**

After the Public Utilities Commission and the Board of Supervisors approved the elimination of transfers, the mayors office pushed back the date for the elimination of transfers several times, ultimately deciding that October 1 would be D-day for their attack on MUNI riders.

At the public meeting at Mission High, one of us picked up a copy of a letter from Mayor Jordan distributed to citizens attending the public meetings, thanking attendees for coming, piously reminding citizens that we must all make sacrifices, etc. Using this as a style model, we drafted our fake letter from Jordan. Our version of the letter from

the Mayor graciously included officiallooking fake MUNI transfers, and for that extra added touch of verisimilitude we stamped a meaningless sequence of numbers at the bottom of each transfer, and cut the spaces between the transfers to make them easy to tear off. We photocopied about 600 of the letters from the mayor, and bought a couple of tape guns at an office supply store. The tape guns are the kind used to wrap boxes in mailrooms, UPS, etc.

We wanted to spread as much confusion as possible in the Financial District, so beginning at around 3 pm, the afternoon of Oct. 1st, we started at the foot of Market Street (the main street in that part of town) tape-gunning leaflets one by one next to one another on bum-proof MUNI bus stops, the leaflets forming a belt around the insides and outsides of the glass walls of the stops.

We worked our way up the street. Since the elimination of transfers was the big news that day we attracted a lot of attention. To curious inquires we replied that we were sent by Mayor Jordan's office, and we sang praises to his generosity and concern for the difficulties faced by MUNI riders on the first day of the elimination of transfers. People started taking the transfers. A MUNI operator pulled up alongside of us as we covered a bus stop, she jumped out of the bus, enthusiastically saying, "I'll give em to riders! Give me some!" The complimentary transfers went quickly. We did a MUNI stop on Kearny near Market, then quickly moved on, and looking back from a block away we saw the sidewalk completely blocked by people mobbing the bus stop, going for the fake

We spent several hours covering bus stops in the Financial District this way. At the end of our effort, downtown bus stops were covered by bands of leaflets utterly denuded of their fake transfers and people still reading the letter from Jordan. Towards 6 pm, we were down to our last leaflet, and we tore off three fake transfers for ourselves to ride back to the Mission District. We went to the MUNI underground at Montgomery and tried to give them to the man in the booth, a supervisor, who refused to take them.

Office of the Mayor
San Francisco

FRANK M. JORDAN



# PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT

Dear Fellow San Franciscans,

The Board of Supervisors and I have made some tough decisions lately. These decisions may have adversely affected your ability to use public transportation in San Francisco. Recently, in canvassing members of The Chamber of Commerce, it has come to my attention that the elimination of Muni transfers may be used by many Muni riders as an excuse for tardiness, and even absenteeism in the workplace. I speak for every elected official in The City when I say that we want every employee to be able to get to work on time.

Your cooperation is necessary to make the elimination of transfers possible. As a conciliatory gesture to encourage your future cooperation, we have decided to issue, for the month of October only, free one-day passes. These passes are good for unlimited travel throughout the municipal railway and bus system (BART and cable cars excluded). Please present your free one-day pass to drivers and station agents.

I am deeply grateful for all you give for our great city.

Frank Jordan Mayor

# PLEASE TAKE ONLY ONE

200 CTTY HALL, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIPORNIA 94102
(415) 554-6141

RECYCLED PAPER









# The Poor, The Bad And The Angry

We hiked up Market to Powell Street. Again, we found supervisors staffing the booth instead of the usual MUNI workers. The supervisor in the booth was steamed.

He said: "No way! You guys know you didn't pay for those things! Those are some kind of practical joke!"

Apparently the mayor's office had issued a statement at 5 p.m. that day denying responsibility for the letter and the fake transfers.

This prank concluded our Fall 93 MUNI campaign.

Six months after the elimination of transfers a haphazard and ridiculously complex new fare system proved to be so unworkable that transfers were reinstated, and as of this date (spring 1996) there has been no fare increase on MUNI.

To the best of our knowledge there was no mass self-reduction movement in SF in response to the abolition of transfers. We didn't think that a self-reduction movement would rapidly blow into existence simply in response to our actions. We don't expect to be the leaders of the class struggle. But we do hope that our actions, the actions we're now engaged in and those we intend to pursue in the future will help spread an awareness among the exploited and dispossessed that the needs of proles and the needs of the economy, (the market system, wage slavery, the world of money, buying and selling, those who profit from it) are mutually and violently exclusive, and that mass, collective action must be taken on this basis.

# An Action Against Earth Day At Ohlone Junior College-

A small group of people disrupted the spring '94 Earth Day celebration at Ohlone Junior College in Fremont, California. Fremont is a somewhat racially mixed sleepy suburban town of 300,000 on the southeast shore of the San Francisco Bay.

This action took place in three phases:

1) Local skateboarders and high school students were drawn to the campus by fliers posted around town advertising that a Southern Alameda County

Skateboard Competition would be held at the same time and location as the Earth Day event. Approximately eighty skateboarders showed up, causing much

> San Francisco Examiner, October 10, 1993

VIRTUAL UNREALITY: City Hall has been more unreal than normal lately.

First, there was the phony press release written on Mayor Jordan's letterhead about his alleged desire to help Muni riders survive the elimination of transfers. The release had counterfeit Muni passes attached and sported a faked mayoral signature.

Hizzoner wasn't amused. "You should not be fooled by this chicanery," he admonished in a stern. but real counter-press release.

of the campus authorities and a solitary excitable elderly campus policeman. From ten that morning till around noon the skateboarders and our friends roamed noisily through the terraces of the campus, playing tag with the elderly cop, now joined by other ineffectual security goons. Overwhelmed by hordes of skateboarders, the forces of authority at Ohlone Junior Campus apparently radioed for assistance from Fremont city cops, and soon a police helicopter was spotted, hovering high in the sky above the sight of the event.

Soon many of the skateboarders left, but around twenty remained along with a small group of outside agitators. We reassembled in the central quad area where the Earth Day festivities were being held at around noon.

(2) At noon, our friends brought out a television set. Some ecology weenies, seeing that the television set was going to be destroyed, came to the defense of the TV and seized it. After a protracted tug-of-war we got the TV back, and the television was smashed to pieces with furious skateboard blows. The destruction of the TV set appeared to shock and amaze most of the J.C. students and teachers in the crowd. After this, leaflets were distributed by our friends.

(3) A fatuous liberal college instructor read a statement over a P.A. system. This statement was to the effect that, although capitalism with soon destroy all life on earth, seeing junior college students attending Earth Day events made her feel better about our impending extinction.

After she spoke, one of our group jumped up on the stage and explained our actions: We disrupted Earth Day because Earth Day is an empty gesture. Events like Earth Day serve to hide the fact that capitalist social relations are the reason for the degradation of the planet and of our lives. This statement was unplanned but sufficient for our purposes.

Protest actions like this, in obscure suburbs, are an important step in the fight against capitalism's division of social space into unruly cities and complacent suburbs. Fremont is an especially excellent place for actions of this sort. It is a town filled with large numbers of bored and dissatisfied young people and public protest still has some shock value there

For more details on this action, see An Action Against Earth Day in The Harbinger #3 #127 39120 Argonaut Way, Fremont, CA 94536

# **Bart Stickers**

One evening sometime in 1994, one of us boarded a Bay Area Rapid Transit train in San Francisco and found himself confronted by a new style of anti-fare evasion poster, unlike others we'd seen before. This poster trumpeted the Message FARE IS FARE in large grimly totalitarian block letters, above a more politely and lengthy worded request to "Play fair-Pay your fare." He pulled the poster down off the wall of the car and took it home with him.

Over the course of the next few days we saw these posters, and other posters featuring similar variations on the same stupid theme up on most of the subway cars throughout the BART system. Using their contrasting good cop/bad cop character fonts as our inspiration, we designed our own more clearly worded version of the message in the anti-fare evasion poster. Our sticker aped the contrasting fonts of the anti-fare evasion

poster, and borrowed its slogan from an advertising campaign of the Argentine military dictatorships Dirty War of the 1970s. On the bottom of the poster that had been taken off the BART car, a message exhorting riders to report fare evaders to the nearest station agent had been taped over an earlier message exhorting riders to rat out fare evaders by calling the BART police directly, giving the BART pigs phone number. We included this phone number on our stickers.

We had a print shop make between 1200 and 1300 of the stickers. Friends would slap up a few stickers going to and from work on BART.

One morning, after the morning rush and well before the afternoon rush a small number of people took a large number of stickers and spent several hours systematically altering a large number of posters.

Later that same day an irate BART rider called the phone number on the sticker, 1- (510) 464-7000:

(Bart cop answering phone): "Bart police."

Irate rider: "What's this about you jacking up the fares by fifty percent!?"

Bart cop: "What are you talking about?"

Irate rider: "You got stickers up all over the trains saying you're gonna jack up the fares by fifty percent!"

Bart cop (now pissed off): "This is the Bart police emergency line, do you have an emergency?!"

Irate rider: "Yeah! You're jacking up the fares by fifty percent, I'd say that constitutes an emergency!"

If they were caught before the adhesive backing dried the stickers could be peeled off. But after 30 minutes or so the stickers clung fast, and couldn't be pulled off without trashing the posters.

After about a month and a half or two months we had succeeding in adding our stickers to almost every one of the antifare evasion posters, and for the time being BART management apparently gave up trying to replace altered posters.

BART management also had antifare evasion stickers placed on top of the gates into and out of the paying areas of the system. These stickers were about the same size and had a similar appearance to our stickers, and as such had served as something of a style model for us. We put some stickers over these, though our efforts at this were more desultory than what we did to the posters on the train cars. When our stickers were removed they tended to remove the underlying anti-fare evasion stickers, too.

No BART fare increase was known to be in the works at the time we did the stickers. To highlight the ridiculous qualities of BART management's anti-

fare evasion propaganda we wildly overestimated the likely size of a BART fare increase, pulling the 50% figure out of a hat. But as it turns out, at the beginning of 1995 BART bureaucrats decided to go for a 45% fare hike over the course of the next three years. Did they get the idea from us, or what?! The absurdities of contemporary capitalist austerity and repression are so pronounced that they tend to escape our ability to lampoon them.

# Gloria La Riva For Sheriff Of San Francisco!

Among the candidates for governor of California in the November 1994 elections was an ersatz Socialist candidate, Gloria La Riva. La Riva is one of the leading cadre of a group called the Workers World Party. Workers World is a hybrid of Stalinism and Trotskyism, politically situated somewhere between the pro-Moscow Communist Party and the Fidel Castro groupies of the Socialist Workers Party. The WWP combine social democratic political activity (running Socialist candidates for office, organizing tightly controlled leftist demos, etc.) with long distance cheerleading for state-capitalist regimes like the former Soviet Union and Cuba.

From an anti-Klan/anti-cop riot in Washington DC on Nov. 27, 1982 to numerous street actions in Berkeley and

# OUR SOCIETY IS INSANE

You will be exploited as much as you are willing to cooperate with your exploiters' plans. As the world market economy crushes your living standards, rebellious activity tends to break out more frequently.

Your corporate masters would appreciate it if you would become police informants. Please rat out those you see riding without paying.

America is a free country. That's why you have to pay for everything. Our society is insane. So orders must be obeyed without question.

Bart General Manager Frank Wilson and his gambling partner Nello Bianco are pleased to announce that BART will be increasing fares by up to 50%. Please show your support by calling

510-464-7000

# SO ORDERS MUST BE OBEYED WITHOUT QUESTION



# LA RIVA FOR SHERIFF OF SAN FRANCISCO!

Gloria Estela La Riva is a fighting militant of the Workers World Party. You've probably seen us in action at major demonstrations - providing leadership by having the loudest loudspeaker system, and aiding the Tac Squad in weeding out undisciplined protesters. From San Francisco to Washington D.C., in big city demonstrations coast-to-coast, the Workers World Party has taken responsibility as unpaid police auxiliaries. We've been there-and we know how to get the job done!

Extremists and provocateurs claim that socialism means rule by social workers, but we say it means rule by police and social workers!

Throughout the 20th century, all progressive peoples have fought for compulsory labor for the poor- JOBS ARE A RIGHT!

Capitalists call for police for the few - we call for police for the many!

Our leftist politics are those of Ceausescu and Castro, Kim-Il-Sung and Lavrenti Beria - A pantheon of glory! We supported the massacre in Tienammen Square and the repression of social unrest in Poland in 1981.

Throughout the twentieth century, people like Gloria have used socialist and populist jargon to extend the domination of wage labor everywhere. We can do the same here!

It's time to recognize the historically progressive social function of the left - We know how to police the working class.

Give Gloria a shot at the job! Police Before Profits!

PARTIAL LIST OF ENDORSERS:

Supervisor Terence Hallinan, Supervisor Carole Migden, Reverend Cecil Williams, Glide Memorial Church and senior advisor to the San Francisco Police Department, Officers for Justice, Communist Party of Albania (exiled), Freedom Socialist Party, Democratic Socialists of America, CP-USA, PC-USA, Social Workers Party, Reese Erlich, League of Counter-revolutionary Struggle, Gorbachev Clubs USA, Communist Party (Kautskyist-Leninist), Knights Templar, Paul Dumpster, Amalgamated Toxic Waste Workers USA, AFL-CIO Local 666, Working (really hard) Assets

San Francisco, including the Rodney King riots in SF, we and many of our friends have seen the so-called Workers World Party sending its parade monitors into the street to divide and repress outbreaks of rioting and rowdy actions at demonstrations. For example, their cadre have often pointed their fingers at people throwing rocks at the cops while shouting "He's a provocateur!" In the classic manner of 20th century Leninism-Stalinism, these clowns try to outflank the action faction every chance they get. They don't just have bad politics; they have consistently acted to jeopardize the safety of combative demonstrators and rioters. Thus we respond to them in the terms they deserve.

We got La Riva's photo from the State of California's voter information pamphlet. We wallpaper-pasted the poster along a few of the main streets of the Mission District, outside of polling places, etc.

Our poster says most of what there is to say about La Riva and Co. When dealing with capitalism's bureaucratic pseudo-opposition we find that to clearly attribute to them the opinions they profess is often the worst thing you can say about them. And humor is one of the most powerful weapons of revolutionary anti-capitalist propaganda.

"From a negative point of view, any critique which helps destroy the mystifying apology of capital made by the state, the left, the official Communist Parties or the extreme left, is also a communist act, whether it is a speech, a text, or an act. Theoretical activity is practical. There are no theoretical concessions to be made."

Jean Barrot, Eclipse and Re-emergence of the Communist Movement

### **Black Bart Rides Again**

Late in 1994, it became apparent that a strike by BART workers might take place. We drafted the BART ATTACK #2 leaflet, #1 having been distributed to BART workers under similar circumstances in the summer of '91 (see PBA #1, available in photocopied form from us for \$3). We distributed the leaflet to train operators in our now usual manner, by having two groups of people at each end of the platform of the MacArthur

BART Station in Oakland. All the trains in the system go through this station, and in the course of a few hours we were able to get leaflets to all the train operators working one afternoon commute period. The leaflet went through a series of revisions as we got more information and as events unfolded. We also went from station to station giving the leaflet to station agents. The leaflet was well-received by train operators and somewhat less well received by station agents. After another round or two of leafleting, BART employees told us that the leaflets had been reproduced on BART photocopiers and left in employees mailboxes at work.

We knew from our previous efforts that MUNI workers in SF were hopping mad at management, and we rode busses in SF, talking to drivers to get useful info for a slightly revised version of the leaflet. We suggested to MUNI workers that they could use a BART strike as an opportunity to stage a wildcat walkout around their own demands and grievances and in support of BART strikers. In the course of our conversations, and in talking to people we know who work for BART we discovered that MUNI management was planning to run special BART Express busses on Market and Mission Streets getting MUNI drivers to scab on BART employees and help break their strike. So we distributed a slightly revised version to MUNI bus drivers and streetcar operators in San Francisco, making an issue of the plans for scabbing. As always, we used this context to attack the unions as organizations of wage workers' atomization and defeat; the unions are enemies of union members in particular and of the working class as a whole.

A BART employee we became acquainted with in the course of our efforts later told us that the union representing MUNI drivers had been told by drivers that they would refuse to go along with plans to scab on a BART strike, and he credited our actions with having brought this about. It was gratifying to hear that at least one aspect of our efforts had borne fruit.

Several of us rode trains before the morning commute hour a few days in advance of the possible date of the strike

BART FLU?
This job? Wouldn't makes me sick! it be terrible to take a few days off?

Sick of a dull, boring job?
Tired of being pitted against
people just like you to make
parasitic, asshole bosses rich?

Do yourself a favor. In the event of a BART strike, call in sick the first day of the strike and everyday after as long as the strike lasts. Avoid traffic hassles.

you'll be glad you did it.

and taped our (8.5 x 11 inch) BART FLU flyer over ads on the trains, hoping to encourage an effective widening of a BART strike into a wildcat walkout by thousands of atomized proles.

Before the strike, SEIU, Local 790 and Amalgamated Transit Workers Union, Local 1555 issued a <u>BART rider bulletin</u>, offering commuters tips on how to undercut the effectiveness of a walkout by BART employees. And when the time came, the unions devious and chickenshit maneuverings resulted in acceptance of a lousy giveback contract by BART workers. At that time as well, a number of combative workers were forced out of various positions in the union apparatus.

Many BART workers were pissed off at the concessionary contract, and one issued a leaflet on E-mail, titled Stop The Sellouts. A few months after BART management's successful attack on BART employees it became evident that a major BART fare increase was in the works. We used information about the raw deal that management and their union waterboys had run on BART employees in our Bart Crimes leaflet

# **To The Richmond Station**

Our <u>Bart Crimes</u> leaflet mimicked the name and appearance of an asinine news letter BART management distributed from plastic slots mounted on fare gates in stations. We began by leafleting the last two of a series of public meetings

BART ATTACK #2

BART workers are under attack. Whether its the 30-day cooling off period called by Governor Wilson or the 60-day cooling off period preferred by union bureaucrats, BART management and their friends want a "cooling off" period for BART employees'sense of self-respect. These delays are efforts to shoehorn BART workers into accepting an "offer" from management that will pave the way for more humiliating measures — and a major attack on BART workers' wages, benefits and jobs in the near future.

The news media have reminded viewers and readers that BART carries more than a quarter million riders daily, the majority of them to jobs they hate. TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS...

# STEPS TO TAKE TO TURN THE TABLES

—Talk to employees of other transit companies, especially AC Transit in the East Bay and MUNI in San Francisco. MUNI employees are at the boiling point, and will soon be facing the same kind of standoff with management when their contract comes up for negotiation next year.

—Raise the prospect of joint action with other transit workers now. If BART workers go on strike, employees of other transit companies should stage actions in solidarity with BART workers, up to and including a full-scale wildcat walkout. MUNI workers have an immediate interest in supporting BART workers — MUNI workers are going to get the shaft in '95. If management sees that transit workers won't take it, they'll cave in — they'll have to. Without you, the economy of the entire Bay Area will grind to a halt. If you accept a defeat, other transit workers will come next.

— Use BART phones and fax machines to contact Los Angeles transit workers. They walked out on July 25th. Express solidarity with their struggle by refusing to be fooled by BART management.

— It's not in BART employees' interest to enforce the payment of fares. Let riders

on for free. It's a great way to make allies. Look the other way when people jump the gate or piggyback in and out of the system. During a French rail workers' strike in 1987, strikers issued leaflets calling on passengers not to pay fares. During a recent job action by public transit workers in Seoul, South Korea, millions of passengers were allowed to ride for free. Let Dick White and Pete Wilson pick up the tab.

—Spread the idea among BART riders that when you go on strike, everyone who rides BART should call in sick to work, and keep calling in sick for the duration of the strike. There are literally tens of thousands of wage workers in the Bay Area who hate their jobs and would be happy to go along with a suggestion of this sort.

The news media have acted against your interests by referring to your future strike action as an "inconvenience" to commuters. Instead of freeway traffic hassles, hundreds of thousands of wage workers, many of them just as exploited and angry as you are, can take a wildcat vacation at their bosses' expense. This would bring extra pressure on BART management to settle the dispute on your terms.

Ask people who ride BART to call in sick in the event of a strike. Vast numbers of pissed off working people are likely to be on your side. Many will call in sick. This is a good way to break the isolation that the news media is attempting to impose on you.

The unions that supposedly represent your best interests in the conflict with management are already acting to undercut your position.

SEIU Local 790 and Amalgamated Transit Workers Union, Local 1555 issued a "BART rider bulletin" that gave phone numbers for obtaining "alternative transportation information". This undercuts the effectiveness of a possible BART strike. Stunts like this typify the way labor unions stab their members in the back. The unions only goal is to get a chunk of your paycheck. The size of that paycheck is always negotiable to them. Timid actions by union functionaries hold you back and rob you of

the leverage you need to win. Take direct, collective action outside of and against the control of the unions.

Working class people in the United States today face some of the worst working and living conditions found in any of the wealthier industrialized countries. Key to this fact is that for the past ten years relatively few workdays have been lost to strike actions. Bosses and their allies in the unions depend on employees being docile and willing to accept any attacks that management has to offer. A loyal and obedient working class is a defeated working class. It's time to turn this around.

The system that rules the world today needs our compliance in its plans for our exploitation and total impoverishment. This system depends on our atomization and passivity. A major strike by BART employees could reverse attacks by employers and the state on the living standards of all working class and poor people. Victory in a strike could set an important precedent for the near future.

Cooperating with the system, and with attempts by the unions to prevent solidarity actions, leads in one direction only—to lower wages, worse working conditions, and eventual unemployment. If you don't want to end up stuck in a \$6 an hour shit-job doing temp work in the Financial District, or flipping burgers at Wendies for \$5 an hour—

TAKE ACTION NOW.

WHEN YOU ACT IN YOUR OWN
INTEREST, YOU ACT IN THE INTERESTS OF OTHER WORKING CLASS
AND POOR PEOPLE AS WELL

"We've labored long, We've labored hard for honor, fame and riches but on our corns too long you've tread you overpaid sons of bitches"

BLACK BART, 19th Century stagecoach robber with a critique of the masstransit system of his day

Please use BART photocopiers to spread copies of this leaflet

# BARTCMACS

PUBLISHED BY BLACK BART

# No Fare Is Fair

Plans for a 15% April Fools Day BART fare hike are an attack on the living standards of most people who ride BART. BART management boasts that they haven't jacked up fares since 1986. But for more than ten years, average wages have not kept pace with the cost of living. Under current plans, standard ticket prices are going to go up 40% or more in the next three years, and senior, handicapped and youth tickets will go up from \$1.60 to \$4.00, a 250% increase for those least able to pay.

BART bureaucrats claim they need more money to pay for rehabilitation of facilities and recent extensions to the BART system. But BART managers find substantial amounts of money when they really want to. BART has the highest percentage of managers to employees of any public transit system in the country. BART maintains an entire parallel level of management whose only purpose is to break possible strikes. In 1994, 84 BART managers made more than \$80,000 per year, and 22 of these made more than \$100,000. Thus the top 84 bureaucrats took home more than \$7.7 million.



BART riders before mass resistance begins

BART management claims that a fare hike will go to "increased system-wide security." In other words, the fare increase will go to pay BART cops to make sure that we pay the fare increase.

In addition, BART management, with the aid of the unions, has recently extracted significant benefit and pay cuts from those least able to afford them, BART workers. Under the terms of the recent contract, BART workers are stuck with:

- \$25 per month co-pay, plus \$5 deductibles for medicine and medical visits
- A two-tier wage structure; at the end of three years, new hires will be paid 10% less while doing the same work. This is a \$6 million giveback
- And pay increases locked at a lousy 2% level for the next three years; with inflation this is a 6% pay cut

Having successfully attacked BART employees with this give back contract, BART management is now attacking BART riders with a fare increase.

Having to pay for mass transit is like having a parking meter mounted on the inside door of a jail cell. Mass transit is not a privilege. Mass transit is necessary because corporations and bosses need a way for their wage slaves to get to work.

BART management is painfully aware of something most BART riders don't know; their ability to impose a fare increase depends on our passively going along with their plans. BART fares rise based on how much BART management feels it can force people to pay. In a related recent episode, SF mayor Frank Jordan and Muni transit bureaucrats were forced to back down altogether on their attempt to raise fares and eliminate transfers in 1993 and '94. This was due to individual and collective resistance from riders and Muni employees.

The anger of BART workers at the recent giveback contract and the anger of BART riders at being squeezed for increased fares can come together to prevent a fare increase and to form the basis of future common action.

What we can do:

### Riders:

- Talk to the BART employees you see every day the station agents and train drivers. Discuss your common grievances against BART management, and possible common actions.
- Suggest to station agents that they should let BART riders in and out of the system for free. This is a frequent method of struggle used in France, Italy and South Korea, among otherplaces.
- Get together with friends and co-workers to do your own fare reduction. Go in and out through the gate or over the turnstiles in large numbers.

### BART employees:

- You can get back at management by letting other wage workers and poor people ride BART without paying. You have nothing to gain from riders paying fares. Look the other way when people don't pay.
- To avoid being screwed over by management and the unions the next time there is a contract dispute, begin talking now with other transit workers (AC, Muni, SamTrans, etc.) to establish direct, person-to-person contacts outside of and against the control of the unions and BART management. Start doing it now instead of waiting for the moment of crisis. Only self-organization can prevent rip-offs like the last contract.

"I've labored long, I've labored hard for honor, fame and riches but on my corns too long you've tread you fine-haired sons of bitches."

Black Bart\*

\* One hundred years ago, Black Bart was a poet and stagecoach robber with a critique of the public transit system of his day. He only took from Wells Fargo and never harmed drivers or riders.

Time spent getting to and from work is time stolen from us by bosses. And we're not even getting paid for it! Come Saturday, April 1st the price to get to and from work is going up 15%! Cowardly and devious BART bureaucrats are planning to have the increase go into affect on April 1st, a Saturday—one of the days with the lowest number of riders. But mass actions on Friday, March 31st, and continuing on from that date, can be a major step in sinking the fare increase.

# On Friday, March 31st Everyone Ride For Free!

On April 1st BART Fares Are Going Up 15%:
Who'll Be The Fool?
BART Workers & Riders Together,
Defy The Increase!
Let Employers Foot The Bill!

The 40% fare increase planned by BART management over the next 3 years is not an isolated event. It is part of an on-going war waged by the capitalist class against wage workers and the poor.

Everywhere we look we see examples of the rich shifting the costs of daily existence—and reproduction of the labor force—onto the working class: cutbacks in education, health, public assistance, public transit; lay-offs; wage and benefit decreases, massive university tuition increases... At the same time, we see a massive extension of the repressive powers of the state—more cops, more prisons, more people in jail in proportion to the general population than in any other country in the world.

The corporate media treats these developments as if they were caused by natural forces. Not true. They are the product of human constructed capitalist social-economic forces that can be changed and dismantled by human beings.

We live in a world dominated by capitalist social relations. Due to technological advances (particularly in telecommunications and shipping) capital is more mobile than ever before. The exploiting class that controls the economy is able to use this in-

BART General Manager
Dick White looks forward to your
cooperation with the impending fair hike

creased power as leverage to make more and more demands. If we don't go along with their plans for making our lives worse (i.e. accept pitiful wages & benefits, lax environmental and safety regulations, low business taxes, and infrastructure subsidies) they tell us they'll invest elsewhere. We've all heard it before.

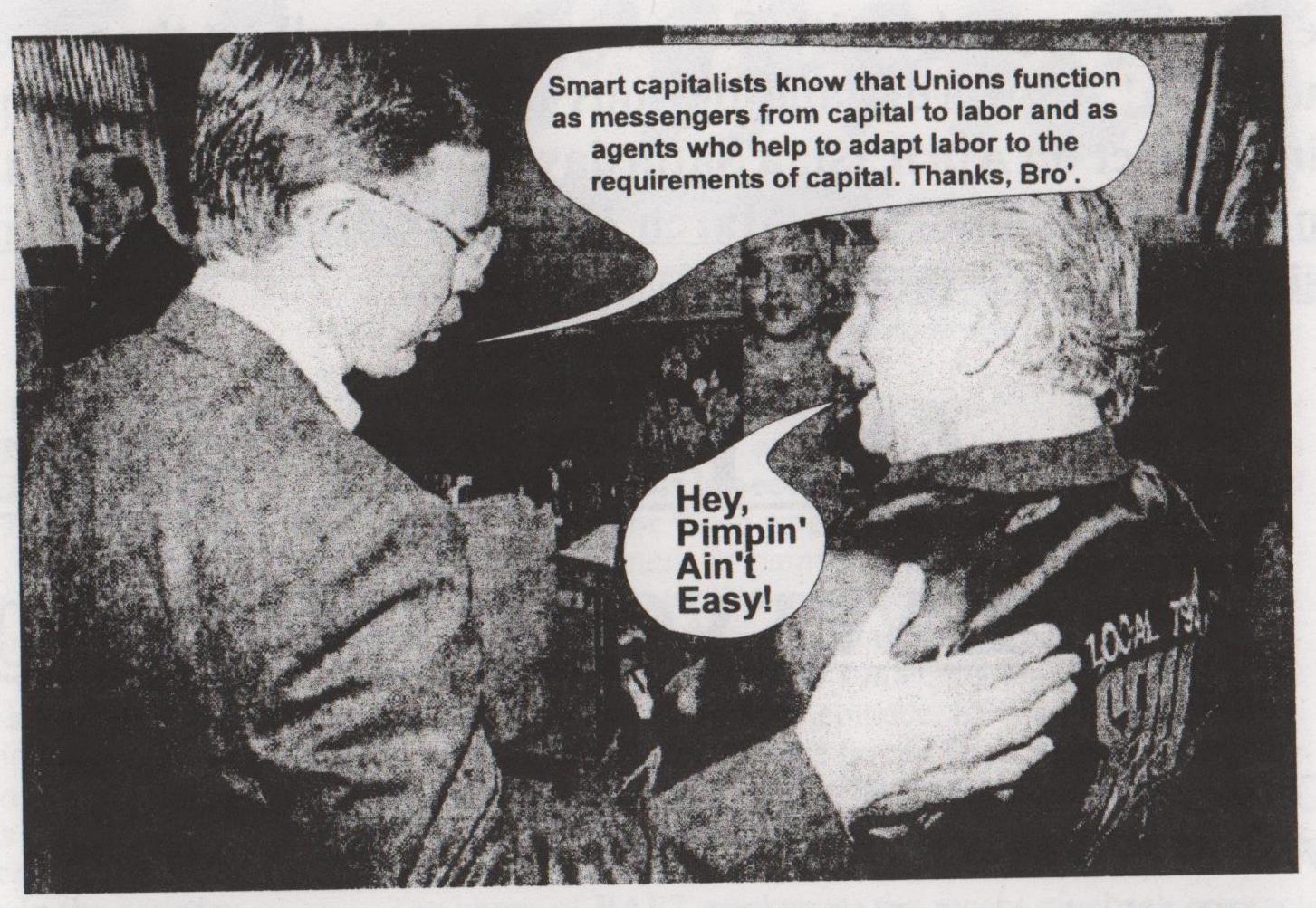
Real power doesn't come from the voting booth. Our only real source of power is through common action. This is becoming increasingly clear. The economy is capable of absorbing all forms of dissent that don't actually impede its functioning. What the economy can't so easily deal with is direct mass rebellion.

The bottom line is that employers and corporations in the Bay Area need BART so that wage slaves can get to work. If we all refuse to pay, they'll run the trains anyway.

held by BART bureaucrats in SF's Chinatown and at BART headquarters near Lake Merritt in Oakland. The meeting in Chinatown was attended by three bureaucrats and two riders. The meeting at BART headquarters was attended by fifty or sixty irate BART riders and a half dozen functionaries. It was entertaining to see the BART bureaucrats, seated in front of their audience, looking over the leaflet and furtively whispering to each other.

Subsequently we managed to scam a source of unlimited free photocopying and leafleted riders during the afternoon commute period at stations in San Francisco's Mission District and at Balboa Park, at Berkeley, in Oakland at MacArthur and at the Richmond Station. We did this two or three days a week for three weeks prior to the April Fools Day beginning of the fare hike. Also we went onto empty trains before the morning commute period, from 5:45 to 7:00 AM, moving from car to car leaving leaflets on the seats of trains.

One morning while leafleting empty train cars we ran into a BART janitor, holding a large transparent garbage bag in which we saw a bunch of our leaflets. This unpleasant sight prompted us to leaflet trains during the main period of the morning commute, moving from car to car giving leaflets directly to passengers. Our unexpected activity on the trains seemed to offer an abrupt interrup-



Bart General Manager Dick White finds common ground with an SEIU official

tion of the stupefaction and somnolence of the morning commute. Between surfing the trains at dawn and leafleting afternoon commuters exiting stations by Friday March 31st we had distributed around 20,000 leaflets, our first experience in industrial strength leafleting. Friendly BART employees faxed the leaflets around the BART system to other BART workers.

In the final week of March we photocopied a wallposter-sized version of the leaflet and wallpaper-pasted these up around a number of stations. A friend helped draft a press release. This was faxed to a number of the local bourgeois news media outlets.

We've been giving out our letter to BART station agents. And we've had various forms of pro - fare evasion paraphernalia printed up.

### A Few Conclusions:

Our efforts have aimed at breaking down corporatist attitudes, the division of exploited people into wage workers and non wage-earning, the badly paid and the slightly less badly paid, unionized and non-unionized.

Lead Article Oakland Tribune, March 31 1995

# New BART rates hit this weekend

By Lisa Stone-Norman STAFF WRITER

OAKLAND - On the eve of BART's first fare increase in nine years, a group of angry BART riders is urging passengers and BART employees to collaborate against a 15 percent hike that goes into effect Saturday.

Friends of Black Bart, as the group calls itself, has canvassed BART stations and trains with thousands of fliers exhorting passengers to try to ride for free by appealing to station clerks.

In turn, BART employees should "look the other way when people

which borrows its name from 19th century stagecoach robber Black Bart, argues that employers should pay mass transit fares incurred by "wage slaves."

"I have seen that. I have tried to ignore it," said Jayne Faria, president of Amalgamated Transit Union 1555, which represents BART's 600 drivers, foreworkers and station clerks.

"That would be a violation of our job duties and our responsibilities. We will not do that," Faria said.

Saturday's 15 percent fee hike is the first of three that will boost

don't pay," said the flier. The fares 45 percent over the next three years. The current minimum 80cent fare will rise to 90 cents Saturday, to \$1 on April 1, 1996, and to \$1.10 the following year.

> The effect of the increase on ticket prices is linked to trip length: While traveling from downtown Oakland to Berkeley will cost only a dime more beginning Saturday, the current maximum \$3 fare between Fremont and Daly City will rise to \$3.45. That fare will jump again on April 1, 1996, to \$3.90, and to \$4.40 in 1997.

> > Please see Fare, A-13

# **Baseball strike** talks improve

The baseball strike moved a bit closer to a settlement Thursday night, but it was still uncertain whether the season would start this weekend with replacement players — or if at all.

Details on A-13

# The Poor, The Bad And The Angry

We've tried to make it clear that the degree to which market relations dominate daily life is the degree to which life becomes more oppressive and degraded, and the degree to which we go outside of and against market relations is the degree to which our lives can improve.

Contemporary capitalism works to get everyone, no matter how impoverished and fucked over, to internalize the mindset of the entrepreneur and the cop.

The contemporary capitalist project of increasing surveillance and control of social space can be turned on its head by a mass refusal to cooperate on the part of wage workers and the poor; employees of mass transit systems are in a crucial position in this regard and have a greater potential power than other wage workers. No matter how sophisticated the technology, the human element can sabotage and subvert the machine.

To play by the system's rules is a guarantee that we will lose. Notions like fair play, appeals to justice and democratic rights, leaving it up to the union apparatus and assuming that the law is there to help are false notions, ideological obstacles to the emergence of class consciousness and class action.

BART 'attacks' the poor

The April Fool's Day 15 percent BART fare hike - part of a 45 percent increase over the next two years - is not just an isolated, arbitrary inconvenience. It is part of an across-theboard series of attacks on the living standards of working and poor people.

Last year, BART management, with the aid of the unions, forced a give-back contract on BART workers. Now, BART management is going after BART riders. The fare hike is an overwhelming burden for hundreds of thousands of working class and poor people in the Bay Area.

ANDY PANNEKOEK San Francisco

Heavily edited version of our letter to local newspapers, published in the San Francisco Examiner, Friday, April 7th, 1995

"Cheating" on subway fares and "stealing" from the system that exploits us and degrades the world is an affirmative act.

The first stage of the BART fare hike has been implemented, but that isn't the end of the fight.

Perhaps most importantly of all, we've used what Corporate America and its media apparatus present as a seemingly mundane inconvenience as a hook for getting an anti-capitalist analysis of the world out to many thousands of proletarians who otherwise wouldn't hear it.

In all this we've kept our language accessible and disdained to conceal our aims. We haven't soft-peddled our message. We've been completely upfront about our hatred of work and market relations, our hatred for bosses, managers, the unions, the government and the

In South Africa, "Riding public trains for free and refusing to pay rent... were once seen as legitimate protests [against] apartheid.

"Now the 'culture of non-payment' has become ingrained among the impoverished black majority, despite attempts to erase it by the black-led government that took over in historic all-race elections in 1994." USA Today, August 1, 1996



# The Macedonian Question and The War in Former Yugoslavia in Historical Perspective

by Lacenaire

This article is from the publication, Ta Paidia Tis Galarias #3, produced by revolutionaries in Athens, Greece. It analyzes the roots of the current conflict in the Balkans.

Everywhere and nearly everyday, we see proof that the propaganda of the ruling classes does not rely solely on its hired band of lackeys (media scum and academics), but is also reinforced by the confusing ideologies of the ruling class self-proclaimed enemies. The rulers' power lies in their skill in stuffing their slaves with words to the point of making them the slaves of their words, as Vaneigem once said. And he was right.

During 1992 and 1993 there was much political debate between Greek and (Slav) Macedonian bureaucracies upon the name, the constitution and the symbols of the new Macedonian state. Two large nationalist demonstrations were held by the major political parties in Greece in order to put pressure on the European Economic Community (EEC) bureaucracy to stop backing our neighboring nation-states' claims on the name Macedonian. The first one took place in February 92 in Thessaloniki and the second one in Athens in December 92. Over one million people took part in them (that means one in ten Greeks) and apart from the Trotskyists and some other Leninists who opposed the demonstrations, agitating for the right of (Slav) Macedonia to self-determination - a bourgeois statist concept derived from Lenin, which cost them harsh persecutions on the part of the Law - few antiauthoritarian groups managed to confront nationalist propaganda, at least on theoretical terms. The majority of so-called anti-authoritarians and anarchists, never having inquired seriously into the complex and real interconnection between representative democracy,

nation-state, army and wage system found themselves agitating for anti-militarist and, simultaneously, pro-nationalist ideas! The reason of this confused state of mind is to be found in the fact that people - anti-authoritarians being no exception to this - have constantly conceived of themselves and their relationships within the framework of the ruling ideas of their epoch; ideas of God, or normality, of nationality, etc. To paraphrase Marx and Gabel, nationalist ideology is an ideology of the ruling class that tends to give rise to a pseudo-history out of people's false consciousness of their daily lives. This pseudo history, instead of explaining the Greeks through history, explains history through the Greeks. The nationalist pseudo-historical method consists of theoretical crystallizations that rest on the continuous repetition of familiar, fixed signs and on the remembrance of historical events interpreted metaphysically. We need to debunk this ideology whose starting point is the reified notion of the nation related to as a living individual.

# **History As A Nightmare**

According to [Greek] nationalist ideology there are no indigenous minority ethnic groups in Greece. Whenever one indignantly points them out, this is what the lackeys answer back: They are real Greeks, who someone, somehow, sometime were converted to another religion or language or they are just peasants who are behind the times, not yet completely integrated into civilization. One of these non-existent ethnic groups are the Slav-Macedonians living, or according to the bureaucrats, supposed to live in northern Greece. Their politically correct name is bilingual Greeks. According to official historiography they were among those fighters that liberated Macedonia - this

sacred place of Hellenism for over 3,000 years - from the domination of Turks and Bulgarians. Inventing myths is an expensive hobby and some people, whether they like it or not, will have to foot the bill. Slav-Macedonians became our compatriots by anything but peaceful means. Even Evangelos Kofos, a representative of the Greek states foreign policy, admitted during the 60s, that the dictatorial government in 1936, for one, had adopted a policy of forced assimilation: In a series of administrative measures, the Slavophones were forbidden to speak their Slavonic dialect in public, and deportations to the islands assumed a non-discriminatory character. Those Slavophone peasants called themselves Makedontsi, a word with a regional rather than national connotation. Ethnologically speaking, they are kin to the Slav-speakers of the former Yugoslav Macedonia.

Before being turned into a battleground for competing nationalist scum, Macedonia was just a geographical entity, part of the Ottoman Empire. This ethnologically mixed region, which included Kosovo, was mainly inhabited by Turkish and Albanian Muslims and Orthodox Slavs, Greeks and Wallachs. According to Hilmi Pashas census (1904) the Orthodox Greek-speakers of Macedonia constituted 10% of the entire population, while in Aegean Macedonia, which nowadays is part of the Greek state, 30% of the population were Greekspeakers, 30% Slav-speakers, 30% Muslims and 10% Vlachs, Jews, Gypsies and others. It's obvious that prior to the nationalist wars for Macedonia in the early 20th century, the identity of the inhabitants was determined by religion, and to a lesser degree, language.



The ecclesiastical dispute that broke out in the 1860s between the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Bulgarian Exarchate was soon transformed into a nationalist confrontation between Greeks and Bulgari-On the one hand, Greek nationalists, fearing that the neutral attitude of the Ecumenical Patriarchate towards nationalist disputes could not serve their goals, sought to Hellenize the institution of the Church in Macedonia. On the other hand, by the early 1890s a narodnik group, known as IMRO (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization), advocating a peasant uprising against Ottoman administrators and landowners, was founded by Slavspeaking democrat federalist intellectuals. According to the Articles, the aims of the organization were to gather into one entity all discontented elements in Macedonia and the area of the Aegean, regardless of nationality, in order to achieve, by means of revolution, complete political autonomy for these areas. From the very beginning, IMRO came into direct opposition to the Bulgarian Church and the most chauvinist Bulgarians in Sofia who tried to bring them under their own control.

After the Ilinden peasant uprising organized by the Slav revolutionaries in 1903,4 the Greek state reacted to a possible escalation of the Slav-Macedonian uprising and the Bulgarian propaganda.

# Scenes from Parliamentary life In Greece

They formed numerous armed gangs and sent them to Macedonia where they cooperated with the Turkish army and the great landowners against the Bulgarian and Slav-Macedonian bands as well as the poor peasants who were mostly indifferent in nationalist disputes. During the Macedonian Struggle (1904-1908), the Bulgarian and the Greek gangs tried to Hellenize or Bulgarize the Christian population violently. According to Kofos, terrorism in Macedonia was the culmination of a quarter of century of conflicting nationalist propaganda in a region whose peoples had, more or less, no formulated national consciousness, but were guided by the expediency of the moment and the instinct for self-preser-

We know from the memoirs of the fighters of the Macedonian Struggle that a certain faction of the Patriarchal clergy contributed greatly to the nationalist struggles. Under duress or under threat of ecclesiastical anathema, the Slav population of Macedonia was changing from Bulgarian to Greek from one day to the next. Greek nationalist ideology found itself in more favorable conditions, since a large section of the Christian peasant population of Macedonia, especially in the central and southern areas, were loyal to the Ecumenical Patriarchate, a religious institution of the

Byzantine and the Ottoman Empires, which, although a supranational organization, was under the control of a Greekspeaking hierarchy and had never ceased to be a vehicle of the Greek language, which was the official language whereby Christian ideology had been spread through the centuries.

Nationalist use of Christianity in Europe; it's always the same story! "All the members of the clergy," Mirabeau declared in the National Assembly in Paris in August 1789, "are merely officials of the state. The service of the clergy is a public function; just as the official and the soldier, so also the priest, is a servant of the nation." Rudolf Rocker was right in regarding national consciousness and national citizenship as a political confession of faith. "National states," he wrote in 1933, "are political church organizations; the socalled national consciousness is not born in man, but trained into him. It is a religious concept; one is a German, a Frenchman, an Italian, just as one is a Catholic, a Protestant, or a Jew."

"When the great war comes, Macedonia will become Greek or Bulgarian according to who the winner is. If it is occupied by Bulgarians, they will render the population into Slavs.

If we occupy it, we will Hellenize them all till Eastern Rumelia."

Harilaos Trikoupis, Prime Minister of Greece, at several times between 1875 and 1893.

The fate of Macedonia was decided during the Balkan Wars (1912-13), when the concerted efforts of the Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian armies managed to end Ottoman rule in the European provinces of the Turkish Empire. Since there were no prior negotiations concerning the drawing of the lines of their future territorial settlement in Macedonia, the three powers were determined to grab as much territory as they could and embrace any opportunities resulting from the military or diplomatic situation. By the end of the wars Serbia and Greece had hit the jackpot in Macedonia, since Bulgaria had paid more attention to the Thracian Front where it beat the Turkish army almost completely, a fact that turned the great European powers against it.

After a series of treaties from 1913 to 1920, Bulgaria annexed 10% of the Macedonian territory, while Serbia and Greece annexed 38% and 52% respectively. The Greek state not only had the lion's share, occupying rural territories where no Greek-speaking population could be found, but it also succeeded in conquering the most advanced financial centers in Macedonia.

The compulsory exchange of the Greek-speaking and the Slav-speaking population of eastern Macedonia between Greece and Bulgaria in 1920 as well as the dramatic transfer of a million, mostly Greek-speaking, Christians from Turkey to Greece and 350,000 Muslims from Macedonia to Turkey, under the treaty of Lausanne in 1923, marked the final stages in the national bureaucracies' efforts' to organize ethnic-linguistic and cultural homogeneity in their newly constructed cages.

So, the notorious Eastern Question ended: in blood and tears... Thousands of Greeks, Turks, and Slavs died in the refugee shanty towns away from their native lands. Nevertheless, every cloud has a silver lining! The refugees and soldiers who survived the wars were

given full citizenship and became small landholders or a cheap labor force. Once the nation-states in the Balkans had, in one way or another, been formed and the agrarian reforms and the new labor markets had come into operation, one could have supposed that from then on capitalism would start functioning peacefully. However, this was not to be, since nationalist ambitions and the lower classes' demands had in no way been satisfied, at least as far as Slav-Macedonians (or Croats) were concerned.

During the inter-war period, the Yugoslav governments (composed mainly of Serb bureaucrats) renamed their part of Macedonia Vardar Banovina and thousands of landless Serb peasants were transferred to the region to assist in the assimilation of the native Slavs. The official Serbo-Croat language became compulsory in schools and public life.

The situation was even worse in the part of Macedonia under Greek occupation. The bulk of the Greek-speaking refugees were settled in Macedonia and this was a national scheme far more systematic than the previously mentioned Serbian one. It is of great importance to note that, contrary to recent Greek nationalist propaganda, the Greek governdeclared 1926 of Slav-Macedonians a distinct ethnic minority who could have schools in their own language. However, since Bulgarians demanded the use of the Bulgarian language and Serbs the Serbo-Croat one as the language of those schools, Greek bureaucrats started treating this minority as non-existent and began changing the names of the Slav inhabitants and their villages into Greek, forbidding, as we have already mentioned, any public use of their language and deporting or imprisoning hundreds of dissidents - a campaign that lasted until the late 1950s. Today this assimilation process has almost been completed.

In Bulgaria, things worked out in a different way. After the Balkan Wars, the IMRO militants took refuge in Bulgaria and were soon transformed into a political and financial racket supporting whomever, from extreme right to the left, was willing to advance their nationalist plans.

# **Nationalism and Leninism**

In the early 1920s, after crushing the proletarian revolution in Russia, the Bolsheviks began employing the Comintern, the so-called Communist International, as the main organ of their foreign policy. In underdeveloped countries like the Balkans, where there was no significant and politically organized workers' movement to be utilized, they favored collaborations between the Communist Parties and the nationalist, allegedly national liberation, movements. IMRO was one of these movements. In 1924, the Bulgarian Communist Party entered into an alliance with IMRO in order to get the seizure of power in Bulgaria going. In a few months the alliance had broken up but the leftist faction of IMRO remained loyal to the BCP's project of a Balkan federation that would include a united and independent Macedonia. 8

What is important in all these political maneuvers is that from the 1920s onwards the Balkan Leninists had become a significant vehicle for nationbuilding projects in the area. In the 40s, Marshall Tito's so-called Communist Party, which had beat the Nazis and won the Yugoslav civil war leading the antifascist struggle of the multi-ethnic peasantry, would re-interpret the federalist ideology of the 1920s. Tito's Stalinist regime created a federal state and granted, theoretically at least, to each of the nations of Yugoslavia the right to self-determination, including the right to secession. Besides Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Serbia and Montenegro, a state of the Macedonian people and the Albanian and Turkish minorities was created. The YCP's initial objectives were to create a Macedonian republic that would include Pirin (Bulgarian) Macedonia as well as a part of Greek Macedonia and also form a South-Slav federation that would include Bulgaria and Albania under their hegemony. Stalin's conflict with Tito in 1948 brought an end to these ambitious plans. The Greek and Bulgarian Stalinists sided with the Cominform (the sucessor to the Comintern) and Tito stopped supporting the Greek guerrillas, thus giving a fatal blow to the Stalinist-

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led rebellion in Greece in July 1949. Thirty-five thousand Slav-Macedonian partisans were forced to emigrate from Greece and many of them took refuge in Yugoslav Macedonia 4.

# Citizenship and the Incorporation of the Peasants and the Workers into the Nation-State

"Political emancipation is certainly a big step forward. It may not be the last form of general human emancipation, but it is the last form of human emancipation within the present world order. Needless to say, we are here speaking of real, practical emancipation."

Karl Marx, On the Jewish Question

The new Macedonian state, whose first premier was Dimitar Vlahov, the old leader of the leftist faction of IMRO, was the political outcome of the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist struggle of its inhabitants against Nazi/Bulgarian occupation and Great Serb chauvinism. It was on this basis, as well as on the material concessions to the peasants, that the Macedonian bureaucracy traced a route

to nation-building. The creation of the new nation was patterned on the schemes concocted by all previous Balkan bureaucracies during the 19th and 20th centuries' social and political struggles. The new state class declared themselves liberators of the people; turned a regional name - Makedontsi - into a national one; transformed the Slav-Macedonian idiom - on which the Bulgarian language is based as well - into a pure literary language; set up an autocephalous Macedonian Orthodox Church; invented a unique Macedonian history and a distinct Macedonian tradition; proposed an irredentist ideology of the brothers

here you are, a new nation in the Balkans was born in the same way that the Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian imaginary communities had been created.

The nationalization of the European peoples was the main political and social consequence of the last two centuries'

class struggles. These class struggles were mainly peasant struggles against landowners and foreign conquerors and were given voice through the nationalist-democratic ideology, the people's army and its leadership. These events led to the formation of the modern bureaucratic class, formed by the collaboration of old and new rulers (politicians, democrat intellectuals, administrators, the military, etc.). Their greatest preoccupation was to organize the nationalist indoctrination of the younger generations, disintegrate the peasant communities and guilds and legitimize the civil society, which was already under formation, through legal regulations; a society where a person sacrifices her/himself to the abstract notion of the citizen, i.e., the private individual, a mere member of the multitude. Thus the bureaucrats paved the way for the merchants, the industrialists and the bankers, who themselves had taken part in the social struggles, at least as financial supporters, and who managed to reorganize human work into "free labor," i.e., wage-labor, cutting

states' universality counteracts inequality in the earthly, real life. The state that poses as a guardian/representative of an allegedly undifferentiated society is the universal power that unifies competitive private interests. The contradiction of the political nation-state lies in the fact that it unifies the separate parts through separation, since it is simultaneously the mediator that safeguards and guarantees the perpetuation of private interests and the continuation of the dissociation of private and public life. 10

FINAL CALL DOOR DATE SHIP AND MAY

The internationalist proletarian movement of the 19th century, the only social movement that could put an end to the expansion of nationalist-democratic ideology because it sought real, practical emancipation beyond the present world order, 11 gradually degenerated after the promising period of the First International and the federative Paris Commune of 1871, and split into national parliamentary workers' parties. Those parties identified socialism with nationalization of the means of production as well as the seizure of political power and led the

> proletariat to the Leninist-Stalinist tragedy. After World War II, the second proletarian assault on class society, culminating in the struggles of the late sixties and strengthened by a large scale revolt of middle class youth in the developed capitalist countries, brought the internationalist perspective to the fore again and provoked western bureaucrats and capitalists to act accordingly. In the took a dramatic



who are still in bondage and, "workers council" controlling railways in Zagreb, Yugoslavia meets to Eastern bloc things discuss wages and working conditions.

communities into separate households, adaptable to changes in space and time and suitable for overt exploitation. The myth of the nation, enveloped in sentiments and memories of the liberation struggles, unites these separate parts. Equality in the heaven of the nationcourse. After the events in Hungary in 1956, the Stalinists could not impede the spreading of the class struggle, in other words they could not organize scarcity and silence effectively anymore. Successive struggles, especially those in Po-

land during the 70s and 80s, exposed the counter-revolutionary nature of the nonmarket, industry-based variation of the Oriental despotism of the Russian empire. Besides that, the non-Soviet empire as well as the Yugoslav federation to some extent, were prison houses of nations and various ethnic groups. The eastern proletariat being unable to act against the bureaucrats as a class seeking its self-suppression, stood against the emperor as if he was a mere conqueror, that is on a national basis, hence they climbed onto the chariot of the nationalist-democratic ideology of their leaders Yeltsin, Tudjman, (Walesa, Milosevic,...). 12 Wherever these leaders - mostly former members of the disintegrated bureaucracy and now ambitious national heroes - have been involved in free-for-all wars, the proletariat at the worst of times has become cannon fodder and at the best mere defenders of their lives.

# The War Officers Turn To Peace-Makers (And Vice Versa)

There are three methods of looking at the war in former Yugoslavia that lead to false considerations of the social and political situation there. The first and most popular of these is dominated by humanitarian-pacifist beliefs and it assumes that the war is simply the product of evil-minded politicians and thugs and it rests its hope for a cease-fire on the military intervention of the United Nations of Amerika. The second one is based on Leninist ideology and sees through the war a struggle of oppressed nations for national independence. The third one holds that behind the so-called civil war, the various nationalist factions are serving the divergent interests of the great western powers. It reminds us of the one-sided estimation of Rosa Luxemburg who, during the Balkan Wars and the First World War, supported the view that Serbia itself is only a pawn in the great game of world politics. 13 The first method, and especially the last one are the most absurd of all since they bring out a police concept of history. The events in Yugoslavia cannot be understood in terms of good or evil individual actions, and they cannot be

explained purely in terms of an external action. As far as the Trotskyist illusions are concerned, the heroic era of so-called national liberation struggles has long passed. One has to turn ones' attention to the history of class antagonisms in former Yugoslavia after World War II.

Wedged between Western capitalist

and Stalinist regimes, the Yugoslav "Communist" bureaucracy managed to survive thanks to its long-standing reconciliation with the proletariat and the peasantry (see the law on workers' selfmanagement in 1950 and the redistribution of land after the war). The reconciliation drew to an end in the 60s when disputes between the centralists, the local state officials and the enterprise managers over matters of development policy led to the 1965 liberal economic reform. According to Neil Fernandez, the liberal-conservative strife was a confrontation between, on the one hand, rulers who stressed a degree of Croat and Slovene independence along with economic efficiency, and on the other hand those who were concerned with the preservation of the machinery of centrallydirected investment, the all-round development of the national capital, and the pre-eminence of Belgrade and the largely Serb administrative apparatus. So, the reforms not only legitimized capitalism in Yugoslavia by decentralizing investment policy, reducing wages and jobs (especially in the so-called political factories) and liberalizing foreign trade; they also revealed that conflicting economic and political interests were rapidly being transformed into North-South nationalist confrontations.

The failure of the internationalist radical wing of the Belgrade student movement in 1968 to unite themselves with workers fighting against wagefreezes and income inequality 15 - and vice versa - and thus put forward continuous autonomous struggles for a truly self-managed society, was followed by large-scale demonstrations in Pristina in November 1968 calling for Kosovo's autonomy and, most remarkably, nationalist demonstrations in Croatia in 1971-72 that led eventually to the establishment of a new constitution in 1974. The constitution turned Kosovo

and Vojvodina into autonomous provinces and made Yugoslavia a confederation of semi-sovereign states with independent economic policy, their own police forces and the right to put a veto on any new federal laws.

The League of Communist Bureaucrats tried to preserve their central unifying role as representatives of the workers by reinforcing the only two all-Yugoslav institutions, the army and Tito's socalled workers' self-management. In the following years, attempts to militarize social relations to some extent and attempts to cast the workers' councils in the role of a reformist political party in the Yugoslavery comedy failed completely. By the mid 80s the technocratic leadership cadres and the local bureaucrats had prevailed over the centralist ideologues. The Yugoslav People's Army could not offer a bond to hold the country together because it was the armed hand of the Party and as long as the Party was rapidly disintegrating it merely became the armed hand of the most powerful nationalist faction in the Party: the Great Serb nationalists.

The Belgrade intellectuals petition of January 1986 to the authorities to act against the alleged genocide of the Serb minority in Kosovo, was the kick-off for the regeneration of Serb nationalism. The constitutional changes and the Serb military rule which incorporated Kosovo into the body of the Serbian state, gradually prompted the rest of the local bureaucracies to start moving towards total independence. But the very root of the nationalist resurgence is to be found in the class struggles of the second half of the 80s.

In the period 1986 to 1989, the federal government, by general consent of every local leadership, tried to totally integrate the Yugoslav economy into a restructuring world capitalism. Their first move, in February 1987, under the guidelines of the International Monetary Fund - their main foreign creditor - was to cut wages and increase unemployment and was soon followed, in 1988-89, by a change of the legal framework of the capitalist relationship: abolition of pseudo-self-management, liberalization of the labor market, decentralization

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of the banking system, etc.. The strike wave that broke out in early 1987 against the bureaucrats, the trade unions and the workerist cadres in the mines and factories of Croatia and Serbia was astonishing and the government threatened to send troops and tanks against the workers. The struggle continued without a break: 1,623 strikes and 365,000 strikers in 1987; 1,360 strikes in the first nine months of 1988. Among the demands was one for a 100% in-

crease in wages! The local bureaucracies were obliged to play their last card: nationalist ideol-

Nationalism that had already been used in previous decades to regiment social contradictions by convincing workers in one republic that their poverty was due to the inefficiency of the workers \* and the leaders in the other republic, reached an explosive point in the late 80s. Social control could no longer be exerted by discrednewed legitimation of bureaucracy and capitalism could only be

achieved through the creation of nationstates which would manage to divide, police and recompose the proletariat on the basis of a new reconciliation between the state and civil society. The leaders clearly saw that in order to maintain and extend their power they had to create new social cages by inventing a new form of citizenship, a new type of general interest. By 1989 the mass demonstrations had already become nationalist parades. Things were going the right way...And they still are...

War-making against real or fictitious external enemies is part and parcel of the construction of any modern nation-state. The members of the western ruling class are well aware of this, the nationalization of peoples in their states having been completed long ago. Professor John Mirshimer, for example, wrote in the spring of 1993 in the New York Times that the creation of homogeneous states in the former Yugoslavia calls for the mapping out of new borders and the transfer of populations. On March 25, 1991 the nationalist thugs Tudjman and

Milosevic met secretly in Karadjordevo and agreed to partition Bosnia between them, ' thus forcing through war a nonnationalist, non-religion-fanatical population to take sides. The partition was backed up by the great powers in the London conference in August 1992. Ethnic cleansing was carried out not only by Serbian and Croat armies and gangs but by UN convoys as well. The UN organized the evacuation of Muslim



ited Socialist ideologues. A re- THE ONLY WAR WORTH FIGHTING FOR - A shipyard worker offers cops a toothpick in a riot in Piraeus, Greece (photo from Class War, UK, #70)

refugees from Srebrenica and other places and the exchanges of one hundred thousand prisoners. Now the Serbian army has occupied 70% of Bosnian territory and 20% is in Croatian possession. Peace is just going to bring to an end whatever war has left incomplete. 18 We can't say from here whether proletarians and peasants, regardless of nationality, will resist all peace-makers, like they did against all war officers in Vukovar and during the first months of the war in Bosnia, or if their reactions will continue to be mainly defensive ones.

# If You Want Peace, Prepare For Class War

None of the bureaucracies of the Balkan states is outside of the nationalist game. The Greek bureaucrats and capitalists that antagonized the new Macedonian ruling class, blocking the international recognition of their state, trying to keep them at the worst possible place in the new hierarchical inter-state system in the Balkans - even making plans for turning that former Yugoslav republic into a protectorate of theirs - made a lot of concessions in early 93. But the results of the intense nationalist propaganda during 1992 are still observable as of this writing. All the pseudoantagonisms (left wing/right wing parties, trade unions/bosses, etc.) have coalesced into a nationalist united front against strikers and rebellious high school students and managed, with the help of mass media scum, to push their struggles out of the limelight. What is

worse, we saw most of our friends, comrades, people we work with, fall victims to the deceptive pro-Serb Greek government propaganda. We will deal extensively with the very root of this despicable stance elsewhere. Moreover, the future looks bleak. When Milosevic, Greece's best ally in the Balkans, sooner or later, finds himself in need of a new war in the south; when the oppressed Albanians in Kosovo and Macedonia take to the streets again, the Greek pro-

letariat, having been indoctrinated for so long by racist ideas against Albanians and their neighbors in general - will probably continue to be unable to turn against war, that is to turn against Greek leaders, who are equally responsible for all the war crimes committed until now as well as for those yet to come.

The failure of the workers' movement in Serbia and Greece to radically oppose nationalism and war testifies that fighting against the results of the hierarchical capitalist relationship is not enough. Unless wage-laborers understand that any form of political emancipation or permanent reform is impracticable nowadays; unless they understand that this war is a reaction against their own struggles, however modest they may be; that national governments are as one against the proletariat; and unless they start fighting for the abolition of wage labor and representative democracy, the future transformation of our countries into local units of the EEC will surely be preceded by even darker years of nationalism. The Balkan societies have been

caught in a dangerous trap. The bureaucrats on the one hand look forward to a supranational European capitalism and on the other hand they need nationalism to regiment working class reactions against austerity measures. The wage-laborers falter from defensive struggles to privatization, from conservatism to contestation. These are times for the best or the worst. A real transitory period - but to what?

### L. May 1993

### Notes

- 1. E. Kofos, Nationalism and Communism In Macedonia (Thessaloniki, 1964), p. 50.
- 2. Assessing population figures is problematic due to the tendency to exaggerate the number of the Greek or Slav populations, depending on which side is making the assessment. H. Poulton, The Balkans (London, 1991), p. 175. As it is the case in Bosnia, centuries of mixed marriages in Macedonia had resulted in bilingual or even polyglot families.
- 3. E. Kofos, op. cit., p. 25.
- 4. Thousands of peasants took part in the revolution. The town of Krusovo, near Monastir, inhabited by Slavs, Albanians and Vlachs, was seized by the rebels and the Krusovo Republic was proclaimed. They put into practice a kind of proportional representative democracy and made an appeal for unity to all ethnic groups in Macedonia, even inviting the Muslim workers to join the common struggle against the Ottoman landowners. It was an infantile disorder of the early nationalist-democratic movement and, after it was crushed by the Ottoman army, it never reappeared in this area.
- 5. E. Kofos, op. cit., p. 35.
- 6. R. Rocker, Nationalism and Culture (Minnesota, 1978), pp. 174, 202.
- 7. Elizabeth Barker, Macedonia; Its Place In Balkan Power Politics (London, 1950), p. 37. See also, Joseph Rothschild, The Communist Party Of Bulgaria; Origins and Foundations (New York, 1959).
- 8. In 1925 in Vienna, Victor Serge had met the editors of La Federation Balkanique, the Comintern backed, multilingual review published there from 1924 on. Around the great

- conception of Balkan Federation, he wrote in his memoirs (Oxford, 1978, pp. 180-181), "...there swarmed hordes of secret agents, impresarios of irredentism, peddlers of the influential word, night-walking politicians engaged in six intrigues at a time; and all these smart gentlemen, with their over-gaudy neckties, sought to harness the unbridled energy of the Comitajis [Slav-Macedonian and Bulgarian gangs] and sell it to and fro to any buyer. There was the Italian wing, the Bulgarian wing, the Yugoslav wing, two Greek tendencies, one monarchist and one republican, ideologies, personal cliques, and vendettas. We knew the cafes in which the revolvers of any given group lay in wait, watched from the cafe opposite by those of
- 9. A continuing legacy of the Greek civil war has been the numbers of people who fled from Greece, including some 25-30,000, according to the association of refugee children from Greek Macedonia and Red Cross estimates, of children aged between two and 14...The property of the refugees was confiscated by the Greek government by Decree 2536/53 which also deprived them of their Greek citizenship. The Greek government later [in the 1980s!] enacted a law so that the property would be returned to refugees who are Greek by birth i.e., to those who renounce their Macedonian nationality and adopt Greek names. Greece also has consistently denied entry visas to these refugees except in a few cases to attend funerals but even then with difficulty. H. Poulton, op. cit.,

Evacuation of whole villages and confiscation of property were essential parts of the Serb and Croat regimes final solution in Bosnia. The concentration camps were used to systematically put pressure on Muslims to make statements that they surrender their property to the authorities i.e., Serbs.

- 10. "Tagore [the Bengali poet] called the nation 'organized selfishness.' The term is well chosen, but we must not forget that we are always dealing with the organized selfishness of privileged minorities which hide behind the skirts of the nation, hide behind the credulity of the masses." Rudolf Rocker, op. cit., p. 250-251.
- 11. "It is one of the great purposes of the Association to make the workmen of different

- countries not only <u>feel</u> but <u>act</u> as brethren and comrades in the army of emancipation." Documents of the First International, 1864-70, in K. Marx, <u>The First International And After</u> (London, 1974), p. 86.
- 12. "Any action that could raise the danger of a threat to the freedom and statehood of the fatherland must be avoided,' [Walesa said on December 16, 1980] and on the 17th, he really went overboard: 'The time has come for a concerted effort to surrender the strike weapon and negotiate a return to economic security and social peace...Society needs order at this time.' The dedication of the memorial to the Gdansk martyrs of 1970-71 on December 16 was an appropriate symbol of the significance of the victory that the Gdansk accords represented. It was a touching and ominous demonstration of national unity; oppressors and workers, gunmen and their prey, executioners and widows of victims, all carefully surrounded by the new police (the security forces from the shipyard union), all intoning the national anthem and all blessed by the Church, by Solidarity and by the Party. A workers defeat was enacted here." Henri Simon, Poland 1980-82. Class Struggle and the Crisis of Capital (Detroit, 1985), pp. 38-39.
- 13. See The Junius Pamphlet, in Rosa Luxemburg Speaks (New York, 1970).
- 14. Yugoslavia: Capitalism And Class Struggle 1918-1967, in Yugoslavery (BM BLOB London WC1N 3XX), p. 15.
- 15. A survey of work stoppages in 1964-66 found that 165 of the 231 stoppages in 1965 were due to incorrect distribution of personal incomes, Duncan Blackie, "The Road to Hell," International Socialism 53, p. 34.
- informational discussions wanted me to become a nationalist (informational discussion is when they arrest you without a warrant; there is absolutely no public record of such an arrest; it can last anywhere from one hour to a few days; the longest I was held was 12 hours). Obviously, there was a plot behind it. It didn't work with me. But it worked with millions of others...With clever use of historical statehood and ethnic symbols they got most of the citizens already tired of great ideas and philosophy and political experiments onto their side. With even smarter flirting with the terms freedom and inde-

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nationalist party, even uses Bakunin in their review to explain their struggle for independence as an opposition to Bolshevik enforced Yugoslav unity...Even anarchists took shelter in the ethnic-thing that swallowed almost everybody in all of Eastern

Europe." Ivo Skoric, "Yugoslavery," Love and Rage, August 1991, pp. 6, 12.

- 17. Financial Times, 27 June 1991. At that time, 700,000 workers were on strike.
- 18. It is terrible to see how history repeats itself. Before the Balkan Wars, Serbs and

Greeks took advantage of British plans for a new administrative division of Macedonia, according to nationality, in order to pursue their territorial claims in the area. Its always a Vance-Owen plan that paves the way to partitions.



# Take Over Housing, Tear Down Jails (Video, 40 Minutes, San Francisco, 1993)

This article is a transcript of a documentary video produced by a member of the German Wildcat group and one of the people involved in producing the first issue of **The Poor**, **The Bad And The Angry**. Homes not Jails (HnJ) is an organization of homeless people and political activists who seize and squat unused buildings in San Francisco.

### **Part 1: Introduction**

Homeless Cuban: You cannot stay in the bus station because, if they know that you have no place to stay, they kick your ass, twelve o'clock, one o'clock in the evening, if it's raining or whatever, you can not stay in the bus station. You are no bigger than no money at all and here everything is that: money. A lot of people aren't in the street cause they are bad people, they are in the street because the system pushes them into that situation.

Homeless Vietnam veteran: I've been here out on the streets since I came back from Vietnam. I was disabled when I came home from Vietnam and I have been fighting the government for 27 years.

Panhandler: Rent out here is too much for anybody. GA doesn't even cover rent. And about living in a hotel like on 6th Street, just stabbings, shootings, it's not worth it at all. So where do you usually sleep? I sleep in a park or in some shelter in San Mateo whenever I get a chance to get down there.

Homeless Cuban: Police, they don't help you, they kick you. They saw me twice walking around here. They pushed me against a wall, they searched me. They asked, what are you doing here. I asked them whether the color of my skin has anything to do with it.

Panhandling woman: If you sit and hold a sign, its okay. But they've got the aggressive ones, people who follow you down the street, they've got a law against that.

Jason, shelter worker: Many homeless people, especially the ones that I deal with out in the Tenderloin do get a GA (General Assistance) check, that is a maximum amount of \$347 per month. Older gentlemen may also get a social security or SSI check, that might bring their total as high as \$718 per month. It is virtually impossible to find a hotel room for less than \$80 a week. Therefore the cost of the hotel room is greater than the income from GA. That's going to put you back out on the street at least a week after you get your check, regardless of whether you spend it on food or drugs or alcohol or whatever. There is a cycle of dependency and need between getting your check, getting a hotel room for a few days. By that point you are so stressed out from living on the streets, that a certain amount of your check will go to food you might not otherwise have or alcohol or drugs and then you will be back on the street for the remainder of the two week period when checks come out again. I know that at the shelter I work at we see that cycle in terms of the level of violence and where people are at in their heads, depending on the day of the month.

Ted, Tenants Union: You either talk about numbers of say 8,000 homeless. There is a whole other category of what you could call near homeless or people on the verge of homelessness, people who are barely able to hang onto residential hotel rooms, which is kind of the last resort for housing in the city. And the number of people who are doubling up has increased - I forgot what the exact figure was but, the last census showed that it went up by 50 percent. And more and more people are just squeezing two people in a one-bedroom apartment, three people in a two-bedroom apartment. The difference between somebody who is homeless and on the streets and somebody who is living with a friend is just the difference that that friend had a small spare room or a couch you can sleep on. It's a matter of luck. The average two-bedroom apartment rent is over \$1,000 for a brand new place. Even if you are working a full-time job at minimum wage you are basically not able to pay that rent, never mind having money to pay for food or anything like that. The number of part time jobs has gone way up in recent years and even if you're getting a decent wage, if you're working 20 hours a week that's the same wage as a minimum wage job.

Peter, ex-squatter & writer: In the late 70s when I was a Tenants Union organizer here, there were only a few thousand homeless people. The housing stock in San Francisco for an urban center was among the cheapest of cities in the US in terms of rental cost. Nowadays it is obviously one of the most expensive. Now, I would say, there are over 30,000 homeless people.

Ted: San Francisco right now has a relatively high vacancy rate. About six percent of the apartments are for rent at this point, compared to past years when it was as low as one or two percent. I think partially that is because rents are so high, people are increasingly moving out of San Francisco. If you cannot afford the rent you can go across the bay, into Oakland, and get a similar place for sometimes almost half the cost. More and more people of moderate income, working, are finding that they have to move out of SF. Landlords will keep the places vacant rather than lowering the rent to attract new tenants cause they know that eventually those tenants will come back and they had to go through years to get the rents up to where they are right now.

Jason: I work at Multi Service Center North, that is at 1001 Polk and Geary. Our shelter capacity for men is approximately 100, for women 100, these are in beds. On any given night about 50% of those beds are case managed, which means you have a bed there for six months at a time, services of a case manager, substance abuse clinic, mental health clinic. At present there is no direct employment assistance. If you are on GA you give a certain percentage of your money to your case manager who

will bank it for you until you get out. The idea is to put you back in the housing market with a job to let you run. The other 50 percent of the bed are given away nightly by lottery. People will get a ticket in the morning and come back and check their ticket. If their ticket won they get a bed, dinner and breakfast. Gentlemen may also get a shot at a floor space for the night. We give that away by lottery as well. We put 90 people on the floor every night. And that's a hard floor, believe me. Try sleeping on the floor with a thin blanket. I'm not even talking about an army blanket, I'm talking about a thin square of woven nylon. I guess most days we give away about 350 tickets for men and about 75 tickets for women.

Young homeless woman: More men are homeless. Why do you think that is? Well, maybe because women have a little more precious commodity than men. No, what am I saying!?

Jason: If you are one paycheck away from homelessness, why is that? You are working 40 hours, man. If I worked for 40 years and then fell of a ladder and got hurt, and I'm on disability, SSI and GA, how come that I still cannot afford a house to live in, how come I still can't get treatment for my substance abuse problem that's keeping me on the streets? How many paychecks are you away from being homeless? Exclude family and friends you could rely on. How many paychecks are you away? One?

# Part 2: White Panthers (1978-84)

Peter, ex-squatter & writer: The first generation of squatters that I saw in SF was what I saw in the summer of 1978 and I permanently moved here in December of 1979. At that particular time there was a group called the White Panther Party, located on the lower blocks of Cole Street in the Haight Ashbury. The WP began squatting in that neighborhood in the early 1970s. Their political program was a complete replication of the Black Panther Party program in Oakland and other urban centers of the US. They were democratic centralists, with different forms of parliamentarian strains of activity and so on. What they did in the Haight Ashbury is, they took

over several buildings that were unaccountably owned by absentee landlords. These buildings were inhabited at that particular time by masses of junkies, by masses of unorganizeable homeless people, who the White Panthers, like their black counterpart, would call the lumpens. So what the White Panthers did, and they believed in armed struggle as well as being parliamentarians and democratic centralists, they took over these buildings, kicked out the junkies and laid claim and started barricading themselves inside. In order to create an authentic if not organic relationship with the neighborhood around there, again like their black counterpart, they created food distribution programs in the Haight Ashbury as well as other parts of the city that had neighborhoods where constituencies of very poor people lived. They distributed food at cost, wholesale food, thus creating a base of support for their program, much larger than the essential occupation of the buildings that they inhabited and occupied in the Haight Ashbury. They also tried to defend their position in these buildings through legal claim. I would not say they were homesteaders, because they were not legally trying to lay claim to the buildings, but they defended their rights as squatters to obtain possession of these buildings through the usage of the SF court system. What made the White Panthers different or distinct in terms of their social appeal was that they were working class. The leadership was working class and the cadre. Because like the Black Panther Party they appealed to the same class that they sprang from, as the Black Panther called it, the lumpenproletariat. That in society that was completely unorganizeable, those people who sprang from a working class background, who had dropped out of the working class

# Part 3: Squatters Anonymous (1982-86)

Peter: Squatters Anonymous began in November of 1982 and their activities became more public exactly ten years ago in February 1983 with a series of several public occupations in the Haight Ashbury. One particular building was at the southeastern corner of Haight and Masonic. The upper floors were completely occupied in a mass public media occupation in which hundreds of police came, dozens of journalists and hundreds of potential squatters and squatter supporters. This was what I would call the beginning of squatting mediafication or the mediafication of squatting. From the spring of 1983 until the end of 1984 various squats of an antiauthoritarian persuasion sprang up in SF, in the Mission District, the Haight Ashbury and in the South of Market. The most successful elements that were able to sustain their activity occurred in the South of Market. The second generation of squatting tended to lend itself in constituency towards a more obvious affluent class nature, which was: you could see there were a lot of middle class dropout kids coming to have an adventure in poverty in SF. The mediafication of the second generation, which is very interesting, cause most of these people as anarchists or of an antiauthoritarian persuasion, they were definitely children of the television generation and they couldn't separate political activity from the imagification of that political activity. It was hard to discern what was more important to this generation, the experience or the image of their very own activity, it was hard to discern, what they got more pleasure out of, doing the act or seeing their acts recorded and becoming an image on television, it was hard to discern what was more powerful, the act of occupying a building or seeing yourself at news late at night occupying the very same building, what became more important, yourself as a political component acting in an extra-legal fashion against the entire system of capital or seeing yourself on television being described as such. This created the collapse of many squats.

milieu that they were born into, who

were on the streets, homeless, who were

out of the prisons, who were ex-drug

addicts, who were - what we would call

- of an outlaw nature in this society, who

were no longer recuperable into main-

stream dominant cultural matrixes.

### Part 4: Comparison

Peter: There was leadership and cadre within the White Panther Party. There was a sense of democratic centralism which creates a hierarchical nature in an internal organisation: you have your leadership, you have your cadre, and, obviously, there is a permeable effect where power is coming from the top and being disseminated to the baseline, to the cadre who follow the orders that the leadership devises in all of its wisdom to hand down. The second generation attempted a sense of collectivism as a political program which manifested itself in a social and a daily sense as a form of communalism. What we would call the tactic of gaining an understanding in that collective sense was through the usage of consensus. In the long term the White Panthers, their life-span as squatters, armed squatters, standing up against any element, any form of authority that the city was throwing at them, both in the courts and on the streets, they were the most successful. Whether I agreed with what they were doing ideologically and organizationally is a completely separate issue, but they were very public, they were very successful, if for nothing else that their life-span was obvious to the people in the neighborhood, to the people in the city, the powers that controlled the city, the White Panthers literally stuck by their guns. The second generation for lack of an organized political program they came and went like the wind. The sense of commitment to squatting as part of a program of overall struggle against capital, against the free open market place of housing which again was creating so many homeless people, that was far less successful.

# Part 5: Homes not Jails (since 1992)

Keith, Food not Bombs & HnJ: We took over the first building and we started planning for the public takeover of a building on Thanksgiving Day. That generated huge amounts of publicity and attention. And then we immediately started planning to take over houses covertly every week. After a regular scheduled meeting we'd all go out afterwards and put a bunch of people into a house

and then we planned the above-ground actions, which were public protests which we also carried out on Christmas and that was a siege for two days. We have three buildings right now. They have existed for quite some time, for over a month and a half. The meetings we had were from a low of about 30 up to 65 or 70 people. So [it's] a pretty large number of individuals. From the people in the buildings frequently not very many come to the meetings. A lot of people that we are housing are kind of a different population than those people who are organizing. The people who are being housed are people who have been living on the streets for a long time. Their interest is [in] being housed and not so much organizing and collective activity. They are typical of the average Americans. They don't have a background of political organizing or a point of view that there is something that people can do socially to ultimately result in bettering your life. They are not seeing their lives as being effected by overall societal patterns. They see themselves having no money, no place to live, and they see their own personal problems, so they are tackling the situation on that [level]. It's kind of frustrating on some levels, although I have to say that the percentage of people in the squats that are politicized has increased, and the percentage of people that are politicized that are living on the streets in general, eating at Food not Bombs, that are becoming more politically sophisticated,

that has increased over the years. The media in America is corporate owned. They have their interest. They've been relatively nice to Homes not Jails and have given us relatively sympathetic coverage. They could have been painting us as total outlaws steeling sacred private property and they really haven't done that. A lot of that has to do with the fact, that there is no real ideological point of view that people are able to attach themselves to even in the mainstream at this point. Basically, a lot of the pretense that capitalism was obviously the best type of economic system, that ownership of private land was sacrosanct, as the former mayor's coordinator for homeless said,... the ruling class isn't that totally clear on what it is going to do and hasn't come up with an idea itself for housing the homeless. And so I think they treated us nicely and relatively fairly.

Homes not Jails has gotten so much media it has been a drag on the group on some level. It has pulled in a lot of people and we have a large name recognition. A lot of people understand exactly the principle we are trying to get across. I think that is really great. Our meetings have tended to focus on debates around the media and in fact up until last week there was a real drain on our meetings and a real drain on our ability to organize and to deal with issues like drugs in the squats or with expanding the clandestine parts of our program or even getting started on any kinds of trying to take over buildings that are so bad off that we need to get grants to fix them. Basically, so far we raised \$50 since October and we still have people in three houses. We actually housed more people than the city and county of SF has in that period of time with our fifty bucks.

Jason, shelter worker, HnJ: I don't know who started HnJ or when. I came into the organization about two and a half months ago. The way I found out about the organization was very simple: there was a flyer posted at the shelter. So I put the number down and I called it and I went to the next several meetings. This was something that I thought was extremely important. It is important to me for a number of reasons: One: I'm a substance abuse addict and formerly homeless myself. I spent a considerable period of time on the streets, using, and I know about the cycles of use and dependency that are involved. Two: I work with homeless people every day, I have to be hard with them. I have to be hard with my brothers on the street and have to say, I'm sorry but we have no room tonight. And worse than that, I have to say, sorry sir, you didn't play our lottery, you did not call at 10:15 to find out whether we have space or not. I have to turn you away, you are 65 years old and it's raining out there. HnJ is an organization that is on the face of it an consensually run organization, that means that it is run by an ultra-democratic process. I say on the

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face of it because it is and it is not actu-

ally run this way. That's because there

are different action groups within HnJ

that commit themselves to specific ac-

tions and then go out and do them. Those

actions are not necessarily individually approved by the group nor are the action groups specifically set up as action group committees with group sanction. So certain kinds of decisions get submitted to the group and other kinds of actions get taken over by individuals in the group. It's really very much like that old Marxist dictum: From each according to his needs - to each according to his means or something like that. It operates on what skills you have and where you put yourself and what you can do and who you are than any kind of set roles. If there was a legal instrument that said all you have to do is live in abundant structures and pay the taxes, pay the utility bills and you own it, than we would have power, than you would see a lot fewer buildings because landlords would be scared we would be taking them. But every one of these houses that we have now, don't fool yourself, if the landlord swears out a trespassing warrant, the people in those houses will be evicted, will be removed at three in the morning and they will hear the policemen at the door. We don't have the power to deter that yet. We've come to negotiated compromises with some owners and we are living in the vacuum [where] they don't know what is going on. Some of them don't know, some of them owe too much money, some of them don't care anymore about their houses. Those are our ideal sorts of squats.

Ted, Tenants Union, HnJ: One of the most exciting things about it has been that homeless people, previously homeless people who are in HnJ are doing most of the work these days. When new buildings are being opened up it's people from the squats who are actually breaking into the buildings, who are turning on the utilities, who help and support new squats. When a new squat gets opened up, then one from the older squats will go over to that squat and help them turn on the gas, turn on the electricity. We have had situations where the police have come and the people in the

squat have been savvy enough to deal with the police and say, look come on in and take a look around, yeah we are not supposed to be here but this used to be a crack house and look, how we fixed it up, and having a police tour and them seeing that now there is furniture and people have lights and they are reading books. The same police have been in there a month ago and saw people smoking crack, saw needles and just trash. In those cases the police have chosen not to call the landlord and just let the people live there. I think a lot of our support in the community has come because people saw that we were not just marching, we were not just protesting in front of City Hall, we were actually taking people off the streets and putting them into houses. We were making a political point, but at the same time we were actually doing something.

# Part 6: Polk Street Squatters

Female homeless punk #1: Some squats were really organized. We had squats where we had squat meetings and it went smooth. We had 40 people living in one building and we had squat meetings and rules, but it wasn't like Nazi rules. It wasn't like no drinking. You could do your own thing, you just shouldn't interfere with other people doing their thing. It was really cool and worked well. And that was weird, cause at that point there were 40 percent junkies and the rest were all alcoholics and all got along. People fought, but it wasn't anything that we couldn't handle. I don't want any rules except for what me and my friends decide on. I don't want outside influence. Anybody can open a squat, that's easy. You just find an abundant building and there are so many ways to get in. If you want to be inside, you'll be inside. People just feel that they have to pay money for anything in this world. People are weird, they don't like to accept free things. I don't care if it's free or if I have to pay for it. Well, I get it somehow. People are also seeing that they have to give money over for a VCR. They are not just giving their money over, they are giving their lives over because they go to work every day for that money. They don't want to go to work cause you hear them bitching, ooh,

I don't want to go, but they are doing it just so they can have some stupid box to stare at. Not me, man. Some squats, you open them and you get three nights out of them, some squats, you think you get three nights and you get a month and a half. I only got arrested once and that was, I was arrested in the squat, but it was not for squatting. They thought the squat was a heroin ring and so they took twelve males and two females down to 850 Bryant. They booked us, but they had to drop the charges cause it was a bunch of bullshit. They were totally off. They are stupid. They think that they know what they are talking about: When cops come into a squat they'll always ask, "Who's the head person, who is the boss, the manager?" And it's like: You are so far off, you don't even understand, man. We are totally against any kind of authority over anyone. And then they expect it, and we say that no one is, and they won't believe it. I don't see why they can't comprehend that fact. Then they look at either the weirdest looking person or the one with the most piercings, whatever, and then for some reason the assume that that is the boss or whoever.

Female homeless punk #2: How long have you been homeless? Since I was eleven. How old are you now? Seventeen. How did you start being homeless? I kept running away and then my mom just said, basically,...don't come back. Where have you usually stayed for the last six years? Sometimes it was at relatives' houses, sometimes it was at friends. Most of the time I squat. Cause I refuse to be part of the system, I refuse to go to a group home or a treatment program. I choose this over the system. What's wrong with the system? It's basically just fucked, excuse my language, but it's not right.

### **Part 7: Statements**

Homeless Vietnam veteran: If all the people in this country get together, we refuse to go to work and we start to refuse to do all this stuff, we let the rich man go down to the store and he can't get his damned gasoline and he can't get the rest of his shit. I believe, it's time for the poor man and middle-class man to

tell the rich man, we're tired of your bullshit and start kicking their ass.

Jason: I don't think property matters shit when people are out in the rain.

Keith: This is crazy, we can squat. Why are we paying this rent?

Panhandling Woman: That's ridiculous, I mean, paying rent.

Peter: I don't even think people understand the difference between homesteading and squatting. I don't think people even know, that one is in complete philosophical defiance of the law and will never bow down to the law and the other yearns to become legal, to become part of the system. I think also, more catastrophically, is the use of the media. Squatters have no use for media

and never will. The media is simply an extension of the ideological machine of capital. The media purports images of capital and squatting is in complete defiance of that. The only way we can actually use the media to our own benefit is to completely disavow the presence of corporate media and to make our own. And if we don't have the means to make our own documentation and archiving of our experiences then fuck it, it's not worth it, better to get on with the act of gaining the houses and keeping them. And forget the false idea of trying to build mass support from the community via corporate television image making processes and devices. If you know the local politicians in the city, you know

that there is a sense of complete nepotism. These people are absolutely corrupt bastards. To negotiate with them in any form or fashion is an absolute tactical and strategic abnegation of the very reason why people squat in the first place. These people will use any and all means through the ages of SF's bankrupt liberal tradition to appropriate squatting for their own political devices, to enhance their own careers as politicians in this city.

Homeless Cuban: Well, if I'm going to wait for the government or the system to pull me out of this situation, I think, I'm going to be homeless for the rest of

# Fast Food Worker Held After Cop Becomes Sick

By Erin Hallissy Chronicle East Bay Bureau

A management trainee at a drive-through Burger King in Fairfield was arrested this week on suspicion of tampering with the cheeseburger of a Solano County sheriff's deputy who had suffered food poisoning.

John Scott Ornellas, 19, was arrested on one count of tampering with Deputy Sheriff Guy Bristol's burger on August 3 — a charge that carries a maximum sentence of five years in state prison.

The deputy, who was in uniform in a marked patrol car, ordered the cheeseburger at the restaurant's drive-through window, said Fairfield police Lieutenant Terry Thomas. The employees may have known that their customer was a law enforcement officer because the area outside the drive-through window is monitored by video camera.

The deputy paid for the cheeseburger, took a bite and then noticed a message scribbled in crayon on the wrapper that said "Outsmart the po po's. Criminals at work."

Po po's is street slang for police. in plainclothes.

Thomas said Ornellas had had some run-ins with the law as a juvenile and was "anti-police."

Bristol threw out the rest of the burger after reading the message, but he became ill the next day with diarrhea, vomiting and headaches, Thomas said. Bristol went to a clinic, was told he had food poisoning, and was sick for three

Thomas said police do not know what may have been placed in the burger, and the evidence is gone because Bristol threw the sandwich away. Police have sent the wrapper to a lab for testing.

Ornellas refused to talk to police about the case but apparently bragged to co-workers about writing the anti-cop message, Thomas

In a written statement, Burger King officials said the matter was "an isolated incident" and they have "eliminated any chance of this type of incident occurring in the future."

Thomas said he has warned officers not to use drive-throughs unless they are in unmarked cars and

# THE QUESTION OF CONSCIOUSNESS

# NOTES TOWARD TRANSCENDING THE PROGRESS/ANTI-PROGRESS DEBATE

Marxs schema of progress can be taken as descriptive, not prescriptive. The Marxist formulation is that humanity began in primitive communism, and is going through various stages of class society (savagery, barbarism, feudalism, capitalism, etc.) that develop the productive forces of the economy before humanity can abolish class society and achieve communism at a higher level. Marxs agent for the abolition of class society, the industrial proletariat, has the capacity to do this, not only because of its position at the point of production, but also because of its aggregation and organization into a self-conscious class by the process of industrial production itself. This describes what has happened historically. It does not describe what has to happen.

The abolition of class society and the creation of communism could have occurred at any stage of class society. Clearly, if communism existed for primitive, hunter-gatherer societies where the productive economic forces were virtually nil and scarcity practically universal, then class society can be abolished and communism created at stages of society where the productive forces are more developed and certain scarcities have been eliminated. Thus, it is not necessary to wait for the full development of the productive forces and the total elimination of scarcity. Stages of the Marxist schema can be skipped.

Furthermore, insurrectionary movements to abolish class society have emerged at every stage of class society, spearheaded by non-industrial as well as industrial laboring classes. The slave revolts of ancient Rome, the peasant uprisings of the Middle Ages, and the indigenous rebellions of New World native peoples, no less than the workers revolutions of the 18th, 19th & 20th centuries express authentic communist currents in human history.

Finally, it is possible to conceive of conditions which would allow pre-class societies to develop into post-class societies without having to endure the miseries of class struggle; in other words, to skip the Marxist schema altogether. Had the European invasion of the Americas been delayed for a century or two, the native nations of north America (the Iroquois Federation in the northeast, the Six Civilized Nations of the southeast, the Hopi pueblos in the southwest, etc.) might have developed a continental organization and coordination of truly internationalist dimensions.

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A number of problems remain. What agency has maintained the condition of human exploitation historically, once primitive communism was subverted or destroyed? The dialectical dynamics of class society as Marx proposed have been found wanting as a sufficient explanation by many, but the current use of civilization as the scapegoat has proven equally lacking. In particular, the notion of civilization is extremely nebulous. What constitutes the basis for civilization? Hierarchy? Agriculture? Language? The whole anti-civilization debate has become an intellectual quagmire, replete with flawed assumptions, questionable methodologies and shaky conclusions.

Chief among the problems is the issue of scarcity. Scarcity exists in a number of forms, the first being natural scarcity. Certain resources may not exist in sufficient abundance to satisfy human needs and desires. Such natural scarcities are extremely few and for the most part can be dealt with by substituting other resources for the scarce ones. Artificial scarcity is more familiar, as it is the product of class society. Economic monopolies are only the most obvious sources of scarcity. For instance, diamonds would be as plentiful as grains of sand on a beach if it were not for the

worldwide diamond cartel. But the very operation of class societies also produces scarcity. During the Middle Ages, when the nobility and clergy expropriated grain and labor from the peasant class, it was common for the peasantry to produce just enough to survive and no more. What little surplus was produced quickly disappeared into a smuggling economy. Similarly, when the Bolsheviks used the Red Army to confiscate grain from the Russian peasantry, all of the old feudal habits of that class reemerged. The abolition of class society would resolve this type of scarcity. Finally, there is the scarcity for want of a total liberatory social reality. One region of the world may lack water while another may have an abundance of it. One part of the global economy may not have sufficient productive capacity while another might have an over-abundance of it. If a classless, global community is not created, such scarcity will persist. This raises a final problem.

### SEVEN

Is the impulse to abolish class society and create communism, as expressed historically through various social movements, a sufficient agency to achieve totality? Totality was a concept much used by Georg Lukacs, in his work History and Class Consciousness. Lukacs described capitalism as a totalizing agent. Not only does capitalism seek to expand globally, to create an all-encompassing world capitalist market, but it also seeks to invade and absorb every aspect of social and personal life. Capitalist domination presently reaches from the furthest recesses of the individual psyche to the aboriginal peoples at the outermost edges of global society. Capitalism has achieved totality; in other words, it has become a total, global social system. Lukacs also postulated that, prior to the totalizing force of the capitalist mode of production, no other mode of production possessed this dynamic. Pre-capitalist societies might have commercial components existing side by side with feudal and slave ones, no one component capable of the hegemony demonstrated by capitalism. Is the impulse to abolish class society sufficient by itself to achieve a global communism? Did insurrectionary Roman slaves or revolutionary peasants during the Middle Ages or rebellious indigenous peoples in the Americas seek to create an all-encompassing classless, global community?

### EIGHT

The necessity for such an all-encompassing classless, global community has been made clear by other people. It is not possible to have communism in just one river valley or one bioregion any more than it is possible to build socialism in one country. So long as predatory capitalism exists anywhere in the world, a threat remains to the liberatory communist society that has taken hold on a limited scale.

### NINE

The debate over progress thus is redefined. The Marxist conception of progress is obsolete on two points. There is no historical necessity for stages of economic development to maximize societys productive forces and eliminate scarcity. The working class capacity for self-emancipation does not depend on this, nor does it follow from industrial forms of organization that bring vast numbers of proletarians together under a single roof, subject to a unified form of economic organization. Both of these factors may be helpful, but they are not determinant. What is crucial is the consciousness of the working class as a class. However, consciousness in general and class consciousness in particular does not emerge out of a vacuum. It arises out of the material conditions of society. The question then becomes, can a movement for total liberation come out

of a less than total mode of production? Is the impetus for a classless, global community dependent upon the material conditions produced by the global economic system of capitalism? The peasant revolts of the Middle Ages and the Reformation, in their millenarian fervor, shared several universal components with the Universal Church of the time. Yet they were not social movements for total liberation as witness the pogroms of Jews because of their religion that accompanied many of these revolts. Is our ability to conceive of a communism that is based in self interest and not mysticism, which is global and not regional in aspiration, and whose scope is not partial but total; is this necessarily the product of the present advanced, worldwide capitalist system in which we ex-

# Lefty Hooligan Red Planet PO Box 3684 Oakland CA 94609-0684



# Announcing the publication of an important new pamphlet, available from AK Press:

# Youth revolt in France, March 1994: WE ARE ALL HOOLIGANS

<NOUS SOMMES TOUS DES CASSEURS>

In March 1994 the French government tried to cut the minimum wage for all workers age 25 and under with a bill called the *Contrat d' Insertion Professionelle (CIP)*, or "beginning work contract". This measure, coming after six months of important working class victories in strike actions and 'mini-riots' in suburban ghettos\*, gave rise to a monthlong nationwide movement of mass demonstrations and riots that defeated the wage cut.

Quoting from the pamphlet:

"The anti-CIP movement of March 1994 can safely be called the biggest class struggle in Europe since the UK's anti-Poll Tax movement of 1990-92, involving hundreds of thousands of demonstrators and rioters taking to the streets throughout the country many times over the course of a month...This movement, large as it was, was only the culmination of a sixmonths long period of unrest, beginning with the outstanding Air France strike in October 1993...Each time it was faced with a movement that threatened to get out of control, the government backed down..."

We Are All Hooligans analyses forms of self-organization that emerged in the anti-CIP movement. Of particular interest to North American readers is the political sophistication of this movements' participants:

"The movement resisted the media's spin tactics...just as the movement wasn't "captured" in the media's framework, it also didn't submit to the control of union or political organizations. "Representative" organizations were generally distrusted, considered to be dividing and co-opting the

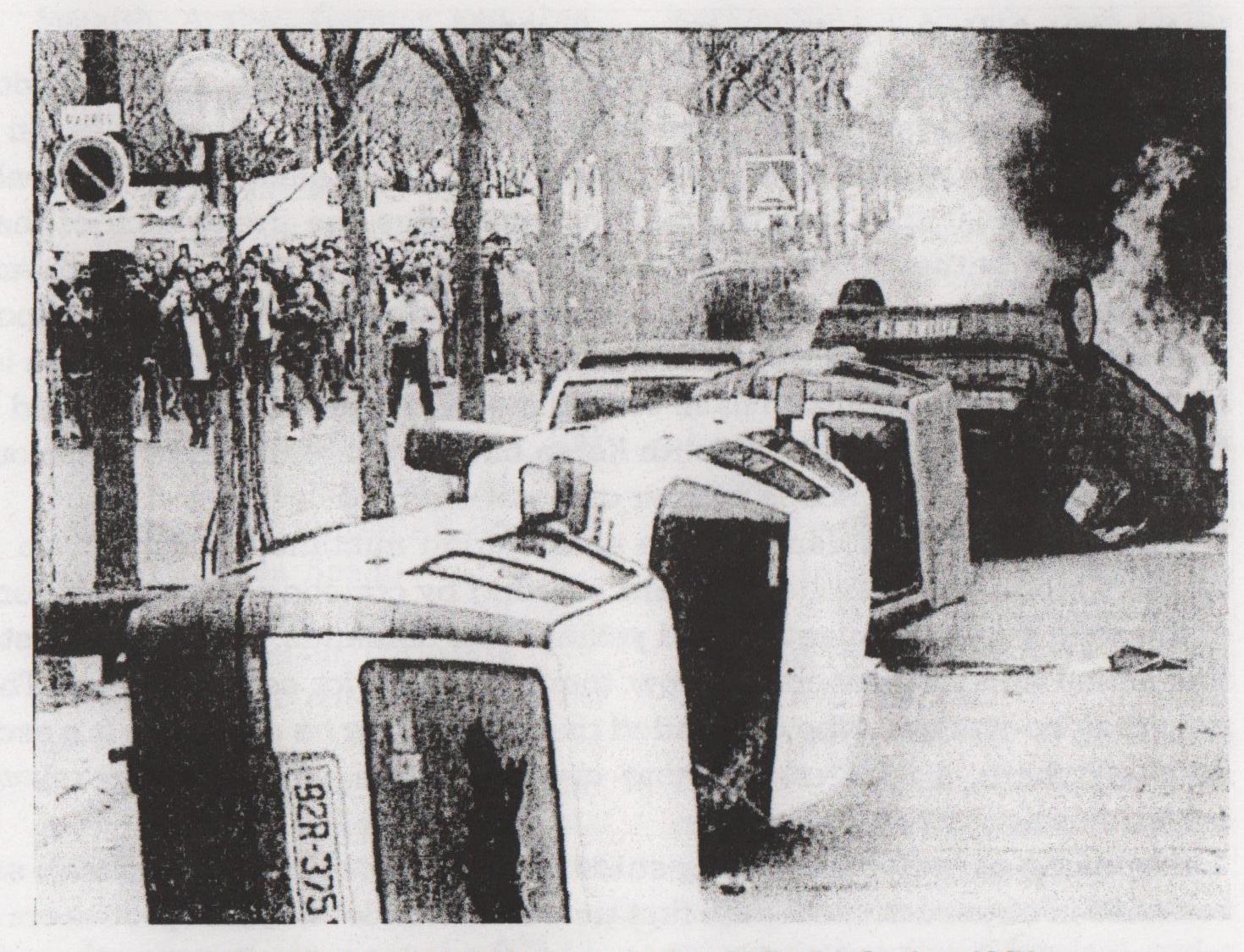
movement..."

"High school kids ditched classes at

for the next day, you were always sure to hook up with people looking for action.

"...Little by little, in Lyon and Nantes, the idea emerged that the street offered the only sounding board for the anti-CIP movement and a more general revolt...the ruling powers" intransigent attitude helped to clarify the movement's political perception."

("The View From Lyon")



Torched cars at a demonstration in Paris, Spring 1994

the slightest rumor of a downtown demonstration, blocking traffic there nearly every day. Little organization, and few links between high schools were visible, but you could see people converging toward 'trouble spots,' occupying certain strategic locations. These trouble spots...were in themselves places of organization, coordination, and informal discussion. They were also the places where, in the absence of any clear plan

"The time of the well-behaved demonstration is over. The number of incidents has increased alarmingly. Often, the student demonstrators have nothing to do with it. The 'hooligans' infiltrate their demonstrations. Who are they?...They are younger and younger. The great majority are less than 20 years old, and some are less than 15...The profiles of these young 'provo-

cateurs'? It defies every prejudice.

The others are from North or Black Af-

("Who Are The Hooligans?" Paris Match, April 7, 1994)

Three quarters are pure-blooded French.

From Globo Hebdo (A mainstream sensationalistic rag): At Montparnasse, (Paris) you didn't only come to demonstrate?

F: No, I came to riot and loot.

"The 'youth wage' has become the pretext for a profound revolt among young people. Devalued and rejected before they've entered the 'work world', young people in colleges, high schools and suburbs\* are faced with massive unemployment. They already know there's no future for them in this society. THEY ARE MADE WORTHLESS BECAUSE IN THE MODERN ECONOMY THEIR HUMANITY HAS NO MARKET VALUE...work no longer makes sense. It no longer corresponds directly to human needs, but serves the insane expansion of consumption and creates a more and more artificial and inhuman order of things. Work wastes incredible amounts of energy in the production of useless objects that destroy the environment...Some propose, with a straight face, the 'abolition of unemployment,' when it's wage-labor and money that need to be abolished!..."

"This society has no hope and no future and we all more or less confusedly know it...we have no ambitions other than to contribute to the movement, to help it find the reasons for what it's already done, and to go beyond what it has yet to accomplish..."

("Let's Turn Things Around", one of a series of leaflets signed, "Some workers and unemployed")

\*In France, the ghettoes are in the suburbs, and the wealthy neighborhoods of the rich and yuppies are in the inner

We Are All Hooligans is available from AK Press, PO Box 40682, San Francisco, CA 94140-0682

# A Letter from South Korea (Summer '95):

...I've written about the cycle of working class struggles that began with a student/worker occupation of a whole city, Kwangju, in 1980. The cycle of struggles lasted nearly seven years and faded when the military government made concessions for reforms, like direct elections. The weakness of revolutionaries (or wannabes) here is that they begrudgingly acknowledge the irrelevance of the gains of the liberal "democracy" movement, but they fail to effectively critique them by putting forward an internationalist politics. They fall into the trap of anti-imperialism/nationalism and mimic the rest of the political spectrum here by calling for national reunification, with no critique of national/ethnic identity. Korea is ethnically homogenous, and their historical isolation seems to have conditioned them to never look beyond their own borders. Its unfortunate because the working class in South Korea has such a remarkable consciousness of itself as a class, although this is only within the scope of their own nation-state.

Even now, workers demonstrate an inspiring militancy. Last fall (in 1994) striking telecommunications workers stormed an executive board meeting by crawling through air conditioning ducts, then bursting out of the ceiling into the meeting and yelling their demands. The pigs arrested all the rampaging workers from this action and threatened to throw them in prison for several years. This in turn inspired wildcat actions from their co-workers who demanded that all charges be dropped. It's exciting stuff, but the unions are here, as everywhere, a fetter to working class initiative, and the only relevant actions occur outside — and sometimes against — the unions.

Surprising as well is the rising student militancy. This spring (1995) saw the widespread use of Molotov cocktails in street actions for the first time this decade. Student protesters also come to events equipped with iron pipes for hand-to-hand combat with the riot pigs. From news reports I thought that the students' pro-worker rhetoric might mean that the student were about to really break things open again, but after witnessing my first demo here I realized that it's all a "set piece" with the pigs tactically defining where, when and how the confrontations take place. Also, after I got my first ever whiff of tear gas, its effects bringing me to my knees, I felt how much control the pigs really have over these confrontations. It was like a football scrimmage where the stronger team (the cops) always maintains the upper hand with its superior control over territory. Sadly, these ritualized demos appear to have been the same for decades. The students' politics stink, and this is matched by their lack of imaginative tactics. I'd hoped that at least some of them had read Sun Tzu...

# GROUPS AND PUBLICATIONS WITH PERSPECTIVES CLOSE TO

# THE POOR, THE BAD AND THE ANGRY:

Some are closer than others, and this list is not intended to be exhaustive. Its also not offered for use as an international youth hostel guide. Publications are underlined, and generally we advise readers to send at least a few dollars for samples of any publications.

Against Sleep And Nightmare; PO Box 3305, Oakland, CA 94609 USA. ASAN offers a critique of capitalist culture and deception, by one of the authors of The Poor the Bad and the Angry.

Armchair: Extremely humorous revolutionary publication, available from Folder 19, 30 Silver Street, Reading, UK.

Aspirin Wont Help: Mikhail Tsovma, 21-62 Volzhsky Blvd., Moscow 109462, Russia/CIS

Aufheben: c/o Unemployed Centre, Prior House, Tilbury Place, Brighton, East Sussex, UK. Issue #4 offers among other articles an excellent critique of the theories of Freddy Perlman and John Zerzan, and of the anti-technology/anti-civilization perspective that has emerged around their writings.

Black Autonomy: c/o Greg Jackson 323 Broadway Ave. E. Box #914 Seattle WA 98102

BM Blob: London WC1N 3XX, UK. Many pamphlets.

BM Combustion: London WC1N 3XX, UK. Many pamphlets.

Brouillon Pour Une Critique Sociale: (in French)

CDL, Case postale 5209, Succ. C:, Montreal, Quebec, Canada, H2X 3N2.

Collegamenti/Wobbly: (in Italian) c/o Angelo Caruso,

CP 10591, 20100 Milano, Italy.

Collective Action Notes: POB 22962, Baltimore, MD 21203 USA.

Collective Action Notes is part of the Exchanges Et Mouvement net-

work in Europe, and offers thorough accounts of working class struggles around the world with a particular focus on strikes and on-the-job actions. CAN is well worth reading, but their rather bizarre inclusion of a job action by cops in Washington DC, offered as an example of working class struggle, demonstrates the limits of their workerist perspective.

Communism/Internationalist Communist Group (do not use name on envelope): BP 54, Brussels 31, 1060 Brussels, Belgium.

The ICG publishes in French, Spanish, Arabic, German and Hungarian as well as English. Many North American anarchists will find the language used by the ICG to have some surface similarities to that used by Leninists, but perceptive readers who can get beyond this will find that the ICG is one of the most significant sources of analysis in the contemporary class war. Highly recommended.

Echanges Et Mouvement: BM BOX 91, London W1N 3XX, UK.

Etcetera (in Spanish) Ap. do. 1363, 08080 Barcelona, Spain.

The Harbinger: #127, 39120 Argonaut Way, Fremont, CA 94536 USA. The Harbinger is put out by friends of ours, and our perspectives seem to be evolving in a similar direction. Harbinger #3 has a solid critique of the Zapatistas and of what's left of the peace movement.

Mordicus: (in French) BP 11, 75622 Paris, Cedex 13, France.

News From Everywhere: Box 14, 136 Kingsland High St., #E82NS, London, UK.

NO!: PO Box 175, L69 8DX -Liverpool, UK.

Odio Al Capitalismo: (in Spanish ask for their English translations) A.V. Vida Natural, Apartado Correos 25, 27080 - Lugo, Spain.

Radical Chains: BM Radical Chains, WC1N 3XX, UK.

Kamunist Kranti: c/o: Sher Singh, Majdoor Library,

Autopin Jhuggi,

Faridabad - 121001, India

Subversion: Dept. 10 1 Newton Street, Manchester M1 1HW, UK.

Ta Paidia Tis Galarias: PO Box 76149 NEA SMIRNI 17110 Athens Greece

Temp Critiques: BP 2005, 34024 Montpellier, Cedex 01, France

Temp Slave! Work! Work! is one of the most enthusiastically antiwork/anti-wage slavery zines in the North American zine scene. Temp Slave publishes first-person accounts of the absurdity and brutality of the contemporary North American workplace with a special focus on temp workers. Employee sabotage of bosses is highlighted. Temp Slave offers an accurate picture of the levels of atomization and passivity, combativeness, class consciousness and the lack thereof among the post-industrial proletariat of the US at the end of the 20th century. Available from Keffo, POB 8284 Madison, WI 53708-8284

Totally Normal: c/o BM CRL London WC1N 3XX, UK.

Unpopular Books: Publishes a number of important books and pamphlets. Ask for a list. Box 15, Kingsland High St., London E8 2NS, UK.

Snipers Nest is a cool zine with a strong anti-capitalist leanings and a fun attitude. However, its author, Trevor, tends to make a virtue out of giving what he had for lunch equal billing with the fight for a society without exploitation.

SN c/o Trevor Rigler, PO Box 2351 **Galveston TX 77553-2351** 

Wildcat/England. Group with a left communist past, a primitivist present and an uncertain future. Their account of the US defeat in Somalia

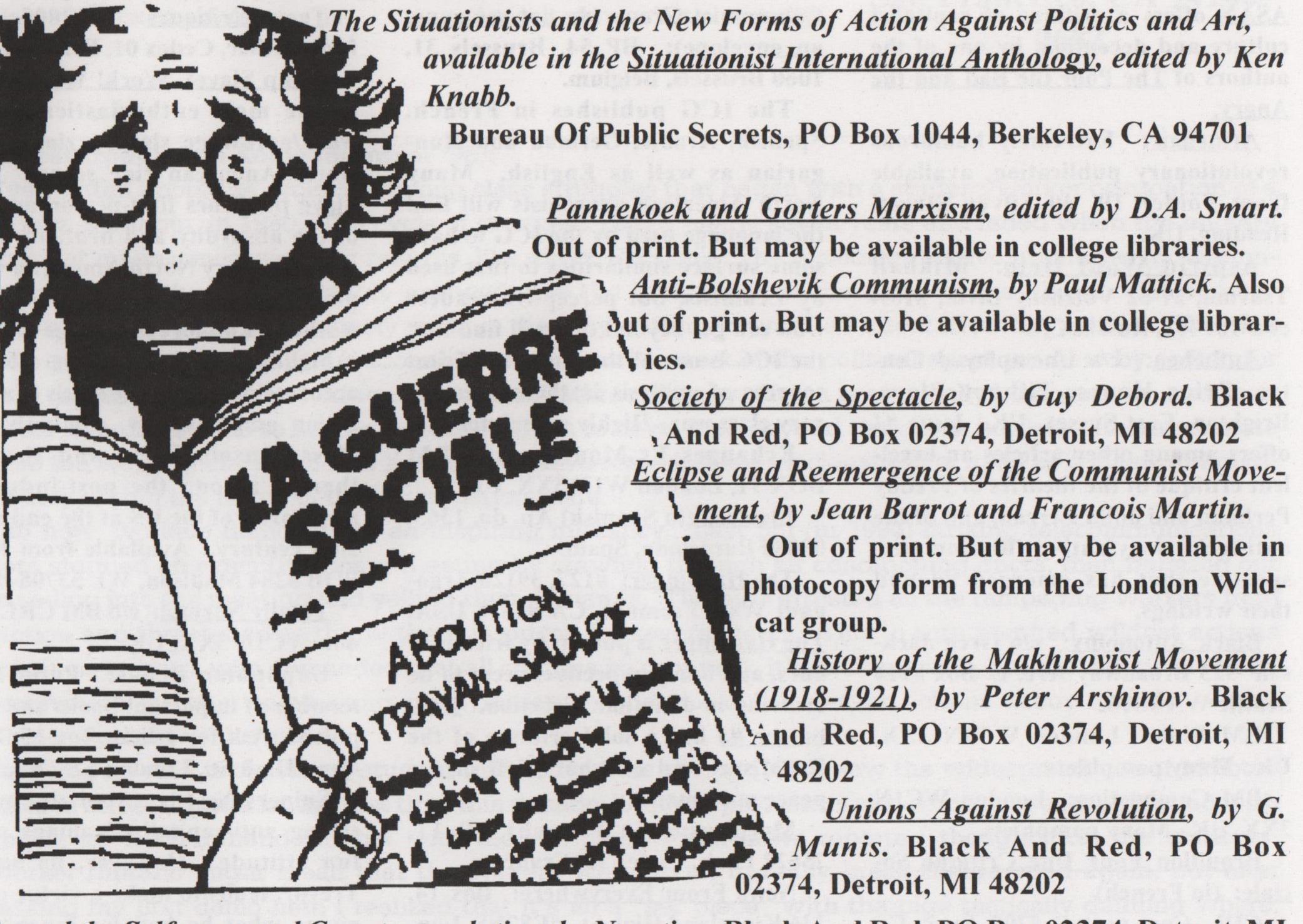
and a debate on democracy in the last issue of their magazine are worth checking out. Address exactly as follows: BM Cat, London WC1N 3XX, UK.

Wildcat/Germany. Not affiliated with the English group of the same name. They produce some English language materials. Write to: Wildcat c/o Sisina, Postfach 300527 D-1000 Berlin, Germany.

Worldwide Intifada: Box 1, 22 High Street, Leamington Warwickshire, UK

Our perspectives may seem novel or iconoclastic to many of our readers. But we have not emerged in a political vacuum. To get a better grasp of the historical context in which our perspectives emerged, please see the following:

Various articles by the Situationist International, including Preliminaries on the Councils and Councilist Organization The Decline and Fall of the Spectacle-Commodity Economy The Explosion Point of Ideology In China



Lip and the Self-managed Counterrevolution, by Negation. Black And Red, PO Box 02374, Detroit, MI 48202

The Continuing Appeal of Nationalism, by Freddy Perlman. Black And Red, PO Box 02374, Detroit, MI 48202

# TO BART STATION AGENTS AND TRAIN OPERATORS:

As you know, the impending April Fool's Day fare hike is the second part of a 50% fare increase. Management clearly intends to pit BART riders and BART employees against one another by having station agents enforce increased payment of fares. But common action between BART employees and riders can render the fare hike unenforceable, sink plans for more fare hikes, and put BART workers in a stronger position the next time a giveback contract is being pushed.

# LOOK THE OTHER WAY WHEN PEOPLE DON'T PAY

This fare increase is not an isolated event, or a minor inconvenience. It's one step in an ongoing attack on the living standards of the working class and the poor by corporations, bosses and politicians. If we don't take action against these attacks our living conditions will continue to deteriorate.

BART management brags that, until last year, fares hadn't been increased since 1986. But as everyone knows most people's wages haven't kept pace with the cost of living. Meanwhile, American corporations are making historically unprecedented profits -- profits at the expense of wage earners and the poor. The rich are getting richer, and the rest of us are getting poorer.

AS LONG AS WE PLAY BY THEIR RULES, WE LOSE

BART workers are in a position of strength that most working people aren't. This is due to BART's crucial role in the smooth functioning of the capitalist economy. From its inception, BART was intended to subsidize employers and corporations need for a transit system to get their wage slaves to work and shopping. The fare hike is a massive gift to bosses and merchants from those who can least afford to pay. If riders refuse to pay, they'll run the trains anyway. BART employees have nothing to gain from enforcing the payment of fares.

Don't look to the unions for guidance or leadership on this. Remember the last giveback contract? How many times have union bureaucrats called for hesitation when immediate, direct action was needed? Big fare hikes mean there will be big increases in fare evasion. Turn the other way when riders jump the gate or piggyback in and out behind other riders. Your action can be a step towards compelling the cost to be picked up by those who benefit from the current set-up: corporations, employers and the rich.

FRIENDS OF BLACK BART PO BOX 3305, Oakland CA 94609 (415) 267-3925

Please use BART photocopiers and fax machines to distribute this leaflet to your co-workers