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War is the Health of the State An Interview with Howard Zinn

Howard Zinn has been a pivotal figure in the American Left for decades. As an activist and writer, he has influenced generations of leftists and helped encourage a strong commitment to direct democracy, anti-racism, and grassroots action.

We asked Zinn about the current changes in the political environment, his theoretical commitments, and some of the challenges faced by radical intellectuals. This interview was conducted by e-mail in the spring of 2003. ~ *Paul Glavin & Chuck Morse*

How would you define the "War on Terrorism"? What kind of war is this and whom is it directed against?

The notion of a "War on Terrorism" makes no sense. You cannot make war on terrorism: it is an ideology that springs from many sources and one that can be located in many countries. The terrorism of September 11th was real, but the United States is using it as an excuse to first bomb Afghanistan, now Iraq, and to expand American power in the Middle East.

So, the "War on Terrorism" is just a cover to perpetuate US global hegemony?

Exactly. It is also a way to cover up the failure to solve domestic problems and build support for a President who got into office through a political coup and needs to show he has a mandate he doesn't deserve.

Today there is all sorts of talk of war: the "War on Terrorism" and the war on Iraq and a possible war with North Korea. At the same time the economy is in trouble, unemployment is up, and local governments are cutting back education, health

care, and other social services. Have we seen this dynamic before in history and how can radicals draw out the connections between the two?

War against an enemy abroad is always simultaneously a war against people at home, because war always draws the resources of the nation into military activity. One reason why there were Black uprisings during the Vietnam War was that the needs of the ghettos were neglected in order to carry on the war in Vietnam. How to draw the connections? Simply point out how much money is going to the military and what human services are being diminished. For example, just the other day, along with stories of the increased military budget there was a story about the Bush administration taking money away from the school lunch program.

But in the 1960s the Johnson Administration, while pursuing the War in Indochina, tried to placate the population with a simultaneous War on Poverty and Great Society programs. How is today different than that period?

Clearly, Bush is not trying to placate the population,

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IAS GRANT AWARDS

The Institute for Anarchist Studies annually awards \$8000 in grants to writers whose work is important to the anarchist critique of domination, have a clear financial need, and whose piece is likely to be widely distributed. In February 2003 the IAS Board of Directors was pleased to award grants to the following individuals:

\$1000 to **Josh MacPhee** for three essays on anarchism and aesthetics collectively entitled "Building New Contexts for Anarchist Graphics, Videos and Films." These essays will focus on how anarchist cultural products are produced in

a world defined by visual literacy, how this relates to capitalism's use of design and art to "brand" ideas and products, and how anti-authoritarian signs and signifiers compare and compete. MacPhee is an artist and activist living in Chicago.

\$1200 to **Errol Schweizer** for his novel "Rage at Dawn." Two major themes will be present in this work of historical fiction: the attempt to reform and organize against the present structure of oppression and construction of a libertarian and egalitarian alternative. Schweizer hopes to present anarchist ideas in a way that can be related

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PERSPECTIVES ON
ANARCHIST THEORY

Spring 2003, Vol. 7, No. 1

Newsletter of the
Institute for Anarchist Studies

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Subscription Rates

Two issues per year

IAS Donors	–	Free
Individuals	–	\$5
Institutions	–	\$10
Bulk (25 Copies)–		\$25

(Please make checks payable to
the *Institute for Anarchist Studies*)

Disclaimer: the views expressed in
Perspectives do not necessarily
represent the views of the IAS as a
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Institute for Anarchist Studies Update

Welcome to the spring 2003 issue of *Perspectives*! We are pleased to announce that the Institute for Anarchist Studies (IAS) has successfully completed its sixth year of existence. Once again we have provided grants to exciting anarchist writers, met our fundraising goals, and published our bi-annual newsletter, *Perspectives*.

The IAS has experienced some major changes over the past year. In February, we added Alexis Bhagat to our board of directors and also elected Michael Caplan of Montreal as the IAS's new general director. We believe Alexis and Michael will make important contributions to the IAS and help us improve its effectiveness and vitality.

The addition of Michael Caplan, our new general director, is extremely exciting for us. Michael is very well suited for the position, as he has extremely strong administrative skills as well as a deep commitment to the development of anarchist theory. We expect that Michael will encourage the IAS to expand in new and improved directions. (Please note that we have also changed our mailing address, indicated in the box below.)

Our new board member, Alexis Bhagat, is also very exciting to us. Like Michael, Alexis has skills and experiences which we believe will contribute to the IAS. He has a long background in prison activism, the arts, and is a devoted writer. We welcome the two of them aboard.

As always, we must give thanks to all the generous friends of the IAS, both new and old, who have contributed to our fundraising campaigns. It is difficult to communicate how inspiring it is for us to see the anarchist community rallying around projects such as the IAS.

In February, we also awarded grants to four individuals. The projects range from historical analyses, to art criticism and literature, to anarchist cultural studies. More detailed information about these funded projects is available in the "Grants Awarded" section on the first page.

As the IAS ages, we expect that the work that we do, along with the myriad other important anarchist projects in existence today, will begin to have an effect and impact on social change in general and the anarchist community in particular. While anarchists already have an important role to play in new social movements around the globe and have provided key critical analyses, we expect that the work that we do today—both written and participatory—to have an essential impact in the coming years.

We believe that the IAS, by providing much needed financial support to radical writers; by offering moral and technical support to both grantees and others; and by encouraging the growth of critical anarchist studies in general, is an important asset to the growing anarchist movement in the United States as well as in the world. We encourage those with an interest in furthering anarchist aspirations to join us and help support our work.

This issue of *Perspectives* interviews historian and radical critic Howard Zinn. Also included is a piece on what everyday life is like for Palestinians who live under a military occupation: what techniques are used to maintain control; how violence and the threat of such differs from other colonial regimes; and how anarchists may understand this conflict and contribute to understanding and resistance.

Also included is Chuck Morse's regular contribution, "What's happening: Books and Events," which reports on new books, articles, and other resources that are relevant to the anarchist community.

It is our hope that you find the essays, articles, and organizational updates included in this issue of *Perspectives* to be valuable. As always, we encourage people to contact us with questions or concerns.

Lastly, on a personal note, I would like to thank all the board members who had assisted me over the past year as general director. I resign from the position knowing that the organization will be in good (indeed better) hands. I also feel as hopeful as ever that the IAS will continue to evolve and become ever more relevant in contributing to the development of critical anarchist thought.

~ John Petrovato

New IAS Address!

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The Violence of Everyday life in the Occupied Palestinian Territories

By John Petrovato

The events recorded here occurred on a single day, November 7, 2002, in the occupied West Bank. The following occurrences are daily ones, and November 7th might have been December 2, July 17th, or January 10th. The report below will hopefully illuminate the scale of unreported violence daily inflicted upon the Palestinian people.

BALATA REFUGEE CAMP

At three in the morning on this day of November 7th, undocumented military operations would be waged throughout the camp. Sleep would become impossible as heavy gunfire would be sprayed in the streets and alleyways. The darkness of the building where I slept would be disrupted by constant flashes which lit up the night from bullets and other artillery racing past windows. In the first few minutes of listening to this searingly loud cacophony, I could not decipher what it was. Others in my apartment whispered in panic; four Japanese men, an American woman, and I fearfully crawled to the safety of a windowless room in the center of the apartment. For the next couple of hours, we sat in silence and listened as soldiers yelled orders back and forth immediately outside the window. Everywhere, near and far, one heard the dark, ominous sound of tanks creeping around in the city. Though all the residents of the city were surely awake, all houses remained shrouded in darkness and silence until the troops finally pulled out around five A.M. People then filled the streets to investigate injuries and assess the damages of the long night.

Such late night operations are routine, occurring as many as four or five times per week. No explanation for the operations is ever given, though people take it as a signal that a curfew is about to be reimposed.

At 7 A.M. on that same morning, I, along with two other international observers, accompanied some children to school in the hopes of saving them from being tear gassed. Along the way, one could see the many bullet holes that have pierced houses' walls and windows throughout the main streets. Residents seemed to be accustomed to the nightly violence and its morning evidence. The streets were full of people going to market and school—children, dressed in neat uniforms, holding their books and toting backpacks, on their way to school. For these children

going to school is the highlight of their day and they walk with excitement. The city had only recently recovered from a three month, 24 hour curfew in which these same children were forced to remain indoors interminably; today, as far as anyone could ascertain, there was no curfew in effect.

However, the fact that a curfew is not in effect does not mean that getting to school is an easy task. We discovered this as we walked with schoolgirls as they made their way to Nablus, an adjacent city. For them, the normal way of getting to school meant by-passing the check points by a path cut through people's backyards, construction sites, and behind the bombed-out debris of the former Palestinian Authority building. While the Israeli military knows that these routes exist, they don't usually interfere since the goal is not to disrupt attendance at school, but merely make it more difficult.

This morning was different. The entrances to these alternative paths were blocked with jeeps and tanks, while soldiers informed children over loudspeakers that travel to Nablus was prohibited and they should return to their homes. When questioned, the soldiers would not give a straight answer as to whether there was a curfew in effect that day. I later learned that such noncommittal comments on completely arbitrary decisions were part of the routine harassment on everyday life. Desperate to attend school, some of the children attempted to negotiate with the soldiers. In response to this "defiance," soldiers began to throw tear gas canisters and sound grenades at the "offending" children. Many of these children were only six or seven years old, and all ran in panic to escape. Some were handcuffed and thrown into the back of jeeps, to be taken to the military base and interrogated. Those who escaped ran down the streets with their faces and eyes ablaze with the pain of tear gas. Some turned to throw stones at the armored jeeps and tanks, an act of defiance which, as some children lucidly explained to me, was something which they—but not adults—could do.

While all of this was taking place, just up the street the Israeli military had stopped traffic in all directions near the main intersection between Nablus and Balata. Like the arbitrary decision to cut off safe passage for school children to their schools, the military had also decided that there would be no travel in or out of Nablus on that day. Drivers

FROM THE NEW IAS DIRECTOR

It is with great honor that I have been elected the new general director of the Institute for Anarchist Studies. I have admired the IAS's work for some time and I am very excited to have the opportunity to work closely with the project. I firmly believe that the IAS is an invaluable resource for the global anarchist community.

I come to the IAS with a background in community activism and organizational management. As an activist, I co-founded the Montréal Food not Bombs chapter, which brought the battle against the exclusion of homeless people from public spaces in Montréal to a new level. Within the realm of organizational management, I was a co-ordinator of a student activist organization, the Quebec Public Interest Research Group at Concordia University and a collective member of the 29-year-old self-managed anarchist bookstore Librairie Alternative. Presently, I hold a part time position as the Media Coordinator for Vermont's Institute for Social Ecology.

I hope that my fulfillment of the IAS directorship, along with our board of directors, will provide the IAS with the energy it needs not only to sustain itself but also develop to new heights. I look forward to building new relationships with IAS supporters and allies, as it is you who make this organization viable and worth-while. I welcome any comments from you on what you believe my priorities as the new director should be.

I'm looking forward to a vibrant year!

~ Michael Caplan

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IAS GRANT UPDATES

Lorenzo Komboa Erwin has completed the rewrite of his book, *Anarchism and the Black Revolution*. He has not yet secured a publisher for the revised work, but several Left and anarchist publishing houses in the United States and United Kingdom have expressed interest. Lorenzo is now moving onto his next project, which will be an autobiography entitled *Years of Struggle, Years of Death*. Lorenzo lives in Kalamazoo, Michigan and was awarded \$2000 in July 2002.

Will Firth has completed his Russian-to-English translations. The first piece is entitled "Russian Capitalism and the Global Economy" and second piece is a series of biographical essays and fragments on Nestor Makhno (tied together with a foreword). Will lives in Berlin, Germany with his son. He was awarded \$500 in January 2001.

Ramor Ryan is making excellent progress on his upcoming book, *The Revolt of the Globalized* (originally titled *Globalization and its Discontents*). The book is comprised of stories of resistance to capitalism based on his political experiences and travels over the past 15 years. They chart the development (and short-comings) of anti-imperialist struggles for national liberation and stories of revolt, revolution, and freedom. He writes with a personal voice that expresses solidarity, compassion, and humor.

Residing for the past five years in San Cristobal, Chiapas, Ramor has completed all but the introduction and the final

cautiously waved their Israeli government supplied documents in the air; soldiers responded with such "civilized" communication techniques as aggressive hand gestures, screams, the repositioning of tank barrels directly towards individuals or vehicles, and threats to smash windows and hoods with the large sledge hammers they so visibly wielded. A large school bus carrying teenage schoolgirls was emptied of passengers and metamorphosed into a roadblock. The driver was told to return the following evening to see whether he would be allowed to retrieve the bus. Meanwhile, as Palestinians turned their vehicles around in the crowded intersection, it became evident that the roadblocks were only applicable to them. Israeli citizens, illegal residents in the West Bank, were waved through without inspection.

At roughly the same time, a temporary checkpoint had been set up only a couple blocks away where all men between the ages of fifteen and fifty were being taken into custody and interrogated. Their identification papers were seized, they had to pull up their shirts and unbutton the tops of their pants to prove that they were not wearing explosive belts, and finally had to stand quietly in a straight line while the soldiers painstakingly reviewed their identification papers. The soldiers told me that they were being checked as "possible suspected terrorists" (which evidently includes all men). Like many of the other daily "military operations" effected for "security reasons" in all parts of Palestine, the soldiers would soon abandon the operation and move on.

Amidst the daily harassment and chaos, the potential for tragedy was realized, as it is for everyone on the West Bank every day. On a road leading toward the Askar refugee camp, a ten-year-old boy was found lying in the street and bleeding. Soldiers had opened fire on him with live ammunition after he attempted to hurl a bottle at a tank. Only a few hours after this incident, soldiers on duty at the Askar intersection laughed as they continued to "play" with live ammunition with some other heckling Palestinian boys. This stone-throwing behavior on the part of children has been characterized by many American journalists as a form of child exploitation or, in the words of Thomas Friedman of the *New York Times*, "You feel as if you are watching a modern form of ritual sacrifice." Such claims typically distort and decontextualize this behavior, as well as negate the savviness of Palestinian children who know that they can get away with more than their adult counterparts. The Israeli human rights organization B'tselem investigated the child exploitation allegations and found that "no evidence

of organized exploitation of children" during the Intifada.

All of the above occurred before three P.M. in a roughly six square block area. By mid-afternoon, the military with its tanks, jeeps, and soldiers picked up and left. Residents walked safely down the streets and vehicular transportation again became possible. Of course, this would be a short-lived freedom as the soldiers, tanks, and jeeps would return at nightfall and re-impose a full curfew over the entire area, and thus the pattern would continue in an endless cycle.

Later in the afternoon, students at Nablus University would celebrate the end of their fourth day straight of school. The University of 8,000 pupils, which specializes in sciences, economics and management, has a student population which is 55% women. The university had been shut down for the previous four months—three months due to the full curfew imposed on the city's residents, and the final month because Israeli settler snipers were firing into the university's courtyards.

Evening hours returned again. The starry sky of previous nights returned with the brisk cool air announcing the onset of winter. Ramadan would be celebrated throughout the West Bank, and feasts would be arranged at the "break fast" with family and friends. Like the previous night, the children would run up and down the streets with sparklers again, almost oblivious to the fact that tanks and troops were but a few blocks away imposing curfew in another neighborhood.

RAMALLA

Ramalla, the administrative center for the Palestinian Authority and a city of about 20,000, sits about twenty miles south of Nablus and ten miles north of Jerusalem. Like every other Palestinian city, invasions of troops and tanks have been going on since March of 2002. The invading army arrives, closes intersections, harasses people, searches houses and automobiles, and detains random individuals. On this particular afternoon, the military applied full closures to all entrances to the city. An ambulance carrying a Palestinian civilian "accidentally" wounded with live ammunition by Israeli soldiers was denied passage. The wounded man, lacking medical attention, would be left to wonder whether he would be the next person to die in an ambulance denied passage at a checkpoint.

The Qalandya Roadblock, where this wounded individual lay in the ambulance, is but one of 120 permanent checkpoints in the West Bank. Along with the hundreds of roadblocks between and within town and cities, some 300 separate areas have been created

in Palestine in which travel from one place to another is extremely limited.

Thus, even on this day, a couple of hours after the military told everyone that no passage would be allowed in or out of Ramalla, the soldiers started allowing a few individuals to cross. They would search each closely and ask the usual questions: “Where are you going?” “What are you doing here?” “What business do you have there?” “When will you return?” “What is your occupation?” “Do you know any terrorists?” Some people who attempted to approach soldiers would be met with verbal abuses and physical threats; it was common to have a machine gun pointed at your face for asking too many questions. If or when a person was allowed through a checkpoint, it was accompanied by comments like, “Remember that I am doing you a favor” and “Don’t think that I will do this favor for you tomorrow,” although usually they are just dismissed with a flick of the hand.

Meanwhile, Ramallan construction workers continued to repair the Palestinian administrative complex which had been completely destroyed by an Israeli military attack a few months before. A massive mural, painted at the time by the invading Israeli army on a collapsed wall, read, “Israeli Victory”—in case the Palestinians should ever forget.

TULKAREM

Tulkarem, a city in the northwest corner of the West Bank, sits along the “Green line,” the 1967 border with Israel. The 1967 border does not represent territory originally granted to Israel by the British and the UN, but land taken after the 1948 war with Arab countries. The 1967 border is now seen by the international community (as well as the Palestinians) as the legitimate border between Israel and Palestine.

For the unfortunate cities located alongside this border, however, there are still daily invasions to endure, and a larger percentage of Israeli settlements than in other parts of the West Bank, in some districts totaling 40% of the total population. Protection for the illegal settlers requires a greater military presence as well. The settlers are “illegal” in the sense that it is against International law in general and the Geneva convention in particular to transplant one’s population into an area or territory one has conquered.

At 8:00 in the morning, and for unclear reasons, the Israeli military raided a school run by the UN, resulting in confrontations between soldiers and Palestinian youths. The youths threw stones and bottles at the occupying army and were met with live ammunition in return, resulting in two teenagers being

hit by shrapnel. “Resistance” of any sort is usually met with an escalated military presence and, in this case, the military called in American-made Apache helicopters for assistance. Such hyperbolic use of helicopters, tanks, and other equipment is common in response to minor or symbolic resistance.

QALQILYA

Qalqilya is another city which borders the Green line, about ten miles south of Tulkarem. The city has struggled constantly for its very existence in recent history. It has experienced constant curfews and closures which has resulted in travel being permitted in or out of the city only 72 days in the past two years.

On this day, the primary task of Qalqilya’s residents will be to try to salvage anything from fields which are in the process of being plowed in preparation for the Israeli security wall. The security wall was promoted to Israeli voters as a way to provide a barrier between peoples. The wall also encloses the city almost completely on four sides, allowing but one road into the city. Conveniently, a large Israeli military base sits at the mouth of that one road and controls all movement with the use of a metal swinging barrier for motor vehicles, and a walking path which require individuals to pass through tunnels of barbed-wire fencing.

Setting aside the absurdity of walls and their symbolism, the wall was supposed to follow the 1967 border. Yet, typical of Israeli policies, such is not the case: it is being directed far into Palestinian lands. It basically became an opportunity for a “land grab” as it became evident that tremendous amounts of land and water resources could be annexed to Israel. The wall would even end up isolating Palestinian villages from each other. For some families, the wall would essentially put them on the Israeli side of the border, unable to access Palestine. These people would basically be in no-man’s land as they are not Israeli citizens and have no legal rights or political representation. They would also have little means of earning a living.

Qalqilya farmers who harvest citrus fruit would attempt to quickly pick the fruit ahead of the path of destruction following them in the fields. Families whose land would be being seized for the building of the wall would scramble to salvage their citrus crop. They would fill tractors, donkeys, and cars with their pickings in clear view of the construction company hired to plow under the land, the armed security company hired by the construction company, and the armored vehicles and soldiers protecting both groups. Massive

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IAS GRANT UPDATES (CONTINUED)

chapter. He plans to finish the approximately 200 page book shortly after the September 2003 ministerial meeting of the World Trade Organization in Cancun (material from this protest will be incorporated into his work). Ramor was awarded \$2000 in July 2002.

Andres Perez and **Filipe del Solar** have recently finished the second part of their book entitled *Chile: Anarchist Practices Under Pinochet*. The first chapter, running 81 pages covers the 1970’s and political developments including anarcho-syndicalist activities, anarchist involvement in the student movement and counter-culture, and armed anarchist action. The project has been expanded to include a chapter on anarchist practices in the 1990’s. The project has been very exciting for the IAS to support, given that this research has never been done before and will assist in illuminating how anarchists have struggled under extreme authoritarian conditions. The project is expected to be completed in April 2004. Filipe is a university student currently completing his studies and Andres is a journalist who is a regular contributor to political magazines in Venezuela, Bolivia, and Germany. They were awarded \$2000 in January 2001.

Fernando López has nearly completed his work, *The FACA and the Anarchist Movement in Argentina, 1930–1950*. This piece is a study of Argentina’s Federación Anarquista Comunista Argentina (FACA). It examines the growth of the

Continued on next page...

IAS GRANT
UPDATES (CONTINUED)

FACA from 1935 and into the 1940s and then its decline in the late 1940s and 1950s. Nine chapters of this eleven chapter work have already been written. The two remaining chapters will cover the impact of the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) upon the FACA as well as its activity in the labor movement in the 1930s and 1940s. The work will also contain an extensive biographical appendix and bibliography. Fernando lives in Buenos Aires, Argentina with his daughter. He was awarded \$2200 in June 1999.

Murray Bookchin has nearly completed the third and last volume of his *The Third Revolution: Popular Movements in the Revolutionary Era* (Continuum Publications). Bookchin was awarded \$1000 in January 1997 to write the second volume of his *The Spanish Anarchists*, but material that would have comprised that book has been incorporated into the *Third Revolution*. It is anticipated that the work will be available by the end of this year or the beginning of the next. Murray lives in Burlington, Vermont.

If you are interested in applying for a grant, please send a self-addressed, stamped envelope to the IAS. Grant applications are also available at the IAS's website: <http://www.anarchist-studies.org>

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What's Happening: Books & Events

By Chuck Morse

FROM BAGHDAD

The U.S. government has now concluded a war that few wanted and that lacked legitimacy among the public as a whole. Although it won the military struggle in Iraq, it lost the battle for public opinion and is disdained by billions around the globe as a ruthless instrument of ruling elites. The world's only super power is actually quite vulnerable.

Anarchists should exploit this vulnerability and radicalize the debate about the war. We must show that the aggressions of the Bush administration not only reflect the insanity of a particularly aberrant president but also the underlying barbarity of the present social order.

Numerous new books should help us expose the bankruptcy of pro-war arguments. In *Against War with Iraq: An Anti-War Primer*, three legal scholars from the Center for Constitutional Rights argue that the war against Iraq is unnecessary for the United States' national security as well as illegal (by Michael Ratner, Jennie Green, and Barbara Olshansky, Seven Stories Press, 2003, 80 pages). Milan Rai's *War Plan Iraq: Ten Reasons Against War on Iraq* (Verso Books, 2002, 256 pages) argues that arms inspections are a genuine alternative to war and that the Bush administration has deliberately undermined the inspection process. *War on Iraq: What Team Bush Doesn't Want You to Know* by William Rivers Pitt and Scott Ritter (Context Books, 2002, 96 pages) attacks the Bush administrations pro-war rational and *Iraq Under Siege: The Deadly Impact of Sanctions and War*, edited by Anthony Arnone, places the war against Iraq in the context of the United States and the United Kingdom's sanctions regime (Pluto Press, 2003, 264 pages).

Other books provide a radical perspective on some of the longstanding contradictions from which the war emerges. *Shattered Illusions: Analyzing the War on Terrorism*, an anthology edited by Aftab Malik, examines U.S. policies and actions in the Middle East, with a focus on its "war on terror." It addresses questions such as: is "terrorism" what really lies at the heart of the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians, as the Sharon government

contends? And what is driving the United States toward war with Iraq? It explores the histories and implications of these conflicts for the United States and the peoples of the region (Amal Press, 2002, 384 pages). Noam Chomsky's *Middle East Illusions* takes up questions such as: What are the roots of the Israel-Palestinian conflict and how has it been influenced by the United States? Why has the U.S. brokered "peace process" repeatedly failed to deliver peace? What are the prospects for a just resolution? What interests underlie U.S. strategic doctrines in the Middle East and how do we look beyond them to find more peaceful and viable alternatives? (Rowman & Littlefield, 2003, 304 pages).

TO SEATTLE

Although the anti-globalization movement has largely disappeared from the U.S. political landscape since the September 11th terror attacks, we should study its accomplishments and problems and try to renew its presence in the current environment. *Globalize Liberation: How to Uproot the System and Build a Better World*, edited by David Solnit, aims to deepen, popularize, and update ideas derived from the movement and provide practical ideas for maintaining its spirit of resistance and innovation (City Lights, June 2003, 248 pages). Naomi Klein's *Fences and Windows: Dispatches from the Front Lines of the Globalization Debate* (Picador, 2002, 267 pages), a collection of her journalistic pieces from 1999 to 2002, also reflects some of the needs and conflicts of the movement. Works on specific demonstrations are also valuable. Jonathan Neale's *You Are G8 - We Are Six Billion: The Truth behind the Genoa Protests* is an account of the July 2001 protests written by one of the organizers of the demonstrations (Vision Paperbacks, 2003, 288 pages). There is also *Resist: A Grassroots Collection of Stories, Poetry, Photos and Analyses from the Quebec City FTAA Protests and Beyond*, edited by Jen Chang et al, (Fernwood Books, 2001, 192 Pages). This work presents personal accounts, images, and analyses of the April 2001 demonstration in Québec City. It challenges readers to step beyond mainstream media reports and reassess their role in the movement.

A treatment of some of the theoretical issues raised by the anti-globalization movement can be found in *Debating Empire*, an anthology edited by Gopal Balakrishnan (Verso Books, May 2003, 288 pages). Here various theorists analyze Michael Negri and Antonio Hart's *Empire* from political, economic, and philosophical perspectives, and Hardt and Negri respond.

IAS on the Web

- IAS Publications
- IAS Grant Application
- Helpful Links

<http://www.anarchist-studies.org/>

DEMOCRACY FROM THE BOTTOM UP

A defense of participatory, democratic organizing can be found in Francesca Polletta's *Freedom Is an Endless Meeting: Democracy in American Social Movements* (University of Chicago, 2002, 296 pages). This book offers portraits of American experiments in participatory democracy throughout the twentieth century. Polletta challenges the claim that participatory democracy is worthy in purpose but unworkable in practice by showing that social movements have often used bottom-up decision-making as a powerful tool for political change. She traces the history of democracy in early labor struggles and pre-World War II pacifism, the Civil Rights, New Left, and Women's Liberation movements, and in today's faith-based organizing and anti-corporate globalization campaigns. Polletta uncovers neglected sources of democratic inspiration—Depression-era labor educators and Mississippi voting registration workers, among them—as well as practical strategies of social protest. The book also highlights obstacles that arise when activists model their democracies upon familiar non-political relationships such as friendship, tutelage, and religious fellowship

ANARCHISM

Two new books engage the anarchist tradition as such. Lewis Call's *Postmodern Anarchism* (Lexington Books, 2003) delves into Nietzsche, Foucault, and Baudrillard, and the cyberpunk fiction of William Gibson and Bruce Sterling, to examine new philosophical currents where anarchism and postmodernism meet. His perspective moves beyond anarchism's conventional attacks on capital and the state to criticize forms of rationality, consciousness, and language that implicitly underwrite all economic and political power. There is also *Anarchism* by Sean Sheehan (Reaktion Books, 2003, 224 pages). Sheehan presents anarchism as much as an attitude as a set of formulated doctrines, describes anarchism's history through anecdote and dramatic events, and offers explanations of the issues behind this movement. He looks at instances of anarchist thinking and influence in political thought, the history of ideas, philosophy, theories of education and ecology, as well as film and literary criticism. Systems of thought such as Buddhism and Taoism, art movements such as Dada and Surrealism, literary treatments of anarchist ideas in the work of Blake, Wilde, Whitman, Kafka and Eugene O'Neill, anarchism in relation to sex and psychology in the work of Reich and Fromm, as well as aspects of Nietzsche's philosophy as expressions of anarchist individualism—all these and

other topics are also tackled. Readers interested in anarchism's literary influence may wish to check out Simon Casey's *Naked Liberty and the World of Desire: Elements of Anarchism in the Work of D.H. Lawrence* (Routledge, 2003, 160 pages).

ANARCHA-FEMINISM

The anarchy-feminist tradition has always been vibrant, but we have lacked comprehensive statements of the perspective for a long time. *Quiet Rumours: An Anarchy-Feminist Reader* should help change this. This anthology, edited by the Dark Star Collective, contains works by anarchy-feminists from the Old Left, New Left, and the contemporary period (AK Press, 2003, 120 pages). And of course the most well known anarchy-feminist, Emma Goldman, continues to attract the attention of researchers and activists. An important new resource is *Emma Goldman: A Documentary History of the American Years, Volume One: Made for America, 1890–1901*, edited by Candace Falk, Barry Pateman, and Jessica Moran (University of California, 2003, 696 pages). This work, the first of a multi-volume series, tracks the young Goldman's introduction into the anarchist movement, features her earliest known writings in the German anarchist press, and charts her gradual emergence from New York's radical immigrant milieu into a figure of national and international importance.

SPAIN

Anarchist contributions to the Spanish Civil War of 1936–1939 are an inexhaustible source of interest for historians. *Anarchism and the Spanish Civil War* by Julián Casanova (Routledge, December 2003, 224 pages) is a synthesis of political, social, and cultural history concerning the anarchist revolution by one of Spain's leading historians of the period. *Red Barcelona: Social Protest and Labour Mobilization in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Angel Smith should be rewarding to those interested in radical urban politics and anarchist history (Routledge, 2002, 272 pages). *Class, Culture and Conflict in Barcelona* by Chris Ealham (Routledge, May 2004, 240 pages) investigates urban conflict, popular protest, and social control in Barcelona from the turn of the century to 1937. His work focuses upon the sources of anarchist power in the city and the role of the organized anarchist movement during the Second Republic and concludes with an analysis of the decline of the anarchist movement during the civil war and the local conditions that made Barcelona the capital of European anarchism. ~

CULTURA LIBRE

Although Mexico has a rich history of anarchist activity and a dynamic anarchist movement, Mexican comrades have not been able to sustain regular publishing activities. This has made it difficult for anarchists to debate ideas among themselves as well as introduce new ideas into the broader political culture.

This should change soon: comrades associated with Mexico City's *Collectivo Autonomo Magonista* have recently initiated a new publishing endeavor under the imprint *Cultura Libre* (Free Culture).

They will publish books and pamphlets designed to nourish the discussion of revolutionary alternatives in Mexico and the Spanish-speaking world generally. They have already published a critical pamphlet on the university (*Universidad: La Especialización de la Muerte*) and, in the near future, will publish pamphlets on the popular struggle in Mexico's San Salvador Atenco, the Plan Puebla Panama, as well as Gianfranco Sanguinetti's *Terrorism and the State* and an anthology on libertarian socialism (*Augestión & Socialismo Libertaria*).

They request that comrades send books, financial contributions, and buy and distribute their publications. Although they are presently moving their office, they can be reached at cooperative-culturalibre@yahoo.com.mx. Visit their website here: <http://pagina.de/culturalibre-coop>

HOWARD ZINN:
MINI-BIOGRAPHY

Born and raised in Brooklyn slums by Jewish immigrant parents, Howard Zinn grew up around a rich popular culture as well as sharp economic inequalities.

As a young man Zinn worked a New York City shipyard for a number of years before joining the military and becoming a decorated bombardier in World War II. Zinn returned to New York after the war and earned a doctorate in history at Columbia University. Zinn's first teaching position was at Spellman College in Atlanta, Georgia where he became immersed in the Civil Rights movement and directly observed the power of mass, popular mobilization to effect great social change. He later became active in the movement against the Vietnam War and spoke and wrote widely on the topic. After Spellman he accepted a job at Boston University, where he worked until retiring.

He has written over a dozen books and his now classic *A People's History of the United States* has gone into more than 25 printings and doubtlessly reshaped the perception of the history of the United States. Zinn is also an accomplished dramatist, and his play about Emma Goldman (*Emma*) has been performed in New York, London, and other cities around the world.

When pressed to identify the three people who have had the greatest influence upon his life as a thinker and activist, he mentions Upton Sinclair, Emma Goldman, and Alan Watts (author of *The Way of Zen*). ~

War is the Health of the State

... Zinn from page 1

but he is trying to placate his corporate supporters who will benefit hugely from military contracts and from his tax program. Also, Johnson was responding to powerful social movements which were demanding reform: the Civil Rights Movement; the Black Uprisings in the cities (such as Watts 1965). Bush faces no such popular upsurge.

What would you say to those who believe the US government, if not directly involved in the attacks of September 11th, at the very least let them happen in order to justify everything that has happened since? What is it about conspiracy theories that captivates the imagination of people on the left and right so much?

It's always intriguing to talk about conspiracies. But it's a diversion from real issues. They are attractive because they simplify problems and enable people to focus on a handful of people instead of on complex causes.

What is your assessment of the anti-war movement, particularly its more radical wing? Drawing from your study of history, what advice would you have for today's radical activists and thinkers?

Don't get involved in internal squabbling, concentrate on what unifies you, allow different groups to pursue the common anti-war agenda in their own way. But concentrate on fundamental principles: war is terrorism, war is always a war against children. War always has unpredictable consequences.

Certainly ANSWER is one of the most important groups in the anti-war movement. This group has been criticized for its link to the authoritarian Communist group, the Workers' World Party. Do you think such criticisms are important and do you believe that ANSWER's link to this group is a problem?

I don't believe in setting political tests for a broad-based movement that is centered on one issue, like ending the war. The labor movement at its best, in the 1930s did not worry that Communists led some of the organizing drives. The Lawrence textile strikers of 1912 weren't bothered by the IWW organizers who came in and led them to a successful strike. The Civil Rights movement did not respond to red-bating. My own attitude is: if there is a demonstration against the war, and I believe in the goal of ending a war, I won't ask who organized the demonstration. You march with people who have signs representing many different groups and ideologies but you are all there for the same purpose,

stopping the war. I distrust the sincerity of people who peck away at broad-based movements by pointing to organizers or participants who have special political positions.

So do you believe that it has been a mistake for groups on the left—from Z Magazine writers, to Nation writers, to anarchists—to criticize ANSWER?

Yes. We should not give political tests to people who do good organizing work. A broad movement must include all sorts of groups, including anarchists.

Regardless of our opposition to the US government, al Qaida does not distinguish between our ruling class and ordinary citizens. Certainly US policy in the Middle East contributed to the birth of al Qaida: the US provided direct support for bin Laden and other Islamic fundamentalists fighting the Soviet Union, not to mention other policy initiatives, such as uncritical support and funding for the repressive policies of Israel and the stationing of US troops in Saudi Arabia. Yet now we are all potential targets in al Qaida's campaign against the United States. What is the best way to address this problem?

Yes, the terrorists don't discriminate between leaders and ordinary people. One thing we must make clear: we will not be guilty of the same thing. Therefore we will only direct our anger at the terrorists themselves, and at no one else. As for addressing terrorism, it means looking at its roots, the grievances behind that, and if those grievances are legitimate, act to relieve them.

The emergence of the anti-globalization movement was one of the most exciting developments in recent years (which you celebrated in your essay, "Seattle: A Flash of the Possible"). However, this movement has largely disappeared from the political stage in the US since the terror attacks of September 11th. Do you think there is something about the movement that makes it particularly vulnerable to the post-September 11th changes in the political environment? Also, do you believe that the anti-globalization movement will be renewed or has its moment passed?

I do believe the anti-globalization movement, while given a temporary setback after September 11th, is coming to life again. The Port Alegre meeting recently is one sign.

Do you think that there is a possibility that the anti-war movement could contribute to the revival of the anti-globalization movement?

Yes, by energizing people. There is a long history of one movement stimulating other movements. For example, the anti-slavery movement stimulated the

An Interview with Howard Zinn

feminist movement and the Civil Rights movement, which lead into the anti-Vietnam War movement and also the Feminist and Gay Rights movements.

You describe a constant struggle between the powerful and the powerless in the People's History of the United States. This struggle takes place in different historical contexts and is carried out by different actors, but the struggle itself is continuous. A precept of the classical revolutionary perspective is that one day this struggle will come to an end, that there will be a qualitative change in social relationships and the division between the powerful and powerless will disappear. Do you believe this change can occur and, if so, how is this idea reflected into your historical work?

I do believe this change can occur but it will not happen "one day" or in one cataclysmic moment. It will happen over time as people, little by little, take over the institutions of society—the economy, the universities, the neighborhoods—and run them democratically.

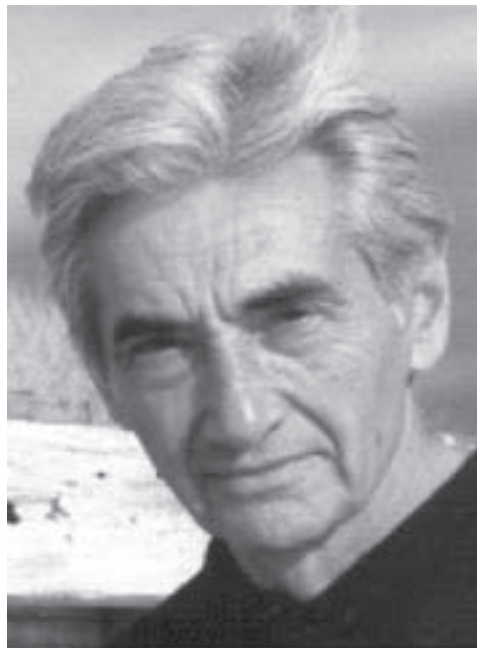
But traditionally the Left has embraced the idea of revolution (in which sweeping historical changes take place in a relatively short period of time). Do you reject the idea of revolution? Or, if not, how do you conceive of it?

I don't reject the idea of revolution, but I reject the idea of armed struggle, or a military action to achieve it. The revolution must be democratic in means as well as in ends, and this requires building mass support for change by long, persistent struggle.

Your work seems to be motivated by the idea that people will change society if they are simply presented with the facts of social injustice. However, countless authors before you have presented "the facts" and yet deep social conflicts endure. What is it about your presentation of the facts that is unique and how would you respond to those who argue that our problem lay not in the absence of facts but in the absence of theoretical frameworks with which to comprehend the facts?

No, presentation of facts is not enough. People must then act on those facts. I don't think theoretical frameworks are necessary, that is, not necessarily spelled out. People, given enough information, themselves supply a theoretical framework, which may not be put into language, but which informs their thinking and their action.

Your historical work has focused on the capacity of ordinary people to band together, fight for justice, and change society. However, you have written very little about the frameworks that leftists have used



Howard Zinn

to understand and theorize opposition, such as Marxist-Leninism, social democracy, anarchism, etc. Why is this? Is not reclaiming such a political vocabulary an essential part of rebuilding a democratic culture?

I don't see much point in abstract theorizing, or getting into arguments about Marxism, Leninism, etc. When the issue comes up I try to deal with it. For instance, I don't make a big fuss over anarchism, but when it is brought up in a distorted way I try to show what the distortions are. It is possible to get across anarchist ideas, socialist ideas, without using abstract words that have different meanings for different people.

OK, but the idea of a free or just society is abstract. And certainly the Left has been shaped by abstract theoretical works, such as Marx's Capital, Kropotkin's Mutual Aid, or countless other works. Do you believe that such theoretical inquiry has been a waste of time or do you believe that the moment for such works has passed?

Theoretical analyses are useful but not crucial. There is a lot of wasted time in such endeavors, but not all is wasted. Marx's *Communist Manifesto* was a theoretical analysis, immensely useful and inspiring. His first volume of *Das Kapital* was useful too. His second and third volumes, and his *Grundrisse*, were probably a waste of time!

HOWARD ZINN: SELECTED WORKS

A People's History of the United States: 1492–Present. New York: Harper-Perennial; Revised and Updated edition, 2001.

Declarations of Independence: Cross-examining American Ideology. New York: Perennial; Reprint edition, 1991.

You Can't Be Neutral on a Moving Train: A Personal History of Our Times. New York: Beacon Press, 1995.

Heroes and Martyrs: Emma Goldman, Sacco & Vanzetti, and the Revolutionary Struggle. CD. San Francisco: AK Press, 2000.

Emma: A Play in Two Acts About Emma Goldman, American Anarchist. Boston: South End Press, 2002.

Marx in Soho: A Play on History. Boston: South End Press, 1999.

Terrorism and War, ed. by Anthony Arno. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2002.

The Zinn Reader: Writings on Disobedience and Democracy. New York: Seven Stories Press, 1997.

Howard Zinn on History. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2000.

The Twentieth Century: A People's History. New York: Harper-Perennial, 2003.

The Power of Non-violence: Writings by Advocates of Peace. New York: Beacon Press, 2002.

Continued on next page ...

You have consistently urged people to place moral considerations at the center of their engagement with society, to “not be neutral on a moving train” (to cite the title of your autobiography). The idea that people’s political practice should be shaped primarily by moral concerns is radical break from classical revolutionary theories, such as Marxism or anarcho-syndicalism, which understand politics as something determined by or subsumed under socio-economic contradictions. Do you believe that it is necessary to break with the older traditions of revolutionary thought and, if so, how?

Yes, socio-economic contradictions are basic, but behind any analysis of them must be a set of moral values—otherwise you can analyze the society endlessly and not come to conclusions about what to do.

Do you regard this position as a break with the classical socialist or anarchist tradition? And, if so, why is it important to make such a break?

No, I don’t consider it a break from the classical traditions, because there was always a moral principle behind the most academic of radical analyses.

OK, while a moral principle may have been implicit in the classical traditions, isn’t it true that communists and anarcho-syndicalists argued that “being determined consciousness” and disagreed that it was possible to advance a moral position that was somehow independent of or above “the development of class contradictions.” If this is true, isn’t your position a significant break with the tradition?

Yes, although I think there has been some distortion of the Marxist position and anarcho-syndicalist position on this or, to put it another way, that there are several Marxist positions and several anarchist positions.

What recent developments in the study of social history do you find particularly exciting and amenable to a radical approach to social affairs and what tendencies do you find especially troublesome?

The recent developments in the study of social history which are important to me are the burgeoning of literature about social movements—the women’s movement, the labor movement, the African American and Chicano movements, the gay and lesbian movement. I only find troublesome those studies which are overly specialized, academic, designed to reach a small number of scholars without any connection to action.

In several works you note that your encounter with anarchism (Emma Goldman in particular) only occurred after your period of intense activism in the anti-war movement. You discovered that although the term anarchism wasn’t used, there were many connections between anarchism and the New Left (such as the emphasis on decentralization, direct action, sexual liberation, etc.). Your experience seems to be common among leftists who came of age politically during the 1960s. What was it about the political culture of the New Left that discouraged people from discovering and investigating such an important tradition and one that was so close to their views? Why do you believe that so many activists turned to Marxism–Leninism and Maoism rather than anarchism? What was it about authoritarian ideologies that made them attractive and anti-authoritarian ideas less attractive, in those days?

Some activists turned to Marxism–Leninism and Maoism. Most did not. Most continued to act out the principles of anarchism without adopting it in a conscious way as a coherent philosophy. Anti-authoritarian ideas dominated the movement of the sixties, and the authoritarians were a small, loud minority.

While many practices may have been anti-authoritarian, certainly a significant number of activists defined themselves through an authoritarian socialist ideological framework. This is true of the late SDS, the Black Panthers, and countless other groups. What was it about authoritarian ideologies that made them attractive, and anti-authoritarian ideas less attractive, in those days?

I doubt that it was the authoritarianism that was attractive—it was the other attributes, such as the boldness, the militancy—but people accepted the authoritarianism along with that, just as Communists accepted Stalinism for a long time, not because they believed in authoritarianism as such but because it came along with certain social changes.

Why do you think activists during this period did not gravitate toward an anarchist or anti-authoritarian tradition if, in fact, it was more consistent with their activities?

Because most activists are concentrated on the moment and don’t see what they’re doing as part of long-term theories or traditions.

How would you describe yourself politically? Do you consider yourself an anarchist or a libertarian socialist?

Something of an anarchist, something of a socialist. Maybe a democratic socialist.

This seems contradictory. Could you explain?

I see no contradiction. Look at Alexander Berkman’s pamphlet, *Communist Anarchism*.

Anarchists and radicals are very good at criticizing society and the state, as well as advocating a vision of a different, better world. Yet the question of how to get from our current society to a free society is often unanswered. What is your perspective on questions of strategy for the Left? How do we create the changes that we want in order to fully realize our vision of a free society?

Organization, direct action to liberate different aspects of the society. We can’t have a blueprint, but we can know what we are aiming for, and move in that direction.

Since the 1960s many leftist intellectuals have become ensconced in the university and independent theorists (such as Paul Goodman and Dwight McDonald, for example) are now extremely rare. Do you believe this is lamentable and do you think the academic environment has encouraged a more conservative, timid posture among left intellectuals?

Certainly, the academic environment is stifling, and often leads leftists into obscure research rather than into activism. But not always. I believe there is no *one* place for left intellectuals. They can function, and should, both inside and outside the academy.

The university tends to draw radical intellectuals into the academic life. But it needn’t do that. Radicals who are in any profession or line of work face the same problem, of maintaining their ideas and activity despite the pull of their profession and their need for economic security.

What projects are you working on now and what future projects do you have planned?

I’m so involved in the anti-war movement now that I have hardly time to think about “projects.” But, I’m interested in dramatizing political issues, for the stage, through screen-plays, and at the same time continuing to write columns for *The Progressive*, op-ed pieces for traditional newspapers, and speaking wherever I can to audiences of all kinds. ~

... *Petrovato from page 5*

Caterpillar tractors would be accompanied by armed security forces and armored vehicles and foot soldiers to protect them from the farmers.

FALAMI AND JAYYOUS

Falami is another village in the Qalqilya district along the green line area of the West Bank. As in Qalqilya, Tulkarem and all the other villages along the northwestern “green line,” the “security wall” will continue to be rerouted away from the line into ever new directions east. Israeli officials will notify individuals and families that the land which has belonged to their families for over 2,000 years will be confiscated, and that such individuals should attend meetings in which some form of “compensation” for the land will be determined. The Palestinian families losing their land often refuse to legitimate both the seizures as well as the erstwhile attempts at “compensation” and therefore refuse to attend these meetings. The land will be simply taken—an outcome horrible and tragic for Palestinians, but less horrible than entering into a contract with a land-seizing state.

On this November day in Falami, residents engaged in a nonviolent protest against the building of the wall. Along with international peace activists, they were attacked by Israeli soldiers using tear gas, sound grenades, and arrests to disperse these unarmed peaceful protesters. Even the French Consul General, who visited Falami and attempted to negotiate with the Israeli authorities over the apparent loss of investments in agricultural irrigation projects, met with little success. Internationals and others would continue to arrive in Falami throughout the day to support the protests.

In Jayyous, a nearby village, residents were also struggling with soldiers over land seizures for the security wall. Jayyous will be hit particularly hard with the rerouting of the wall: it will lose 80% of its land and many of their wells. This village, in existence for more than 1,000 years and having survived many wars, will be destroyed by a faceless zoning bureaucrat deciding that the land is needed to protect Israel. The town will have no means to support itself without the land upon which it depends for citrus and olive harvesting.

YANUN

Unlike cities such as Nablus, Ramallah, and Jenin, the hundreds of villages throughout Palestine like Yanun face a slightly different struggle. With their numbers fewer, they are at the mercy of hostile Israeli settlements which surround them. Settlements are usually built on hilltops in close proximity to Palestine villages. There is very little security for Palestinians between the settlements and their villages (while the settlements have both their own internal security force and nearby military bases for protection). The short fence which usually separates one village’s land from the settlement does not deter settlers from crossing into land they perceive as their own.

The settlement outside of Yanun is called Itmar. Like the settlers I encountered elsewhere, these were extremely dangerous. Just a few days earlier, they had forced the entire village to leave, setting fire to their homes and electrical generator. When the villagers returned with ISM (International Solidarity Movement) activists, they found that many of their olive fields had already been plowed for the settlers’ own agricultural enterprises. Four internationals—two of whom were elderly—were viciously attacked with gun butts, clubs, and blows as they attempted to document this land seizure by Itmar settlers; all ended up needing hospitalization. Meanwhile, Yanun residents watched in horror as settlers worked the dispossessed land under protection of the Israeli army. It was only a few days later that they began to cautiously return to their village.

JENIN

Jenin, a city in the northern West Bank, has been in a constant state of siege for many months now. On November 7th, a full curfew had been in effect for eight consecutive days. Some residents and shop-keepers would break curfew to simply feed their families and others. Otherwise, the streets were empty except for the speeding jeeps and tanks looking for these curfew breakers.

Over the past year, West Bank cities and villages like Jenin have withstood 24-hour curfews more than half of the time. As reported by human rights organizations, the United Nations, and other international agencies, large parts of the city have been completely bombed out and leveled in recent

months. Residents must navigate their ways through piles of rubble where their homes and neighborhoods once stood. The streets are filled with the remnants of vehicles set ablaze by soldiers or run over by tanks. Metal telephone poles lay broken on the streets, and sidewalks have been intentionally crushed by the weight of the tanks. Since most of the water is transported in by trucks, it has become increasingly scarce. The curfew meant that people had to use what little water was available just for drinking, and not for cleaning, disposal, or other needs.

YASUF

On this day, residents of the small village of Yasuf would begin finishing up the annual olive harvest in the midst of guns being fired at them, physical harassment, and abuse by settlers. The military did its part in disrupting the harvest by creating “closed military zones” in the olive fields—usually as collective punishments for any form of violence against Israelis in general, and in which these particular villagers played no part. To enforce the closure of the fields, tanks sat on hillsides surrounding the village with their barrels pointing directly at it.

On this day, Israeli peace groups sent activists to various locations in the West Bank to support nonviolent actions against the Occupation. Groups such as Rabbis for Human Rights, Ta’ayush, Gush Shalom, liberal organizations, and anarchist groups would join with each other and ISM activists in the West Bank. I was lucky enough to meet hundreds of these activists in the six weeks I was in the region. They were welcomed into Palestinian homes, fed, and engaged in lively debate before a direct action took place. To an outsider like myself, I was continually surprised by the level of camaraderie and solidarity between these two peoples. Such Israeli individuals and groups, however, have been under increasing attack since 9/11. They have been harassed and intimidated by the state and media, and some have even lost their jobs.

I witnessed these events while working for the ISM as an olive harvester and international observer during October and November of 2002. The ISM is a Palestinian-led movement which uses nonviolence as a means to resist the occupation. The

Continued on next page ...

IAS GRANT AWARDS

... Continued from Page 1

to everyday life. He is a writer and activist and has worked with youth in a Bronx community center for the past thirteen years.

\$800 to **Sandra Jeppesen** for her piece *Anarchy, Revolution, Freedom: Towards Anarchist Cultural Theory*. This project will expand upon anarchist cultural theory. It will look at both mainstream and explicitly anarchist representations of revolution to try to come to an understanding of anarchist culture and to develop a means of theorizing in a way that is significantly different than Marxian cultural studies, both in approach and political analysis. Jeppesen is a doctoral student at York University in Toronto.

\$1000 to **Justin Jackson** for his piece "Black Roses, Black Masks: The American Anarchist Movement and its Media in the Vietnam Years." This project will be an edited collection of writing, poetry, art and images from anarchist press in the United States between 1945 to 1980, with a focus on the 1960s and 1970s, and will include a lengthy introduction on the underground anarchist press of the 1960s. Jackson is a writer and activist who currently lives in Detroit, Michigan.

If you are interested in applying for a grant, please send a self-addressed, stamped envelope to the IAS. Grant applications are also available at the IAS's website: <http://www.anarchist-studies.org/>

organization is a model of directly democratic processes, and it uses the affinity group and consensus decision making as its organizational foundation. The ISM works private with Israeli peace groups and internationals to give a voice to those who resist the occupation. Much of the work which I did with the ISM involved observation: the monitoring of human rights abuses by the Israeli military, check point watches, etc. I also participated in non-violent protests with Palestinian and Israeli groups. Non-violent protests and marches, by the way, or any other events which seek to empower Palestinians, such as symbolic actions such as even raising the Palestinian flag, is illegal and met with violence and arrests.

II. ISRAELI OCCUPATION OF THE WEST BANK

Occupation and collective punishment for the people of Palestine has become a routine part of everyday life. For the past thirty-five years, Israel has actively built settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Today there are over 400,000 Israelis residing in the Palestinian West Bank alone. Some have chosen to reside there for purely economic reasons, such as cheap housing and subsistence checks, while others reside there for their ideological convictions that Palestinian territory must be reclaimed as part of the historical heritage of Israel. Following up on these opportunities and convictions, people come from all over the world on any given day—including this. Jointly, they contribute to the undermining of the Oslo Peace Accords as they move into their American style suburban homes, acquire jobs, and settle themselves in. Among the many who come from Eastern Europe, Russia, and North America, there will be some who will actively seek out and join radical right fundamentalist forces in the settlements in a religious crusade against the now displaced "others."

These people are granted a "right to return" by the Israeli state based on their Jewish identity. They don't question the historical spuriousness of this claim—the fact that they are being granted a right to "return" to a country in which many have never lived—nor the fact that Palestinians are made second-class citizens in the process, denied a right to return to a country which many in their immediate families and forbearers have had a direct connection with. They also do not recognize the international community's recognition of the territorial rights of Palestinians and the illegal nature of settlements. Such international assertions are regarded as anti-Semitic allowing, ironically, a complete denial of political responsibility for current social events.

Though the settlements are located in the Palestinian West Bank and Gaza, residents of these settlements are rarely seen there. Israel has created an immense transportation, consumption, and production infrastructure which connects the settlements to each other and to Israel proper, thus eliminating any need for contact between the two populations. The "by-pass roads" may only be used by Israelis and foreigners; they are forbidden to Palestinians. In areas where the by-pass road crosses a Palestinian's property, they still may not access it. If they do, they run the risk of being either shot or arrested, although the occasional soldier will let them pass without harassment. Currently, there are 120 permanent Israeli checkpoints and hundreds of road blocks in the Occupied Palestinian territories. In a place smaller than the size of Massachusetts, over 300 separate areas have been created. These areas, which are basically islands, are cut off from each other making travel from one place to another nearly impossible. It must be remembered that travel prohibitions are directed only at Palestinians. In addition to the clearly destructive effects such measures have on the economy, there are other, less intuitive, effects. For instance, ambulances stopped at checkpoints have resulted in an average of one birth every three days at a checkpoint itself. Numerous deaths have also been attributed to the travel restrictions, although statistics illustrating occupation-related deaths rarely refer to this most mundane events of not being able to travel.

In contrast to these gross human rights abuses, there exists a widespread belief that the Palestinians have, in fact, been the beneficiaries of a "generous offer" on the part of Barak. Without knowing the details or the context in which the offer was made, Americans (and even Israelis) uncritically repeat the phrase "But didn't Barak offer Palestinians 90% of what they wanted?" What fails to be discussed is how the offer so clearly ignored the demands and needs of the Palestinian peoples: what was *not* offered was the removal of all the illegal settlements, the return of valuable water resources to the West Bank, the return of East Jerusalem, or a Palestinian "right to return" for those displaced by the conflict. There is also a general veil of ignorance surrounding the fact that Oslo Peace Accords required that Israel gradually withdraw from the territories and grant further autonomy to the Palestinians. Instead, Israel used the nineties to further encroach on Palestinian territories and, in fact, doubled the number of their settlements during this time. Understanding the relationship between the settlements and Israeli

foreign policy makes it clear Israel's actions have been directed toward further colonization and complete disenfranchisement of the indigenous communities from their land and, thus, their source of subsistence, hope, and resistance.

Why has the implementation of international law failed so miserably in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict? Why here and not elsewhere? With so many UN resolutions condemning Israeli occupation and demanding withdrawal, the opposite has occurred. In addition, the "right to return" is an international law and is granted to *all* refugees—not just Israelis—and is guaranteed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Fourth Geneva Convention. The US has been an especially willful participant in the manipulation of international accords; while it used this "unalienable human right" as justification for war in Kosovo, the very same administration declared that the Palestinians' right to return was "unrealistic" and merely an attempt to derail the peace process. Thus, although a Palestinian forced to flee at gunpoint has been denied the right to return by the international community, Israel's policy of encouraging Jewish return from throughout the world is formally condoned. Currently within Israel, a growing right-wing movement has been attempting to persuade voters to allow the permanent "transfer" of Palestinians out of Palestine.

III. VIOLENCE, IDEOLOGY, AND THE ISRAELI STATE: SOME THEORETICAL QUESTIONS

The picture I have painted above seeks to illuminate the scale of unreported and underreported violence which is inflicted daily upon the Palestinian people. It is impossible to understand the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in general, and the motivation behind the Intifada in particular, without understanding the extent of this systemic violence. It is both an essential facet of everyday life, as well as an integral technique of Israeli attempts at rule. Everyday life for Palestinians, however, is woven with a seemingly inexhaustible energy to resist this particularly terrorizing form of rule.

Most media and other sources represent the conflict in ways which elide the basic nature of the conflict. They represent it as a conflict which is about either religion, as some kind of "primordial ethnic strife" which

afflicts the region or, worst of all, as a "clash of civilizations." This seemingly consensual and unanimous *misrepresentation* contributes indirectly to the continuation of the conflict by deflecting attention away from the root cause which, in my opinion, is the neocolonialist aspirations of the Israeli state. By ignoring the longer history of the British government's involvement in the Israeli state—through establishment of the British mandate and its support of immigration—attention can be directed toward what are believed to be primordial dispositions toward violence and internecine strife which supposedly afflict the peoples of the region.

The systemic violence of the occupied territories is not a reflection of Israel's need for self-defense against a foreign enemy, as Israel, the US, and the global media attempt to frame it. The argument of "self-defense" has historically been used by many states to justify oppression of populations within or at the frontiers of their respective borders. Anyone traveling in the West Bank would quickly realize that the sole reason for a military presence and its violent techniques of rule is the protection of Israeli settlements and the Palestinian lands which they have seized. These techniques serve not for the protection of the Israeli state against foreign and dangerous operatives, but for the extension of this state into foreign lands. The military invasions and oppression are not a result of the need of Israel's need for internal security, but rather a response to the Intifada, which itself is a "shaking off" of the Occupation by both nonviolent and violent means.

Thus, Israel might be understood as a colonial state using any and all forms of organized state violence to crush opposition to its settlement of a foreign territory. It is an expansionist state. In contrast to earlier examples of colonial domination, this particular conflict is aggravated by the fact that Israel considers the land which it colonizes to be a part of its historical and religious heritage, therefore deflecting attention again from its status as a modern, colonizing power.

"LEGITIMATE" AND "ILLEGITIMATE" FORMS OF VIOLENCE

The question of how, and with what forms of violence the Israeli state attempts to achieve its objectives, is an intriguing one. As the

above makes clear, violence is ubiquitous throughout the cultural, social, and political context of every day life in the occupied territories. This violence runs the gamut from the most rigidly state-organized and executed, to the "symbolic" violence of Israeli soldiers' "playful" antics. Nevertheless, I think that these types of violence could be usefully grouped into two categories which, through their intertwining, contribute to some efficacy of Israeli rule in the territories.

These two groups could be called, somewhat roughly, "legitimate" and "illegitimate" forms of violence. "Legitimate" violence might be considered the structural and systematic harassment and terror formally condoned by the Israeli state and exercised through the military; this would include the military checkpoints, harassment for paperwork at checkpoints or in the streets, "episodic" but planned attacks by the Israeli army (for "retaliation" purposes), and the general practice of military occupation, crackdowns, and invasions in and of themselves. "Illegitimate" violence is a term which might be used to describe that phenomenon whereby the formalized and systematic violence of the state withers somewhat at the fringes, and becomes replaced by something even more arbitrary and unpredictable. The quintessential symbol—and primary practitioners—of this would have to be the individual soldier. Wherever or however they are located, individual soldiers sometimes seem to represent as terrifying a power as the whole Israeli army itself. They are more unpredictable than tanks and states. On a whim, an Israeli soldier may decide to pass someone at a checkpoint, not pass them, use a child for target practice, or throw tear gas at passing schoolchildren.

Thinking of violence in terms of different "types" brings up some interesting questions regarding the nature and function of violence as it relates to a modern, colonizing power. How do these two forms of violence intertwine, thus better enabling the Israeli state to achieve its aims? The wayward and individual soldier corrupts the totalitarian and formally uniform activities of a state military, but at the same time, and on the ground in everyday contexts, they perform the very important function of terrorizing in a more human and proximate

Continued on next page ...

way—with more intimacy and familiarity than a faceless army. It should be noted that the Israeli state deliberately chooses young (and theoretically more trigger happy) soldiers for postings in the occupied territories, older soldiers—more tame and less unruly—are generally kept in the quiet of the Israeli cities. Is the episodic and unruly nature of sporadic violence as powerful as a formal and controlled occupation? Perhaps it is even more powerful? Is violence only exercised through guns and tanks, or does it also occur through daily interactions with a power (the individual soldier) more arbitrary and unpredictable than the weather? Which wrecks a more lasting sense of terror and victimization among a population?

What is the relationship between symbolic violence and real, physical violence? Checkpoints, for example, are important sites for symbolic violence. They are places where the military likes to flex its muscle and humiliate in one turn. I have witnessed people being forced to stand in straight lines without speaking, then sit down, then move back ten meters, etc.—completely arbitrary orders given with a sadistic thrill for dehumanizing others. These events occurred in the direct sunlight and 100 degree heat while soldiers were joking with each other, smoking cigarettes, and eating ice cream. Many reports by human rights groups have also told of Palestinians having to get on their hands and knees, or being forced to dance for the soldiers. Is this kind of symbolic violence always just representative of the potential “real” violence—as common wisdom would have it—or does it exercise a specific form of power in its own right?

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS AND METHODS OF RULE

The very physical existence of the state in its myriad forms—military personnel and equipment, roads, checkpoints, the uses of official Israeli sponsored paperwork for safe passage—also raises some interesting questions regarding the relationship between the state, space, and state formation activities in the most banal and mundane of places and practices. The ways in which the Israeli state has geographically expanded into the occupied territories is interesting in this regard. Israeli settlements are usually accompanied by the construction of a military

outpost, next to the entrance into the settlement. Additionally, settlements and settlers are generally of two types: first, there are the planned settlements of the Israeli government whereby they hope—as governments throughout the world have historically done with “frontier” or ambiguously claimed territory—that the mere physical presence of Israelis will increase the legitimacy of their claims upon the land. These settlements consist of track houses built by the government, they are provided with services and utilities, and the settlers receive stipends in return for living there.

The second type of settlements are the spontaneous settlements. These are settlements of Israelis who organize among themselves and spontaneously colonize an area. These settlements are different in the sense that they spring much more directly from the ideological convictions of the individual colonizers. The type of settlers or settler communities that one is more likely to encounter here are those that are more loosely organized, they practice a virtual citizens’ militia for protection of local lands and/or incursions into Palestinian ones (esp. in the case of the Olive Harvest), and they are much more unruly and unpredictable precisely because of their brazenness and ideological convictions. All of their actions are ultimately cloaked with the power of the Israeli state, however, and, as in the case of the individual soldiers somewhat ambiguously located between formal and informal forms of terror, these informal forms of settlement ultimately serve the formal interests of the Israeli state.

These settlement patterns and practices raise interesting questions regarding space, settlement, ideology, and forms of rule. How is the rule of the Israeli state in the Occupied Territories greatly enhanced by the mere physicality of an Israeli presence—whether formal or informal? How does the bizarre occupation pattern—with settlements, restricted roads, military outposts located next to settlements, a vast grid laid across the Palestinian landscape—shape how we view the presence, geographical distribution, and very spatialization of the Israeli state in this instance? How do these spatializing practices enable its attempted rule in the occupied territories? And, how have these different ideologies and practices (of legitimate and

illegitimate forms of violence, legitimate and illegitimate settlement patterns) combined to produce the very geography and landscape of what we now understand as the “occupied territories”? In this instance, where does one draw the line between “state,” “space,” “geography,” or “landscape”?

IV. PROBLEMS WHICH THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT POSES FOR ANARCHIST THOUGHT

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict also raises many questions and issues which are both fundamental to and somewhat problematic for traditional anarchist thought and action. Anarchist theory may be enriched by consideration of some of these questions and, at the same time, existing anarchist ideas may contribute to an understanding of the conflict and its possible resolution. Some of these issues might be listed as follows:

1. How can a peaceful and just resolution be achieved when vast power inequalities exist between two parties?
2. How and why are states and political parties (such as Arafat’s) driven to quell popular revolts? Is it in the nature of political power that control must be total and totalizing, or not at all?
3. What are the points of connection and disconnection between states and particular ideologies? How or why is it that certain ideologies are more enabling of state dogma and power (such as political Zionism) than others? Are these ideologies merely “appropriated” by an autonomously acting state or do states sometime spring from the ideology itself? If or when the latter is the case, how might that affect anarchist critiques of the state? What are the intervening cultural or structural variables which may encourage or discourage certain relations between states and particular ideologies?
4. Which circumstances are necessary for the establishment of long-term peace between seemingly hostile groups? Does anarchist thought have anything to contribute to ideas of resolution?
5. Is the two-state solution which has been advocated by people on both sides of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict the best or only possibility for bringing peace to the

region? Is the two state solution just another contribution to the formation of states and nationalist ideologies? If so, does it not contribute to an ongoing and seemingly endless cycle of state-organized violence of which anarchists have always been critical? Is it possible to “imagine communities” in something other than a nationalist sense?

6. What set of circumstances—either in the Israel-Palestinian conflict or elsewhere—are the most pressing for anarchists to address? Is it conflict-resolution, the formation or disruption of state-making processes, the end of oppression, or all of the above? Which types of conflicts speak more directly to interests which have historically been central to anarchist thought and how might anarchism contribute to its own growth and reinvention by choosing to direct itself toward these conflicts?

The above questions are all ones which my long involvement with the anarchist movement, combined with my most recent experience in the occupied territories, have led me to ponder. Here I can venture answers to only the first two. With regard to the possibility of peaceful resolution to a conflict between two unequal parties: These types of negotiations are always unstable because people on both sides of the conflict usually believe that their respective decision-makers are conceding too much in their negotiations. Glenn Robinson, in an essay entitled “The Peace of the Powerful,” attempts to shed light on this problem by advancing a concept which he calls “hegemonic peace.” Robinson claims that, a hegemonic peace is defined as a peace between two significantly unequal powers that nevertheless retains the autonomy to accept or reject the terms of settlement. It is not a peace between relative equals, nor is it a “peace” completely imposed on an utterly vanquished enemy. Unlike these last two types of peace, a hegemonic peace tends to be destabilizing to both the hegemonic and weaker party. The Israeli-Palestinian peace process is clearly hegemonic in nature, accurately reflecting the broad imbalance of power between Israel and Palestine.¹

In opposition to popular conceptions, he argues that “peace treaties invariably reflect

power, not justice.” And in relation to the Israeli-Palestinian peace treaties, he claims that in spite of the nature of Palestinian demands, it was, in fact, Israel that held the real political power to make the treaties happen: “The peace process should be understood more as an internal Israeli debate about how much to concede of all that it controlled, rather than as negotiations between Israel and Palestine. Most of the internal Israeli debate centered on how much of the 22% of Palestine not captured in 1948 should be returned to the Palestinians.”² This type of hegemonic peace is actually internally destabilizing to both parties. For Palestinians, the negotiators—the Palestinian Authority and Arafat—appear to have given away too much because politically they were at the point of becoming irrelevant. They had lost ground to the Intifada (the popular resistance) and sought to regain it through “legitimate” politicking with an external nation. The PA, which did by the way agree to give up too much, would then have to put down the uprising to maintain authority. Indeed, the Oslo accords which actually greatly enhanced Arafat’s and his colleagues power, disrupted the popular revolt.

For Israel, hegemonic peace created internal political instability as opposing parties viewed any peace negotiations with the weaker party as, also, unnecessarily relinquishing too much power. The 1993 Declaration of Principles “specified that a strong Palestinian police force would cooperate with Israeli and US security and intelligence units in crushing the Intifada.” Since Israel was already dominant, it was viewed by many as unnecessary and premature to give up any power at all. It was precisely for this reason that Ehud Barak, the former prime minister, was largely seen as a “sell out.” The “hegemonic”—and thus inherently unjust—peace resolution struck by the two countries thus had deleterious effects on the internal politics of each, as each suffered the cancerous effects of the unequal power relations which connected them in the first place.

The second question, which is intertwined with the first, relates to how states and authorities attempt to maintain political control by quelling popular dissent. The first Palestinian Intifada (1987 – 1993) did not emerge from the Palestinian Authority or old leadership but, rather, as a popular movement

which reflected the changing relations of civil society in Palestine. Relations of civil society were changing for a number of reasons, among them; the growth of a class of university educated students originally from the lower strata of society (rural areas, small villages, and refugee camps), and the decline of traditional authority by large land owners. The political practices of the Intifada were different from those of earlier or existing movements in the region, largely because they were democratic and pluralist. Their decentralization made it difficult for Israel to locate, control and suppress them. Similarly, Arafat and the Palestinian Authority were external to this popular revolt and, increasingly, becoming politically irrelevant because of it. When the Oslo peace negotiations were organized, Arafat participated largely in order to recapture his declining political power among Palestinians. The Palestinian Authority sought to solidify its power base by challenging, attacking, and destroying the decentralized and democratic networks of the popularly organized Intifada.

Arafat’s strategy was and is common for a state seeking to centralize control and to eliminate competitors for political control. By undermining the institutional networks, strengthening and vastly enlarging police and legal authority, and by the “personalization of politics” around Arafat, the first Intifada was eventually dismantled. As a consequence, many Palestinians believed and continue to believe that Arafat and the Palestinian Authority—in their determination to hold onto internal political power—actually enabled Israel to gain more control over Palestine. Indeed, Israel’s doubling of the amount of settlements in the occupied territories during this period may very well have been aided by the Palestinian Authority’s methods of controlling internal dissent.

V. CONCLUSION

International activist groups provide a welcome disruption of and intervention into these state-making activities. In contrast to the media, international, and national groupings which contribute to the encouragement of the conflict, international networks leap-frog across the misrepresentations and divisive, violent, nationalist activities to try and forge a humane

Continued on the last page ...

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Chip Berlet, *Eyes Right!: Challenging the Right Wing Backlash* (South End, paper, 1995, 398 pp., \$17.00)

Jeremy Brecher, *Strike!* (South End press, paper, 1997, 421 pp., \$22.00)

Robert Bullard (ed.), *Confronting Environmental Racism: Voices from the Grassroots* (South End, paper, 1993, 258 pp., \$16.00)

Wendy Chapkis, *Beauty Secrets: Women and the Politics of Appearance* (South End, paper, 1986, 212 pp., \$15.00)

Noam Chomsky, *Propaganda and the Public Mind: Interviews with David Barsamian* (South End, paper, 2001, 247 pp., \$16.00)

Noam Chomsky, *After the Cataclysm: Postwar Indochina and the Reconstruction of Imperial Ideology* (South End, paper, 1979, 391 pp., \$18.00)

Noam Chomsky, *What Uncle Sam Really Wants* (Odonian pr., paper, 1992, 111 pp., \$8.50)

Noam Chomsky, *On Power and Ideology: The Managua Lectures* (South End, paper, 1987, 140 pp., \$12.00)

Eli Clare, *Exile and Pride: Disability, Queerness, and Liberation* (South End, paper, 1999, 147 pp., \$14.00)

Ward Churchill, *Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret Wars Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement* (South End, paper, 1990, 508 pp., \$22.00)

Ward Churchill, *From a Native Son: Selected Essays on Indigenism, 1985 - 1995* (South End, paper, 1996, 588 pp., \$22.00)

Reebee Garofalo (ed.), *Rockin' the Boat: Mass Music and Mass Movements* (South End, paper, 1992, 333 pp., \$17.00)

Al Gedicks, *New Resource Wars: Native and Environmental Struggles Against Multinational Corporations* (South End, paper, 270 pp., \$18.00)

Andrew Goudie, *The Human Impact on the Natural Environment*, 5th edition (MIT, paper, 2000, 511 pp., \$20.00)

Robin Hahnel, *Panic Rules: Everything You Need to Know About the Global Economy* (South End, paper, 1999, 124 pp., \$12.00)

Dale Hathaway, *Allies Across the Border: Mexico's "Authentic Labor Front" and Global Solidarity* (South End, paper, 2000, 267 pp., \$19.00)

bell hooks, *Feminism is For Everybody: Passionate Politics* (South End, paper, 2000, 124 pp., \$12.00)

bell hooks & Cornel West, *Breaking Bread: Insurgent Black Intellectual Life* (South End, paper, 174 pp., \$14.00)

Marty Jezer, *The Dark Ages: Life in the United States, 1945 - 1960* (South End, paper, 1982, 333 pp., \$15.00)

Dan La Botz, *Made in Indonesia: Indonesian Workers Since Suharto* (South End, paper, 2001, 393 pp., \$18.00)

Dan La Botz, *Democracy in Mexico: Peasant Rebellion and Political Reform* (South End, paper, 1995, 274 pp., \$17.00)

Andrew Light (ed.), *Social Ecology After Bookchin* (Guilford, paper, 1998, 401 pp., \$19.95)

Aurora Levins Morales, *Remedios: Stories of Earth and Iron From the History of Puertorriquenas* (South End, paper, 2001, 231 pp., \$17.00)

Richard Pells, *Radical Visions and American Dreams: Culture and Social Thought in the Depression Years* (Wesleyan, paper, 1973, 423 pp., \$16.95)

John Pilger, *Heroes* (South End, paper, 2001, 628 pp., \$16.00)

Herbert Read, *The Green Child* (Adagp, paper, 1989, 195 pp., \$9.95)

David Reed, *Education for Building a People's Movement* (South End, paper, 1981, 202 pp., \$15.00)

Arundhati Roy, *Power Politics* (South End, paper, 2001, 182 pp., \$12.00)

Edward Said, *The Pen and the Sword: Conversations with David Barsamian* (Common Courage, paper, 1994, 179 pp., \$9.95)

Geoffrey Sampson, *Liberty and Language* (about Chomsky) (Oxford, cloth, 1979, 248 pp., \$30.00)

Brian Tokar, *Earth for Sale: Reclaiming Ecology in the Age of Corporate Greenwash* (South End, paper, 1997, 269 pp., \$18.00)

Mark Zepezauer & Arthur Naiman, *Take the Rich Off Welfare* (Odonian, paper, 1998, 191 pp., \$12.00)

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and more enlightened alternative to existing conditions. As such, their activities work contrary to the nationalist and imperialist ideologies of the Israeli state, and help to disrupt stereotypes of Palestinians propagated through western media channels.

It should be mentioned that all of these events were occurring throughout Israel and the Palestinian territories on the day of November 7, 2002, despite a report which Amnesty International's released in April, 2002. The report, entitled "Israel and the Occupied Territories: Shielded from Scrutiny," documented the sustained and systematic nature of human right abuses by the Israeli military. The abuses catalogued in the report include, but are not limited to, the following: unlawful killings; torture of prisoners/detainees; intentional destruction of houses (sometimes with the residents still inside); making medicine inaccessible by the use of checkpoints; the denial of humanitarian assistance; using Palestinian civilians as "human shields" during military operations; preventing children from their right to education, and more. Specific events, such as the military invasion of Jenin, in which 4,000 people were displaced by the destruction of their homes, were described.

Amnesty International stated that, "Up to now the Israeli authorities have failed in their responsibility to bring to justice the perpetrators of serious human rights violations. War crimes are among the most serious crimes under International law, and represent offenses against humanity as a whole. Bringing the perpetrators of these crimes to justice is therefore the concerns and the responsibility of the international community. All states who are parties to the Geneva Conventions must search for those alleged to have committed grave breaches of the Conventions and bring them to justice."³

In the conclusion to their report, AI states that, "There will be no peace or security in the region until human rights are respected. All attempts to end human rights violations and install a system of international protection in Israel and the Occupied Territories, in particular by introducing monitors with a clear human rights mandate, have been undermined by the refusal of the government of Israel. This refusal has been supported by the USA."⁴

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict illuminates many questions of importance to anarchists regarding the state, law, power, and privilege. Might anarchists have something to contribute

to a resolution of this conflict? Or to an understanding of the state-making activities and nationalist ideology which fuels it? How do states invent their history? What myths are the nation founded upon and why are such myths so powerful? Can anarchists only support movements which have strong anti-authoritarian leanings or should they also support movements which are simply for self-determination? Is there an anarchist moral response to which we should listen?

All these questions and others will need to be investigated as anarchists navigate their way through and participate in popular resistance to state-making activities.

Notes

1. Glen Robinson, "The Peace of the Powerful," *The New Intifada: Resisting Israeli Apartheid*, ed. Roane Carey (New York: Verso, 2001), 112.
2. Ibid.
3. Amnesty International, "Israel and the Occupied Territories: Shielded from scrutiny: IDF violations in Jenin and Nablus," 4 November 2002, <http://web.amnesty.org/library/Index/engMDE151492002>
4. Ibid.

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