

# STRONGHOLD



*—Some say it's a wild and impossible dream, but I don't want to live in a world without dreams. Dreams are what kept our warrior ancestors alive in their darkest hours, and they will keep us alive in ours. Warriors have to live and love life today if we want to be free tomorrow. The gift we are given is not just for us, it must be shared, as a key to free others. This is where our dreams begin and where generations of warrior dreams continue. -Flaming Arrows*

# SUPPORT, DEFEND, ATTACK!

la comunidad  
**RESISTE**  
contra sb1070

gathering +  
demonstration

music - food - games - rally

bring games, food, blankets,  
chairs, instruments, art supplies,  
friends

July 28th 2010

7pm civic space park 424 north central ave

BY SUM

Arizona is the site of the worst immigration legislation so far. SB 1070 (aka Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act) further criminalizes and targets undocumented immigrants—increasing fear, harassment, arrests, and sanctioning state-sponsored hate. This is only one part of a war on migrants and a larger war on people of color and the poor. This law has been a catalyst for a round of civil disobedience actions in and outside of Arizona. While higher numbers and stronger opposition by decentralized action is needed in Arizona, the struggle should not be focused solely on SB1070. Capitalism, neo-liberalism, imperialism, and state power are root causes of migration and of oppression. This bill has been in the making for hundreds of years and now is the time to expose this by taking to the streets!

We're calling for anarchists and other anti-authoritarians making plans to participate in creative actions here in Arizona! We are interested in solidarity, creativity, broadly-focused analysis and direct action. Many folks from the RCP to ANSWER in addition to the more moderate and conservative elements of the immigrants' rights movement are organizing and promoting their pseudo-solutions here. We are not concerned with managing the struggle or with maintaining reputations worthy of scholarships and political office. This message against borders, for freedom, and breaking down all the borders between us (gender, sexuality, race, etc.) is necessary now more than ever.

Here in Arizona, we are broadening the struggle beyond SB 1070 and just migrants' rights (see examples of recent actions below). The immigrant

rights movement has touted Comprehensive Immigration Reform (CIR) as the answer. A big part of the CIR plan is heightened border security. Border security means militarization, which will only get worse if border security is part of CIR. The border, some of which is a constructed wall, divides O'odham land, preventing or complicating border-crossing for many members of this indigenous community. They are now required to carry passports, they get their personal belongings searched at checkpoints going back and forth from visiting family and attending gatherings, and some O'odham people have been violently threatened at gunpoint by Border Patrol.

The federal government militarizes and builds walls along the border, runs the detention centers caging hundreds of thousands of migrants, and has plans for more border security. Their intentions are not benevolent, even if some folks are "legalized" through reform. We mustn't call for the federal government to swoop down and save Arizona or any other state facing similar legislation when they are equally part of the problem. If we limit our goals, when will all this end? The border and immigration law are illegitimate in the face of the colonization of this land.

In connecting with each other in this struggle we must also deepen our connections to our communities. Our everyday interactions can break the borders of skin privilege, class, settler privilege, and resolve conflict stemming from cultural differences as we work together.

While you are here, recognize that you are on O'odham land. Familiarize yourself with the resources below, and determine how you can take action and support indigenous resistance in Arizona. Come with courage, respect, and humility. Let's get creative!

There is limited information about plans so far, but the bill will go into effect before we know it (July 29 pending any obstacles). There will be actions throughout the month, but July 28-30 is critical for support. Sherriff Arpaio is planning to raid the county with another "crime suppression operation" July 30th. We must keep organizing against whiteness/white supremacy promoted in the interest of capitalism and the state. We must strategize on creative solutions to demilitarize the border. Continuing in the months ahead, we will actively target icons within this system of violence, and organize for the liberation and self-determination of our communities.

**MEET UP IN CIVIC SPACE PARK JULY 28TH 7PM 424 NORTH CENTRAL AVE.**

**PLEASE VIEW THESE RESOURCES:**

O'ODHAM SOLIDARITY ACROSS BORDERS COLLECTIVE  
WWW.OODHAMSOLIDARITY.BLOGSPOT.COM  
CHAPARRAL RESPECTS NO BORDERS:  
WWW.CHAPARRALRESPECTSNOBORDERS.BLOGSPOT.COM  
FIRES NEVER EXTINGUISHED (PHOENIX CLASS WAR  
WWW.FIRESNEVEREXTINGUISHED.BLOGSPOT.COM  
RESISTANCE TO SB1070: NO BORDERS, NO STATE, NO PAPERS  
WWW.SB1070RESISTANCE.BLOGSPOT.COM  
SUPPORT THE ARPAIO FIVE  
WWW.ARPAIOFIVE.BLOGSPOT.COM  
SURVIVAL SOLIDARITY  
WWW.SURVIVALSOLIDARITY.WORDPRESS.COM  
TAALA HOOGHAN INFOSHOP  
WWW.TAALAHOOGHAN.ORG  
O'ODHAM-SOLIDARITY PROJECT  
WWW.SOLIDARITY-PROJECT.ORG  
CHECK OUT THESE RECENT ACTIONS FOR AN IDEA OF WHAT'S BEEN GOING ON HERE::  
THE DINE O'ODHAM ANARCHIST BLOC PG 15  
END BORDER MILITARIZATION CONTINGENT  
LOCKDOWN AT THE BORDER PATROL HEADQUARTERS PG 23  
No one is free until everybody is free

From within the Stronghold publishing/distro cell of Survival Solidarity a new zine arises. Far from perfect, close to nothing.... Stronghold is brought to you in the loving memory of every "Strong Hearts" zine. Stronghold is dedicated to every life of the wild Sandhill Crane ever taken in vain. We also dedicate it to the spirit of every warrior that has lost their life in the war against borders Colonization and the fight to protect all things sacred. May each page be a spit into the face of past, present and future repression.

“When we support each other in actions and tense situations, when we act together to protect the most vulnerable among us, when we can face the potential violence of the system in community instead of alone, we undermine fear.

When we cease complying out of fear, we force the system to actually enforce its decrees. This is costly in terms of money, materials, and the undermining of public support. We force the system to reveal the underlying violence that supports it.” – Starhawk

Need assistance with housing rideshares and participating despite ability?

Desire to give/need by providing daycare, LGBTQ solidarity, to feed the masses, medic skills, fundraising, legal assistance, wanna connect a skillshare, and whatever else you can think of-

Contact: [breakthruborders@riseup.net](mailto:breakthruborders@riseup.net)

***LIKE LOVE, A RIOT CAN SOMETIMES TAKE US BY SURPRISE WHEN WE ARE NOT PREPARED. IT WOULD BE IN VAIN TO SAY THAT WE CAN PREPARE A RIOT, THOUGHT, WE CAN AT LEAST PREPARE FOR RIOTS: DO WHAT IT TAKES TO HELP IGNITE THE FIRE, TO RELEASE THE CHARGE.***

***....IN LOVE, AS IN RIOTS, THERE IS ALWAYS SOMETHING THAT ESCAPES CLASSICAL POLITICAL THOUGHT. BY THEIR NATURE, THESE EXPLOSIONS DO NOT EXPAND FROM SEDENTARY IDEAS OF JUSTICE, BROTHERHOOD, OR EQUALITY. LIKE A VIRUS, THEY OPEN UP SOMETHING COMMUNICABLE AND COLLECTIVE. WE ARE INTERESTED IN INTENSIFYING THE CONDITIONS FOR THIS COMMUNICATION: UNDERSATNDING ITS DISPOSITION.***

***—THOUGHTS ON LOVE AND RIOT***

# TRANSFORMING INTO COMMUNITIES OF RESISTANCE.... WEAKPOINTS WITHIN THE METROPOLIS....

Rather in Arizona or afar the dry hate of SB 1070 is beating down deep into the backs of people everywhere. July is nearing an end. SB 1070 the law will abruptly fall on us within Arizona in weeks. As people bound together through our resistance we gaze at the obstacles looming between our liberation and us. Regardless of where your battlefield presides, the opportunity for action dances at your fingertips.

One of the persisting challenges of confronting SB 1070 for many has been keeping the relevancy of the impacts the law will affect so many people immediately on a day-to-day basis. The other challenge at hand, connecting the dots between present resistance to long-term resistance and finding ways to provide the space to help local communities strengthen the ties that bind them together.

## THE OBSTACLES WE MUST OVERCOME

For everyone the stressors of everyday life are immense. Within our bodies many of us carry the trauma we have absorbed from the hate that surrounds. At times it has been hard not allowing our hearts to be overtaken with misguided emotions. It is most certainly a daunting task finding a balance between anger, grief and happiness amidst the mental wreckage the state of Arizona is imposing on us.

Absorbing the shock of our footsteps on the boundless trails of our liberation can exert overwhelming pain on our bodies and minds at times. As challenging as it may seem, ultimately celebrating the overlaps of our paths to shared liberation is one way to utilize the cal-luses we develop along this path.

Oppositely of drowning on the stress that fills our bodies, let us transform into communities of resistance hurling the anger back at any of the obvious perpetrators. For those with a critical eye, endless weak points unfold within the Metropolis of Phoenix and the sprawling hell that spills out around it....

What follows is a short first attempt at uncovering these aggressors in the war for our liberation and safety. It is our "aim" to provide a few targets that stand in the way of our liberation. Not all of them have been fully researched so please only take this as an introductory first step in a preparation for battle. May these dots on a map one day disappear! Until then it is time to attack!

# ....STRIKE AT THE METROPOLITAN FLOWS AT THEIR POINT OF MAXIMUM DENSITY

## MARICOPA COUNTY JAIL

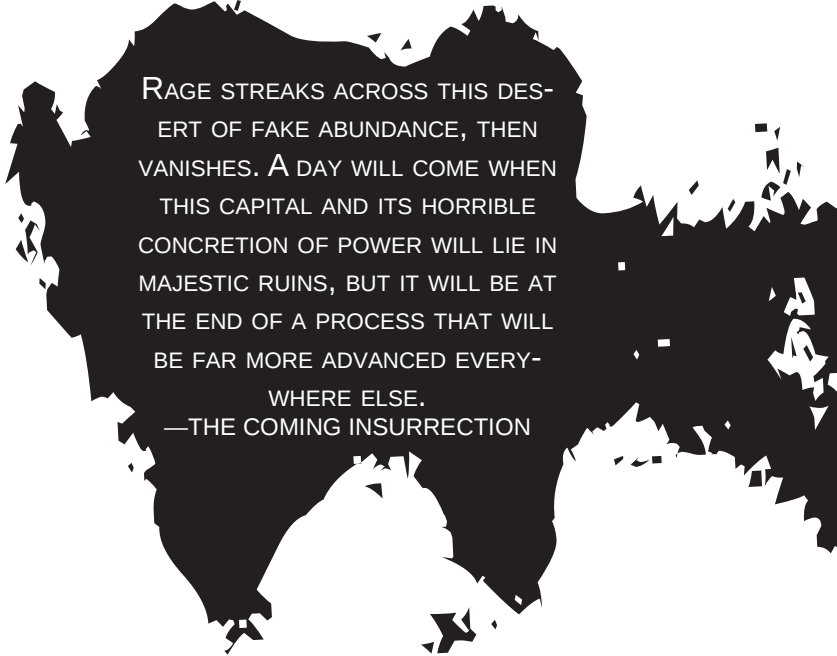
3225 West Gibson Lane  
Phoenix, AZ 85009-6250  
(602) 876-0322

## HOMELAND SECURITY

1700 West Washington Street, Phoenix, AZ -  
(602) 542-7013

## MARICOPA BOARD OF SUPERVISORS

301 West Jefferson Street  
Phoenix, AZ 85003-2143  
(602) 506-3415



RAGE STREAKS ACROSS THIS DES-  
ERT OF FAKE ABUNDANCE, THEN  
VANISHES. A DAY WILL COME WHEN  
THIS CAPITAL AND ITS HORRIBLE  
CONCRETION OF POWER WILL LIE IN  
MAJESTIC RUINS, BUT IT WILL BE AT  
THE END OF A PROCESS THAT WILL  
BE FAR MORE ADVANCED EVERY-  
WHERE ELSE.  
—THE COMING INSURRECTION



**MARICOPA COUNTY SHERRIFS OFFICE**

100 West Washington Street, Phoenix, AZ- (602) 876-1801

**RESOLUTION COPPER**

2525 East Arizona Biltmore Circle  
Phoenix, AZ 85016-2101  
(602) 956-0223

102 East Magma Heights Drive, Superior, AZ- (520) 689-9374

**ARIZONA DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY**

1110 West Washington Street  
Phoenix, Arizona 85007-2953

**WACKENHUT CORPORATION**

3410 East University Drive, Phoenix, AZ - (602) 431-0020  
(602) 771-2300

2035 North Central Avenue, Phoenix, AZ - (602) 254-5549

**BOEING**

5000 East McDowell Road, Mesa, AZ - (480) 891-3000

**SUNDT CONSTRUCTION INC**

1501 West Fountainhead Parkway, Tempe, AZ  
(480) 446-7364

1903 East University Drive, Phoenix, AZ - (602) 258-0693

2620 South 55th Street, Tempe, AZ - (480) 293-3000

2641 South 20th Place, Phoenix, AZ - (602) 262-5290

**KIEWIT SUNDT**

5330 East Washington Street, Phoenix, AZ

3200 East McDowell Road, Mesa, AZ - (480) 981-4792

225 East 1st Street, Mesa, AZ - (480) 835-2110

**SUNDT CONSTRUCTION**

6001 South Sossaman Road, Mesa, AZ - (480) 471-8462

**SUNDT CONSTRUCTION**

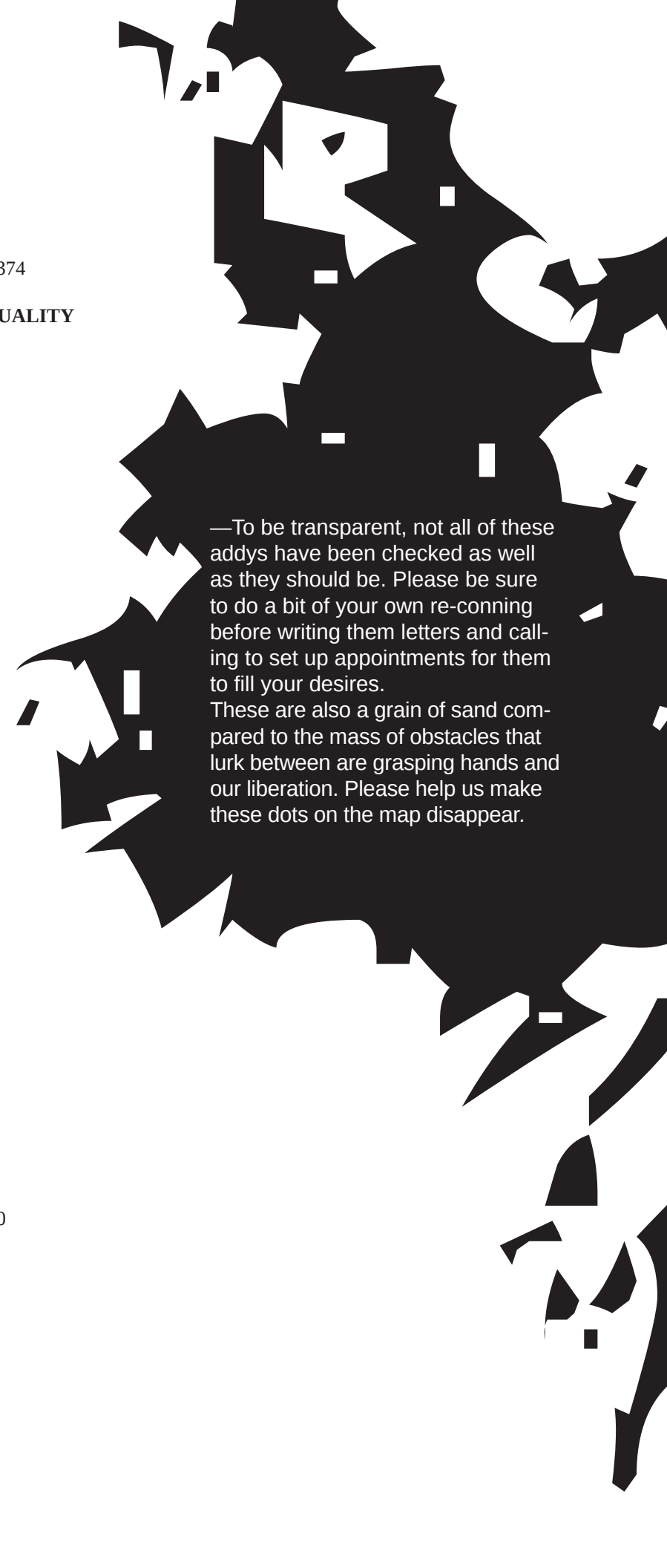
715 N Avondale Blvd, Avondale, AZ (623) 249-6804  
7776 S Pointe Pkwy, Phoenix, AZ- (602) 626-1450

**SUNDT PRODUCTIONS**

619 s. camino sereno, Apache Junction, AZ- (480) 671-3920

**FREEPORT MCMORAN**

333 N Central Ave, Phoenix, Arizona, (602) 366-8100



—To be transparent, not all of these addys have been checked as well as they should be. Please be sure to do a bit of your own re-conning before writing them letters and calling to set up appointments for them to fill your desires.

These are also a grain of sand compared to the mass of obstacles that lurk between are grasping hands and our liberation. Please help us make these dots on the map disappear.

# Decolonization and Arizona

## Thoughts on Confronting Local and Global Realities

BY LUKE

### AN HONEST INTRODUCTION

It's amazing how easy it is, as a white, male-bodied individual, to ignore some obvious facts of life. Facts of life that demand my immediate attention, but won't affect me without it. While some of us sit on the thrones of privilege, those who exist and struggle at the cost of these thrones can appear, in the most fucked up of ways, to not even exist. Even worse, if and when pointed out repeatedly, many people often go through periods of denial before coming close to ever beginning confronting their place within humyn society, along with their place on this Earth at large.

One of these obvious facts I speak of became more apparent to me after the move I made to Tucson, Arizona a few years ago. This fact is that my existence on this land, both here and where I'm from back east, is the result of an ongoing massive genocide against indigenous peoples and the Earth.

We all have to know this, of course. History books lie, no doubt, but there's only so much one can do to manipulate the atrocities of history.

Sometimes there is no way of escaping a clearly demonstrated problem and solution. Our colonial existence on this land is our problem, whether it was our choice to be born here or not. Our support of those resisting this and our own confrontations with it is a needed solution. Hopefully this does not encourage guilt as a basis for action, which is probably the least constructive and sustainable source of motivation. It is, rather, intended to encourage merely stepping up, acknowledging these realities, and moving from there.

While this article focuses on issues of colonialism and environmental issues locally, the history of colonialism on this land is deeply connected to the similar histories of sexual domination, race domination and other forms of oppression experienced at different levels of our culture's hierarchies. People have been resisting domination for hundreds of years. The problem of individual and institutional authoritarian behavior is set in stone. It's up to us to support and defend this resistance.

We have to locate and take notice of these obvious facts rather than deny and ignore how this history is not really history at all, how it still haunts our surroundings.

North to south, south to north, a variety of examples of these realities can be named. Where border and immigration issues fall into this discourse is up for discussion, and must, of course, be equally addressed. In order to take one step at a time, I am choosing to focus on and clarify, for myself and others, how Arizona faces continued destruction and exploitation of the land at the hands of industry, while simultaneously further colonizing indigenous people's territory.

### A BRIEF AND INCOMPLETE RUNDOWN

Superior, Arizona-based company Resolution Copper has their eyes set on San Carlos Apache land to create the largest copper mine North America has yet to see. Senators John Kyl and John McCain have introduced legislation that would allow Resolution Copper to exploit this land, which was previously protected in 1955 by Public Land Order 1229. While the Apache Leap, Gaan Canyon and Oak Flat areas of Arizona are held sacred by the San Carlos Apaches, profit-driven suits can only see dollar signs in such destruction.

West of Phoenix, the proposed 8-Lane 202 South Mountain freeway extension route threatens to invade tribal land, destroy homes of Ahwatukee and West Phoenix residents and ruin a portion of South Mountain. Gila River Tribal Council and District 6 have both passed resolutions against the route. However, the Maricopa Associations of Governments (MAG) Transportation Committee voted unanimously to approve the 8-lane 202 South Mountain Freeway extension in total disregard to the people whose land and homes this will divide and ruin.

Further south, 65 miles of the US / Mexico border divides the Tohono O'odham reservation right in two, with no respect to any notion of sovereignty. This subjects those who must travel through this border, as they and their ancestors had always done long before colonization and the existence of such a border, to various types of harassment, violence and intimidation by border officials.

There is also the continued threat of environmental degradation on sacred O'odham land near the ceremonial grounds of Quitovac, Sonora. Just eight miles from this land, the company Centro de Gestion Integral de Residuos has attempted to dump 45,000 tons of hazardous waste into the Earth. They have been defeated twice, however the fight for permanent protection of Quitovac continues.

Meanwhile, it's leading activist, O'odham human rights activist Ofelia Rivas, has faced severe repression. Last February, she was imprisoned for four days in southern Chiapas while supporting Zapatistas due to false charges of crossing the border of Guatemala without documents.

Up north, the indigenous peoples of Black Mesa have been resisting large and unjust coal mining operations along with the forced relocation policies of the US government for decades. Their struggle for their lives and their land is actively opposing colonialism and working to protect the Earth every single day that they get up and continue living their traditional lifestyle. Through the organization Black Mesa Indigenous Support, there is a clear opportunity to support this struggle.

Outside of Flagstaff, the San Francisco Peaks are threatened by a full "build-out" of the Arizona Snowbowl, which includes new

runs and lifts, and using 180 million gallons of “reclaimed wastewater” each year for snowmaking. Cultural rights are threatened. The health of families is threatened. Future water supplies are threatened. Endangered plants and animals will be further disrupted. The Save the Peaks Coalition is currently, and very actively, opposing this development.

As far as I can tell, I could never tell far enough. This is in no way supposed to be some sort of comprehensive list summing up all anti-colonial and environmental struggles here in Arizona. The roots of colonialism continue to invade beneath all that is indigenous and natural, in ways both large and small. These issues implicate government, industry, capital and the cultures of domination that we perpetuate as a beast with many heads. It would be impossible to touch on every issue.

Like noted above, though, the overall problems are set in stone. As a person with white, male-bodied and settler privilege, I hope to continue to seek out these issues, listen to those affected and try to figure out how I can support them. I have yet to even breach the surface of this task.

#### **A WIDENING PERSPECTIVE**

With the formation of the Arizona-based group Survival Solidarity, I was primarily excited about the recognition of inter-connected struggles. Tying in self-defense training, gardening and survival skills, prisoner support and support of all liberation struggles makes sense to me as an integral part of decolonization. We cannot separate the aspects of struggle that, when thought out, are, or most certainly will be if they are not currently, necessary for success and for survival.

During a benefit event here in Tucson for the O’odham Voice Against the Wall, an organization that advocates for the traditional O’odham leaders of the O’odham communities in the Southern Territory of Mexico and the Northern Territory of the United States, we had the opportunity to host indigenous author Ward Churchill.

Churchill ended his lecture on an uneasy note for some of us, I think, by clearly stating that colonialism is an issue that must be regarded as a priority before sexism, classism, etc. while making a point to refer to the term “anti-authoritarian” in a condescending manner. His reasoning being that no matter what we are struggling against, we are doing it on colonized land, and everything else must wait.

In the introduction to this article I brought up how the histories of every form of oppression are interlocked. This includes colonialism, racism, patriarchy and the rest. I would recommend the book “Conquest” by Cherokee author Andrea Smith, as it delves much deeper into the harsh realities of this inter-connectedness.

I’m not entirely sure how others use the term, but for me “anti-authoritarian” is a blanket term to encompass this inter-connectedness of oppression. It is not a political identity; it is merely helpful in describing how all forms of oppression and hierarchy must be fought simultaneously. If the entire world were decolonized tomorrow, according to Churchill’s logic, then, and only then, should we move on to combating patriarchy. This is reminiscent of traditional socialist/leftist attitudes towards revolutionary politics; all liberation struggles outside of the workplace must wait until capitalism is done away with.

To this attitude I say: You will never succeed. With one liberation struggle you need the comradeship of the other. We do, indeed, need to face colonialism, and we need to do it right now. If we ignore the suffering of those on other levels of societies hierarchies, we cannot do it together. Our perspectives need to widen.

With this ever-widening perspective, we can navigate through the local issues mentioned in this article. We can listen to and seek to support the Indigenous people whose land we exist on. All the while, we can build our analysis and action towards decolonization and total liberation.

**WE DEMAND TO BE ABLE TO DEFEND OUR COMMUNITIES AGAINST THE VIOLENCE OF POLICE.**  
**WE DEMAND TO SUSTAIN OUR COMMUNITIES AS FAR APART AS WE CAN GET FROM THE RAVAGES OF GLOBAL CAPITAL.**  
**WE DEMAND THE LIBERATION OF ALL OPPRESSED LIVING THINGS, HUMYN AND NON-HUMYN.**  
**DECOLONIZATION NOW!**

# The Calm Before the Storm

## An Anarchist Perspective on SB 1070

By: SURVIVAL SOLIDARITY

A flock of racists slowly approach us on the wing of Arizona's future. They are prepared to land on occupied Akimel O'odham Pi-Posh land (Phoenix). Like vultures they circle above us waiting for SB 1070 to go into effect. Spectators throughout the world wait eyes to the sky, ear to the ground for them to land. Unfortunately no one has stepped up to shoot them outta the sky just yet.

However a few warning shots have been fired in the air by radicals, some of them being, the march of black flags that busted through the seams of Phoenix's business district hurling newsboxes in the street, the lock-down inside the Tucson Border Patrol Headquarters and the revolutionizing of everyday day life in Tempe through door-to-door organizing and demanding that the city council take a stance on racism in the form of SB 1070. We do recognize that for outsiders looking in it may appear as though things are much quieter than they are. The silence has only been due to the amount of much needed attention, intention and passion being poured into our vision for long-term resistance within the places we love and fight for. We promise you that without a doubt, a storm of insurrection approaches.

For radicals within the many occupied territories of Arizona our past months have consisted of day-to-day pondering on how to respond to the casualties of the US/Mexico border (*reported* deaths usually surpass 200 and often sit just beneath 300). Our nights are filled with starlit walks that spill into chatters of resistance welcomed by the sunrise of another day we fight together. These talks are the culmination of years of planning for so many of us. We pick up where the anti-minutemen meetings in San Diego left off. We are the reawakening of the energy within the 2007 No Borders Camp and expanding it to be as large as the international No Borders Movement erupting in one place. The student walkouts and riots within the mid-2000's in response to HR4437. Are you getting the idea yet? Regardless of how the state feeds it's vultures with SB 1070 we plan to unfurl our attack and make them pay! Regardless.

### THE RECENT BILLS AND STATE-LEAD ATTACKS WITHIN ARIZONA

Many of us have witnessed SB1070 transforming into the heaviest of rains in a continuous downpour of state sponsored racism. It trickles down the same path of other oppressive laws such as HB 2008 (a bill limiting the benefits undocumented families can receive from the government) and HB 2281 (A bill that explicitly prohibits classes that "advocate ethnic solidarity"). The introduction of each of these laws continues the institutionalized attack on the safety and mental well being of families and communities throughout Arizona.

As anarchists we unabashedly oppose all laws. The reality of the interconnectedness of these laws to the further exploitation of people through institutionalized capitalism is a grim truth Anarchists have always known. We also hear the call for solidarity from those that are indigenous to this land. We answer it with urgency and vigor.

We aim for our attack to be one that could trump the negativity to follow the instituting of SB 1070. We strive for our messaging to rise into a clear non-rhetorical context; One that provides a way to connect the dots between actions and targets. With that in mind, we also recognize the need for our actions to uncover the exploitative nature of capitalism and colonization. Between the diminishing economy and the blinding spectatorial spotlight covering Arizona's politics the time to attack has never seemed riper.

Pushing our ability to both critically and creatively develop actions that are inclusive and within an accessible social context is a must. The fear and disruption that Arizona is forcing onto peoples lives is unacceptable. It is also something that would not be hard to recreate and throw back into the state's face. This should be a goal of those orchestrating responses to SB 1070.

A common shortcoming within a majority of popular North American anarchist organizing is the inability to connect our actions to larger community experiences. With Arizona attacking its people from so many socially disruptive angles we are provided with a monumental context for our actions to play into.

Taking a glance at a few of the recent ripples the state of Arizona have sent into peoples' lives provides a little insight into our motives for yearning to disrupt the lives of those in power. In the first weeks of June 2010, in Tempe, AZ the Maricopa County Sheriff's Office raided Arizona Mills Mall. They separated shoppers from employees and according to one employee they were also flashin' guns at people. An employee told a television station, "They show me the gun and tell me I have to walk to the freakin' break room."

Weeks later Arpiao's sheriffs raided two restaurants that they have been investigating for more than a year. In a statement following the raid Maricopa County Sheriff Joe Arpaio said the following:

"This is another example of a case where desperately needed jobs are being occupied by illegal aliens who have disregarded our laws and our borders,"

These borders and the laws that accompany them establish an almost impossible amount of silent borders in the everyday life of those they target.

In the fields of California's Central Valley, a wall is placed in





# MAKE THEM PAY!

500 YEARS+ OF COLONIZING  
DAILY ICE RAIDS  
ICE DETENTION CENTERS  
BORDERS AND THEIR MILITARIZATION

CAPITALISM  
HIERARCHY  
OPPRESSION

REGARDLESS OF SB1070... IT HAS BEEN AND STILL IS TIME TO ATTACK!

the lives of the farm workers that are repeatedly sprayed with pesticides and can't seek medical help due to the fear of their deportation. Within the maquiladoras of North America, Mexico and Central and Southern America the health risks that the workers face are literally life threatening. Women working at these factories have been exposed to such high amounts of chemicals at the workplace that they often experience difficulties when going into labor. Many of their children are born with extreme cases of birth defects. The same companies often fire women immediately after discovering women are pregnant. What is mentioned is barely a fraction of the violence these workers face. Due to the amount of loopholes in capitalism no one is ever held accountable for these fucked up conditions. When families are torn apart through raids and deportations they are *literally* separated and often from their main source of income. While living in a constant fear of deportation a barrier is literally placed on families between them and their communities. A news report from Rio Rico, AZ reported that about 70 parents usually attend monthly parent-teacher meetings at their Pena Blanca Elementary School. In April of 2010, at the last meeting of this school year, only 20 showed up.

#### CONNECTING INDIGENOUS RESISTANCE AND ADDRESSING COLONIZATION

*"One of the central messages of colonization is the assertion that we are not entitled to autonomy over our own bodies—they are simply machines to be used in sweatshops, prisons and farms. Devoid of our own self-determination regarding sexuality and gender, we are as disposable as any other piece of equipment that has lost its use."* —Trishala Deb and Rafael Mutis of the Audre Lorde Project quoted in *Conquest* By Andrea Smith

Addressing the militarization of the O'odham border has become one of Arizona Anarchists' main focuses this year. From the forming of the Diné, O'odham, anarchist/anti-authoritarian Bloc, to the recent Border Patrol lock-down we refuse to allow the invisibility of Indigenous issues to continue. As you read this you can know for sure that there is a BP officer on the Tohono O'odham reservation looking for someone or something to target. The Tohono O'odham often have their houses raided by masked BP and homeland security agents. BP harasses elders travelling to sacred ceremonies and school children going to class; they steal the O'odhams' horses and have even recently killed an O'odham youth. One of the most appalling facts that cease to see the light of day

is how the building of the border literally dug up the bodies of O’odham ancestors. All this recent colonization comes on the back of 500+ years of Indigenous people being under attack. We say fuck that! It’s time to attack.

Reflecting on the Zapatistas struggle to the south of us we see one of the most obvious places to attack; that being any of the larger systems of infrastructure. Everyday, the results of NAFTA and “Free” Trade are felt in the bones of the people affected most by those policies.

*“And it is clear that in the colonial countries the peasants alone are revolutionary, for they have nothing to lose and everything to gain. The starving peasant, outside the class system is the first among the exploited to discover that only violence pays. For them there is no compromise, no possible coming to terms; colonization and decolonization are simply a question of relative strength.”*

— Frantz Fanon (*The Wretched of the Earth*)

Borders are strung together through intricate webs of capitalism. Their purpose, to protect capital. That is why attacking everything that resembles capital to those in power is an obvious target. The racist legislation we are up against is part of the same stranglehold that capitalism strong-arms people with all across the world. The unapologetic rate of Arizona’s current institutionalized racism is still a bit alarming. Connecting the current state-sponsored abuse, international colonization and flexing of white supremacy-based policies and that of similar occurrences within the recent past provides a clearer picture of our enemy rises.

We see the violence of the state suffocating our communities. We prepare today for the fights of years to come!

*“The government has failed us you can’t deny that!” “Stop singin and start swingin!”*

—Malcom X

# Militant Responses to the Militarization of Borders & Supporting Resistance to the South Mountain Freeway Loop 202

**By: SURVIVAL SOLIDARITY**

For those of us on the occupied ground of occupied Akimel O’odham Pi-Posh land Phoenix or Scuckson (Occupied Territories of Tucson, AZ) these two subjects, one-the militarization of the O’odham land, two-the encroaching infrastructure project of the South Mountain Freeway loop 202, are two places to show support and take action.

## **ON THE MILITARIZATION OF THE O’ODHAM LAND**

The border is a project of many tiers. While Arizonans commonly think of the border as the line dividing the state of Arizona from Mexico, Tohono O’odham land is also violently divided by the Mexico/US border. Some attribute the border division to the original 45 villages shrinking down to nine. The tribes are still hurting with population on one of the last nine shrinking.

Spanish invaders first occupied Tohono O’odham land in the 1500’s. But after the US seized half of Mexico in the 1840’s, the Treaty of Guadalupe created the current border, one which splits O’odham land into US and Mexican sides of the line. US and Mexican territory. In an interview with Jeff Hendricks, O’odham Activist Ofelia Rivas describes her experience with the current state of the US Borders as:

*“The increased drug trafficking and human trafficking started funneling through the O’odham territory when the United States decided to re-channel the traffic flow of “immigrants” through O’odham territory with operations such as “Operation Gatekeeper”’ The increased border patrol (BP) forces in Texas, New Mexico and California forced the traffic to flow through O’odham territory.”*

The US bp has used the high numbers of people migrating through O’odham territory from Central America (from as far as Southern America) as an excuse to harass O’odham people. O’odham land spans area on both sides of the border. This leads bp to accuse O’odham people of drug trafficking in.

These allegations also lead to severe harassment by the Border patrol of O’odham people. There are many reports of masked, gun toting-thugs raiding O’odham houses and demanding to see US identification. The O’odham have asked for support with documenting the violence they have experienced and witnessed.

The violence from BP and other facets of homeland security on O’odham land takes many numerous forms. Raids have been occurring as recent as May 24, of this year. In 2009 an O’odham youth was murdered by border patrol. Since 9/11 children living on the “Mexican” side of the border have been forced to obtain special clearance just to attend classes and avoid day-to-day harassment from BP. The violence also takes the form of literally digging up O’odham ancestors to build the border that divides them.

The border issue that people are more familiar with generally is operation Safe Guard. The well-known work being done in that area is the humanitarian aid provided by No More Deaths. People from all over the US and beyond travel to the Sonoran desert to do desert patrols and water drops. Volunteers also work checkpoints, and perform an assortment of other supportive work. While this work is of great relevance and we would in no way like to challenge it, we do want to challenge the relationship it





has to border abolition.

While delivering gallons of water to the border and performing on-the-ground medical work is literally a lifesaver, as anarchists and non-reformists we aim to develop more confrontational and direct demands and actions to respond to the violence of the militarization of the border. More specifically bring awareness to the violence the border and its enforcers perpetuate on O'odham people. As well as demanding an uncompromising, non-reformist call for an end to the militarization of the border.

Supporting those that cross the border is a very crucial, necessary first step. Developing a long-term strategy that will eventually lead to the destruction of the metal fences that reinforce the racist policies of the US and Arizona is a must. Respecting peoples' obvious right to provide humanitarian aid along the border is important. Yet the reality is that nothing will change if we all play it safe. A comprehensible, strong and universal *No Border* dialogue must be developed and disseminated with a speed to match the pace of lives lost annually to the border.

International border walls will never fall unless there is a consistent force driving relentlessly to bring them down. The safe middle ground of this discussion was

started years ago. It's time to get dangerous. We need to create an outlet for those that are frustrated with the limitations of current approaches to the border. Lives are being lost, and as long as borders stand, lives will be lost attempting to defy them.

Ignoring the obvious relationship between borders, their militarization and deaths that occur from them would be an empty and incomplete analysis. A non-militant movement will never be able to change that. Multiple points of vulnerability within the militarization of the border exist. These weaknesses in the state's infrastructure need to be targets of our attacks. Everything from the Department of Homeland Security, separate security companies to detention firms involved are all potential targets.

Throughout the world there are numerous No Border movements exploding out of the woodwork. The US/Mexico border was host to a No Borders Camp in 2007. Every year in Europe No Border Camps occur, often multiple ones. While these camps obviously do not make walls immediately fall, they do provide the much needed space for large-scale anti-border analysis to develop rapidly among large groups of people from diverse backgrounds with different skills and experience levels. That along with

**IT'S TIME TO GET DANGEROUS....**

**LIVES ARE BEING LOST, AND AS LONG AS BORDERS STAND LIVES WILL BE LOST ATTEMPTING TO DEFY THEM.**

**A NON-MILITANT MOVEMENT WILL NEVER BE ABLE TO CHANGE THAT.**

increased intentional No Border dialogue in our own communities will be some of the most integral tools in developing the analysis and strong networks necessary for re-energizing the North American No Border movement.

Every time there is a public event on the border or laws related to those crossing it we need to be there providing an uncompromising border abolition stance for any ear ready to hear it. The No Borders network of the US needs a lot of support to get back up on its feet so it can kick down the borders around us. Every aspect of the militarization of the border should be considered a possible target for attack.

### **SOUTH MOUNTAIN FREEWAY LOOP 202**

One infrastructure project that we need to prevent from ever being built is the South Mountain Freeway Loop 202. The Freeway Loop is still in the pre-Environmental Impact Statement phase. Aside from the obvious unneeded destruction that looms close behind the pavement of any highway, the 2 current

proposals for the freeway would be sinking its teeth into the Ahwatukee South Mountain, and ultra-sensitive areas around the Gila River.

The Gila river is home to the Spikedace and loach minnow, both federally threatened species as well as the Gila topminnow and the Desert pupfish, both federally endangered species. The fact that the habitat of these fish could be under attack should be taken seriously since according to Arizona fish and game of 36 fish species historically native to Arizona, 21 are listed as threatened or endangered, and one species has gone extinct.

Studies have proven that the two main reasons for the species decline is due to habitat loss and negative interactions. The river is also home to mountain lions and the threatened Mexican Spotted Owl. The construction of this highway would also unavoidably disrupt Indigenous sacred burial sites. The unneeded pavement (you can easily already cover the ground that it would be used to “bypass”) could also lead to the forcible relocation of Ahwatukee and West Phoenix residents.

The Freeway would be an extension of the Interstate-10 (I-10) trade Corridor of the Future. The two proposals for the highway would either go through the Gila River Reservation or through the Ahwatukee foothills. Both proposals are clear examples of colonialism destroying anything that stands between capitalism and it’s profits. If state bureaucrats involved in Phoenix transportation planning have their way, this will be yet another example of eradicating sacred natural lands in the Sonora desert from Phoenix to Tucson.

The US government has been attempting to award grants to states for the construction of roadways that lessen congestion and aid in the transportation of goods. The US Department of Transportation says, “Congestion is one of the single largest threats to America’s economic prosperity and way of life.” Corridors of the Future such as I-10 are their solution to this problem. The Corridors of the Future are the roadways that will facilitate the movement of goods for Trade agreements such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). According to the US Department of Transportation (DOT), traffic congestion is responsible for \$200 billion in economic losses each year in the US alone.

**AS THE ZAPATISTAS DID WE NEED TO RESIST EVERY ATTEMPT OF THE STATE TO FURTHER COLONIZE AND DESTROY WHAT IS NATURAL AND SACRED.**





As the Zapatistas did, we need to resist every attempt of the state to further colonize and destroy what is natural and sacred. Freeway 202 would not only tear apart indigenous communities on the Gila river Reservation or in the Ahwatukee foothills, it would further colonize and exploit people in Central and Southern America.

Many people would be affected by this road, and the time to talk to them is now. Using tactics such as the Listening Project model could be one of those ways. If a route for this highway is decided on, talking to those that the proposed highway would relocate and communicate what our support for them could look like would be one of the first steps to creating fertile resistance to this infrastructure project. Some of them may feel alone, and if they have people to talk to and help them sort out their options it may be easier for them to defend their homes.

Meetings are ongoing for freeway 202 and every other part of the I-10 Corridor; having a strong presence at these meetings is a must. City meetings often leave those involved feeling extremely alienated by the state's complete dismissal of concerns raised by those affected by their projects. The state hardly ever provides ample time for everyone that attends to actually say what's on their mind. Being present to listen to people who are affected can help assist them in finding their place in resistance to the road.

Starting early to develop a strong network of supporters could aid those that are attempting to defend their land from the possibility of a highway in the future. Gaining a strong support base can also help provide the means of support for those that choose to attack and take action against the road.

From here on out we only gain more and more targets. It should be our goal to turn anyone in favor of this road against it. Anyone actually providing the energy, planning and resources for this road is definitely a target. Whether capitalist figure or business, personal or political, the tactics exist for swaying people to either neutralize our enemies or possibly become active opponents to this road.

It is necessary to consider both the strategic benefits and negative ramifications before blindly taking action. Definitely think about whether or not your actions would support or hurt Indigenous people affected by this project. Also, be sure to analyze how your actions can be the most inclusive and be the best use of your resources. Some of the first obvious actions are engaging in dialogue with groups like O'dham Solidarity Across Borders about strategy. An important part of our strategy to attack needs to be exploiting every weak point of State Transportation planners. Fortunately the economy is far from flourishing. If this road does get approved the building of it will probably be privatized. Whoever those companies might be that put bids in should find out fast that we are not going to allow them to build this road.

The South Mountain Freeway Loop 202 is a frivolous idea that should never be built. A large first step in the fight against this road is helping support the Solidarity Across Borders Collective and the elders from around the Salt River area by asking what support for resistance to this highway would look like. We should also work our hardest to meet those that are already opposed to this road and try our hardest to help them and provide support where it is needed. Preventing this road from being built is an act of confronting colonization and directly cutting off the growth of capitalism through the expansion of its infrastructure. Lets work to support each other in defending this sacred land. The time to attack is now!

*LIKE ESSENTIALLY ALL HUMAN DESIRE, LOVE AND RIOTS ARE EVENTS THAT ARE ALWAYS A MATTER OF RELATIONS BETWEEN PEOPLE. A RIOT ALWAYS NEEDS A CROWD, JUST AS THE LOVER ALWAYS NEEDS THE BELOVED. AND FURTHER, THE RIOT CAN ONLY OCCUR THROUGH A SUFFICIENT AMOUNT OF CONFIDENCE THAT OTHERS, TOO, WILL RIOT. THERE MUST BE PEOPLE GATHERED WHO HAVE A DISPOSITION TOWARDS RIOT, AND THEY MUST ALSO BELIEVE THAT OTHERS IN THAT CROWD DESIRE A RIOT, TOO. AS WITH LOVE, IT IS A CONTAGIOUS CONFIDENCE. THE FIRST NERVOUS KISS, OR THE FIRST WINDOW SMASHED...  
—THOUGHTS ON LOVE AND RIOT*

# THOUGHTS ON OUR ROLE IN THE EMERGING STRUGGLE AGAINST THE RACIST STATE OF ARIZONA

\* ARTICLE ORIGINALLY FROM THE PHOENIX CLASS WAR COUNCIL SUNDAY, APRIL 18, 2010

This is not meant to be a final conclusion, just an attempt to get my initial thoughts down about what we could be facing and the means I see as the best way to approach it.

As what seems like the inevitable signing of Russell Pearce's anti-immigrant law grows near, driving a nail into the coffin that is the political strategy pursued by local pro-migrant organizers, the question increasingly becomes what will be the nature of the resistance that will emerge to oppose it. Politics as a means of settling it is clearly dead. There is no political solution and there is no one left to appeal to. Friday's ICE raids proved that. We need to be thinking about the kind of resistance that will work and how we can organize it.

Likewise, we need to be thinking about what the terrain of struggle will be. Who will be our allies? What or who will we target? If we are done trying to convince, what does that mean? It seems to me that the only option left is a campaign of direct action aimed at causing real consequences for the system. We must begin to develop the organizational forms that can disrupt and shut down the functions of the state and Capital in Arizona if need be. The sort of forms that can cause havoc and can respond quickly to the ongoing crisis with a variety of creative resistance measures.

The natural form in my opinion is the affinity group and some kind of facilitating structure for coordination, perhaps a spokes-council or an assembly. Perhaps the latter that can transform into the former when necessary. Above all, this limited organization must be anti-political, anti-bureaucratic and horizontal. Anyone who can put together an affinity group and agree to a few key points should be able to participate, but no politicians or political parties should be allowed in. For guidance in this we can look to the Zapatistas "Other Campaign". The politicians have failed us utterly, as we always knew they would. We must be done with them.

To my mind, the natural starting point for defining participation in such a group would be the DO@ (see page 12) statement. If someone can agree with that, then they should be able to participate in the resistance we organize. If not, they are, of course, free to do their own thing, as anyone is. Perhaps boiling them down a bit would be worthwhile to develop a clear and concise criteria for organizing. Perhaps there are other criteria that would work just as well. We need to be thinking about that. In particular we need to think of ways to keep the leftist activists out.

One thing the DO@ statement brings to the table is a broader view of the struggle beyond just the country politicians that have been the general focus of movement leadership in town. Whether that was a good way to organize or not is irrelevant now: the problem, with this new law, will be clearly and unambiguously bigger than the county. The DO@ refrain, "Free movement for all, no dislocations for anyone", likewise seems a good starting point to me.

One thing to keep our eye on is the machinations of the leftist managers of struggle. They are desperate now. Already they have tried to intervene against direct action and they will in all likelihood continue to do so. They know they have little to offer the resistance now, but that doesn't mean they won't use all manner of tricks to try to hold on to the movement. It's time for them to recognize failure when they see it. Whatever role they have now must be in bringing their counsel to support the direct action movement that must certainly begin the second that law is signed. I'm sure they have a lot to share, but they must admit that the nature of the struggle is now much changed and so naturally should our tactics and strategies. Rather than scaring people with charges, fines and jail times, they need to be organizing legal defense for what may come. Certainly they have much to offer in this regard.

We also need to be thinking about our opposition and our potential allies. At the Tempe Tea Party rally libertarians stood outside flying against Pearce's law. This continues to be an important breach in the front of white supremacy and we must recognize it. We must continue to engage it and we must continue to push on that contradiction so that others are emboldened to break with the racist trajectory. We have to also be building connections, not necessarily finding a base of support, but finding sympathizers. We'll need each other. We are autonomous and speak for ourselves, but there are friends out there. Let's get to know and encourage each other.

Likewise, aside from direct action, we need to be producing literature, flyers and media on a scale that we heretofore have not considered in Phoenix. Thousands and thousands of copies must be distributed. We need to think about going places we haven't gone before. Sports games. Gun shows. Malls. Churches. "What side are you on?" we must demand. The priority must be in getting arguments in the hands of white people that can force them to choose one side or the other. We cannot allow the luxury of the middle ground anymore. This similarly goes for the liberal activists and party hacks who will try to negotiate on their own and others' behalfs. We must make this position impossible. Our role is to push as far and as hard as we can and to refuse compromise.

These are some of the initial thoughts I have on the struggle that seems likely ahead of us. Above all, we must be creative and refuse to be pushed into the narrow paths of struggle that the state, leftist managers and the reactionary right will attempt to impose on us. Lift your eyes and look to the horizon. Take in the broader view. Look for places where we are strong, where they are weak, or where we can act vigorously and quickly. Consider our strengths versus their weaknesses. Look for contradictions that will be profitable. Fortify yourself, find your comrades and get ready. Solidarity means attack!



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Introducing...  
**The Diné,  
O'odham,  
anarchist/anti-authoritarian  
Bloc!**

**JANUARY 2010**

**WELCOME:**

The *O'odham Solidarity Across Borders Collective* and the *Phoenix Class War Council* send you greetings from occupied O'odham land. We also would like to invite you to participate with us in what we are loosely calling the Diné, O'odham, anarchist/anti-authoritarian Bloc. We hope to use this formation on the streets at the January 16th march against deportations in Phoenix to project a vision for a different mode of resistance that breaks with the stilted, uncreative status quo that dominates movement organizing in town. This document is our explanation of the type of force we would like to put out there and why we think its necessary.

**Who?**

We call on everyone tired of holding a sign and marching in endless circles while our lives come under increasing attack; everyone sick of a protest culture of self-sacrifice, defeat and witness; everyone who wants to stand up against the injustices that surround us; everyone interested in creative resistance rather than ritualized demonstrations; everyone tired of seeing our lands divided and destroyed and our movements tracked, tabulated and restricted.

**WHAT IS THE DO@ BLOC?**

We are an autonomous, anti-capitalist force that demands free movement and an end to forced dislocations for all people. We challenge with equal force both the systems of control that seek to occupy and split our lands in two as well as the organized commodification of every day life that reduces the definition of freedom to what can be produced and sold where and to whom, and compels our social relations to bend to the very same pathetic formula of production and consumption. Capital seeks to desecrate everything sacred. We hold lives over laws and human relations over commodity relations.

We recognize what appears to be an unending historical condition of forced removal here in the Southwestern so-called US. From the murdering of O'odham Peoples and stealing of their lands for the development of what is now known as the metropolitan Phoenix area, to the ongoing forced relocation of more than 14,000 Diné who have been uprooted for the extraction of natural resources just hours north of here, we recognize that this is not a condition that we must accept, it is a system that will continue to attack us unless we act.

Whether we are migrants deported for seeking to organize our own lives (first forced to migrate to a hostile country for work

or working class families foreclosed from our houses, we see the same forces at work. Indeed, in many cases the agents of these injustices are one and the same.

The sheriff's deputy evicts and that same cop deports. It's no coincidence that Maricopa County Sheriff Arpaio's office is in the Wells Fargo building. On Tohono O'odham land, the Border Patrol captures migrants and also harasses traditional elders seeking to exercise their rights to free movement. It turns sovereign land into an armed camp surrounded by checkpoints in the finest Nazi fashion and divided in the most unnatural way. Wackenhut profits from the transportation of migrants held captive by the prison system and at the same time it patrols the city's light rail stations. The same cameras that watch the border also watch our streets and populate our freeways, tracking our every move. These systems of control and dislocation overlap and affect all of us and, increasingly, they are everywhere. Wherever people organize in libertarian ways to resist the compulsory disarrangements of Capital, we are in solidarity with them.

Further, we categorically reject the government and those who organize with its agents. And we likewise oppose the tendency by some in the immigrant movement to police others within it, turning the young against movement militants and those whose vision of social change goes beyond the limited perspective of movement leaders. Their objectives are substantially less than total liberation, and we necessarily demand more.

Also, we strongly dispute the notion that a movement needs leaders in the form of politicians, whether they be movement personalities, self-appointed police or elected officials. We are accountable to ourselves and to each other, but not to them. Politicians will find no fertile ground for their machinations and manipulations. We have no use for them. We are anti-politics. We will not negotiate with Capital, the State or its agents.

**WHY?**

In the last year we have seen signs that there might be openings for a new story to emerge. Almost a year ago we together led the march into the street, much to the chagrin of the leadership of the movement and the excitement of those who joined us, releasing themselves from the humiliation of marching on the sidewalk. Then, in October we challenged and shut down the National Socialist Movement, again leaving egg on the faces of those who in advance had denounced the action. A little more than a month ago what was to be just another boring leftist protest outside an Arpaio speaking engagement got out of control. Anarchists occupied the lobby where a large rally then followed, while other comrades, inside the forum, burst into song, driving the much-

hated county cop from the stage. Movement leaders could only look at their hands. They have lost the initiative. And well that they have, because the movement has failed and to continue on this course is suicide. Tens if not hundreds of thousands of migrants have been deported or self-deported themselves out of fear of attack by the State and vigilantes. The expansion of the attack on migrants, with its ubiquitous border cops and checkpoints, has spilled out onto indigenous communities and even those traveling the highways. Few are unaffected. Unable to conceptualize a framework for building resistance that can both protect those under attack and push forward to the offensive against the racist system as a whole, the movement now cries out for new ideas and creative action.

The movement has a dual problem of respect and identity. Internally, colonial relations often prevail. Age old, far off empires are evoked as justification for the marginalization, abuse and exploitation of peoples indigenous to the area. A general attitude of tokenism and disrespect dominates rather than genuine solidarity. And what was originally an honest desire to interrogate indigenous roots amongst many has morphed into something more like the colonialism of the Mexican and American states. This isn't a healthy relationship.

That said, we think now could be our time. If we take advantage of this opening we can continue to push the movement towards more interesting and, in the end, successful actions. We can remake the discussion from one of internal colonialism and self-sacrifice into one based on free movement, the resistance to dislocation and anti-colonialism. We can introduce ideas of self-organization, autonomy and direct action, as well as criticisms of Capital and the State. We can shatter the death grip of the movement zombies and make a move towards building a force that can challenge more than just one sheriff in one county in Arizona.

We think the argument for free movement and against dislocation offer opportunities that currently elude the movement because of the inherent limitations of the debate as it now is being presented. The demand for free movement represents a rejection of all controls on travel and necessarily subverts the ever-expanding reach of the State and Capital. Likewise, the opposition to dislocation offers a framework on which to build resistance, something sorely lacking. After all, a foreclosure is a dislocation just like a deportation is. Expanding the argument this way also challenges the prevailing internal colonialism and tokenism, treating the struggles of indigenous people in Arizona with the dignity and respect they deserve.

The argument as it is now framed in the movement is a moral one. And yet many, especially whites, are not persuaded by moralism. Whiteness is a political position, not a moral one. Whites oppose the immigration movement not because they are immoral but because they seek to defend their relatively privileged position. If we remake the argument in a way that brings them into the circle so that they see that they, too, are under attack, then we think all bets are off about what we can do.

# Decolonizing, Destroying Borders

and

# Attacking Infrastructure *What side are you on?*



**By: SURVIVAL SOLIDARITY**

*A question that all past revolutionaries have had to ask themselves at critical moments in humyn history: Which side are we on? Down with Borders, Up With Spring!—Panagiotti (EF!J July-August 2006).*

On January 16, Diné, O'odham and Anarchist/Anti-authoritarian (DO@) people answered a call-out from the O'odham Solidarity Across Borders Collective and Phoenix Class War Council to form the DO@ Bloc. The bloc, consisting of anarchists and Indigenous people, converged on occupied Akimel O'odham Pi-Posh land (Phoenix) to take part in what was a larger march against Maricopa County, Sheriff Joe Arpaio. Arpaio is well known for his racist border politics and strict prison regulations. However this time people were confronting his repression on those who take situations into their own hands and defiantly cross the border without permission.



**NO DEPORTATIONS, RELOCATIONS  
OR FORECLOSURES.**

The Bloc's masks and hoodies were not the only points of contrast between them and other march participants. The DO@ bloc represented the distaste in many people's mouths from endless banal discussions and approaches to the border. It brought the unwillingness to ignore the nightmare of capitalism that socially reinforces the walls that divide us. The DO@ bloc consisted of those who chose to no longer acquiesce to the displacement of people due to capitalism, colonization and invasive infrastructure projects.

**FROM THE ORIGINAL CALL:  
WHO?**

"We are an autonomous, anti-capitalist force that demands free movement and an end to forced dislocations for all people. We challenge with equal force both the systems of control that seek to occupy and split our lands in two, as well as the organized commodifying of every day life that reduces the definition of freedom to what can be produced and sold where and to whom, and compels our social relations to bend to the very same pathetic formula of production and consumption. Capital seeks to desecrate everything sacred. We hold lives over laws and human relations over commodity relations."

"We recognize what appears to be an unending historical condition of forced removal here in the Southwestern so-called US. From

**"Queremos Un Mundo"  
"Sin Fronteras" Chants from  
both sides of the border at the  
2007 No Borders Camp. Resis-  
tance Against the Wall**

the murdering of O'odham Peoples and stealing of their lands for the development of what is now known as the metropolitan Phoenix area, to the ongoing forced relocation of more than 14,000 Diné who have been uprooted for the extraction of natural resources just hours north of here, we recognize that this is not a condition that we must accept, it is a system that will continue to attack us unless we act."

"Whether we are migrants deported for seeking to organize our own lives (first forced to migrate to a hostile country for work) or working class families foreclosed from our houses, we see the same forces at work. Indeed, in many cases the agents of these injustices are one and the same."

Members of the bloc addressed the march from the stage of the initial meet-up point shortly after, the bloc merged together with black flags and banners and began howling chants. As allies of the bloc emerged from the mingling crowd, the energy grew to nerve tingling proportions; and as the bloc advanced forward, it worked its way through the streets of Phoenix. The DO@ bloc was under the eye of the Phoenix police for the entirety of the march. The Phoenix Police eventually erupted into a violent response to the block. Within seconds of bloc members advancing forward around an encroaching cart screams broke out as the air became saturated with pepper spray. An officer on horseback began recklessly thrashing through the crowd, and in the midst of the blurry encounter, five people were stolen from the bloc and arrested. Amongst bloc members taking the brunt of Phoenix PD's violence, many others were disoriented by the situation and a two-year-old marcher was sprayed in the face.

A standoff between officers and the bloc ensued after the arrests. Other marchers also felt the urge to confront the cops. The stand-off lasted for nearly an hour and a half.

As Saturday night stretched into Sunday morning all five arrestees were released. One arrestee was released on their own recognizance and the others were served with an assortment of bail costs and charges related to assault. Local Phoenix attorneys and cop-watchers are assisting those facing charges from the march. Some of the arrestees are going to appear before a Grand Jury because of the charges being a class 2 offense.

**"QUEREMOS UN MUNDO" (WE WANT ONE WORLD) "SIN FRONTERAS" (WITHOUT BORDERS!)... CHANTS FROM BOTH SIDES OF THE BORDER AT THE 2007 NO BORDERS CAMP. RESISTANCE AGAINST THE WALL (EF!J JANUARY-FEBRUARY 2008).**

An abundance of responses to the border have developed in recent years. Many have strived to break out of popular mundane thought patterns of looking toward politico figureheads for the answers.

North America has seen a distinct surge in radical responses to borders and colonization through the expansion of capitalism.



Anti-olympic organizing in Vancouver, British Columbia, has become full-on volatile. From burning barricades on native land, to shattered windows in Santa Cruz, the message has become clear—the olympics are not welcome on stolen native land.

From November 7-11 2007, the Mexicali border was occupied as people established an autonomous zone for a No Borders Camp. Prior to the No Borders Camp people in California and San Diego were organizing and sabotaging the efforts of the Minute Men (an armed-anti-immigrant group that patrols the border).

Insurrectional actions have sprouted up throughout the US threatening the security of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) detention facilities. Funders of detention centers have also become the target of sabotage. Open organizing against these racist prisons and capitalist institutions, such as Wells Fargo has been a commonly employed tactic amongst Smash ICE groups of the North-west US.

Across the Atlantic ocean, Europeans have established the no border network to facilitate their desires to confront the violence perpetrated by borders in their area. Through their networking, they've organized numerous No Border Camps. A No Borders Camp was held in Calais, France, from June 23- 29 2009. In Late August, No Border Activists held a No Border Camp in Lesvos, Greece. Activists were able to communicate with prisoners of the Pagani prison that were involved in hunger strikes and provide peripheral support for those imprisoned. Toward the end of the camp 10 activists occupied the roof of the prison. One day of camp was dedicated to inspiring Harbor actions. 40 campers deployed small rubber boats and instigated interactions with the coast guard. They were met by attempts of the coast guard who attempted to capsize them. One boat was even harpooned by the Coast Guard. One can only imagine what waits on the wings of future European camps.

Many European detention centers have felt tidal waves of resistance from migrants rioting there. In February migrants set fire to a detention center in Lampedusa, Italy, in response to the threat of 107 Tunisian migrants being deported to Tunisia. In September, migrants rioted and set fires in a Greek prison yard for more than five hours.

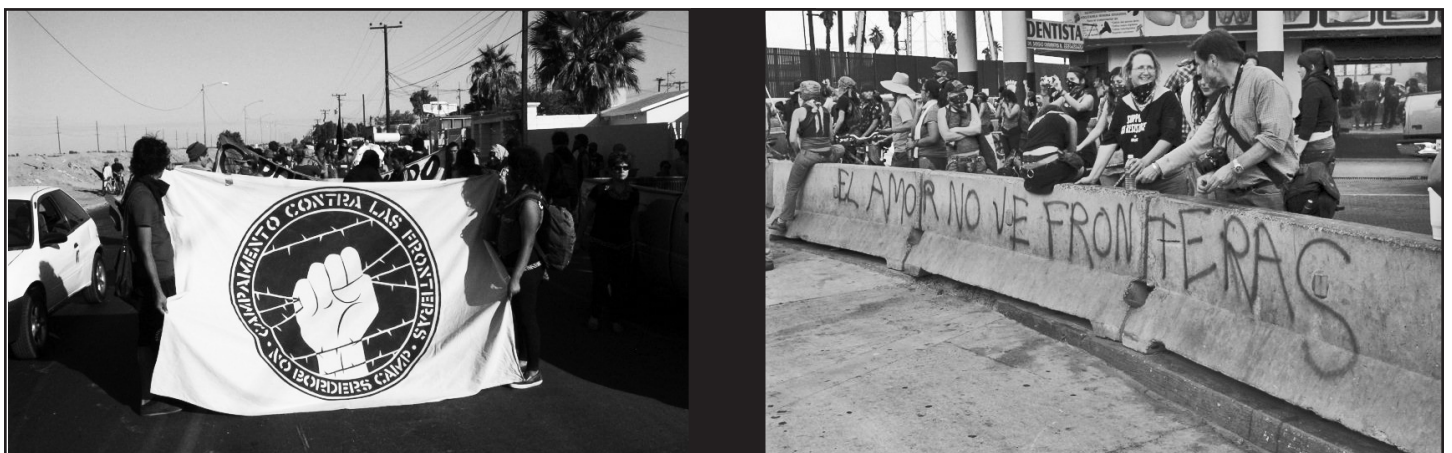
*"Borders are scratched across the hearts of men, by strangers with a calm, judicial pen, and when the borders bleed we watch with dread the lines of ink along the map turn red"*— Marya Mannes

The DO@ bloc knew that at the end of the day, the tables had not only been turned, but literally taken from beneath the noses of anyone attempting to keep border discussions within frames of the past.

For radicals in southern Arizona, the reality of the border stares at us eye-to-eye. If you are not directly affected by the border, someone you know is. Chances are you have done work with No More Deaths, have witnessed the violence of the border and tried to process the cruelty of constant deaths and deportations, which is a result from capitalism's pressure on those migrating north. Further north on both O'odham and Diné land, the border and relocations have an even more omnipresent effect on everyday life. On O'odham land people are frequently harassed by border patrol. These confrontations often escalate into extreme forms of intimidation and violence for O'odham people. These actions are not only carried out by border patrol, but also homeland security. For years, Diné people have been relocated due to infrastructure projects. Note this doesn't come close to delving into the continuous actions both the Diné and O'odham face due to colonization.

The border is merely one point of contention in this debate. The onslaught of capitalism and the unceasing violence of infrastructure must be brought into the light within these debates. It is also eminent that we move past alone and into attack mode now! Pleading for change in the stagnant water of past approaches will only leave us drowning. Developing approaches to support people in the struggle, defending our communities and land while attacking the perpetrators of these acts of violence is the next step. So step it up!

# LOVE HAS NO BORDERS



# BATTLIN' PHOENIX

## OSABC STATEMENT ON THE JANUARY 16 DAY OF ACTION OODHAMSOLIDARITY.BLOGSPOT.COM

Fellow O'odham, Dine, Indigenous, Migrant, Non-indigenous brothers and sisters and concerned people of Maricopa County...

After days of reflection, O'odham Solidarity Across Borders Collective (OSABC) would like to give our thoughts and analysis on what occurred on the January 16th National Day of Action Against Sheriff Joe: March for Human Rights. As we all saw, heard and read, the march turned violent due to calculated moves by Phoenix Police to unfairly, and unjustifiably remove a contingent of marchers that expressed a voice and message that was foreign to them and national organizers, but all too familiar to the original people of the very land they walk on. OSABC called for what we dubbed the "Dine'-O'odham-Anarchist/Anti-Authoritarian" (DOA) contingent, in order to voice what we recognize to be an unending historical condition of forced removal here in the Southwestern so-called United States.

From the murdering of our O'odham Peoples, the stealing of our lands for the development of what is now known as the metropolitan Phoenix area, to the current relocation attempts against our O'odham along "their" border, and along the west-end of Gila River for a freeway. Or with the ongoing forced relocation of more than 14,000 Diné who have been uprooted for the extraction of natural resources just hours north of here, we recognize that this is not a condition that we must accept. This is a system that will continue to attack us unless we act.

OSABC and our Diné comrades viewed the National Day of Action against this one particular agent of forced removal, Maricopa county sheriff Arpaio, as an opportunity to express our opposition to the extension of this oppressive system towards our immigrant brothers and sisters. DOA felt the best way to show solidarity was to express this broader message and felt that if we started from our voice—the O'odham voice—it would greatly help to undermine and defeat the white supremacist/colonial positions that Sheriff Joe and his many supporters uphold. In the past, when OSABC engaged other movements – even reactionary ones – with our broader perspective, on immigration and the border, we found we made progress, and that possibilities present themselves that are not included under the generally accepted terms of the discussion.

The national immigration organizers' "call for action" seemed to express their willingness to expand the debate because of the many other outside factions that formed that day on the streets, such as National Day Laborer Organizing Network, No More Deaths, Border Action, and Mexica Movement to name a few. Local, regional and national solidarity was called for, and that's why we came, to stand together against forced relocation of all peoples, both immigrant and Indigenous. National immigration organizers appeared to also express that willingness by giving O'odham and Diné members of DOA the opportunity to address the crowd, to express the "Native American Voice" in this struggle. We even gave the blessing of offering a song in the O'odham way, so we could bless the people and the march before we departed. The "acknowledgment" of indigenous peoples of the Phoenix area by the organizers seemed to be a breakthrough, given the national movement's tendency to marginalize local indigenous voices in the many different communities in which they organize, but this acknowledgment was soon erased when the police attacked.

The police oppression that occurred after this great start gives us an idea of what we are up against. The police decision to attack was the State's way of showing who has control. Their attack also shows how the national immigration movement still doesn't get it. That the national immigration movement chooses to work side by side with the same institutions and politicians that oppress and attack our communities throughout the country shows how inconsistent this movement is. The Phoenix organizers' politically convenient decision to not denounce the actions of police, but instead fellow marchers with our bigger message of no more forced relocations and displacement, this reflects the same disconnect that afflicts the overall national movement. If national organizers are for the rights of migrants and overall human rights, most would naturally conclude that they take the same overall position against forced removals and relocations for ALL people and that likewise, they certainly take a line against police brutality.

But as the overall national movement has shown, their decision to work with that State will only yield reformist policies that may benefit some, and hurt many. Remember, the national immigration movement's push for immigration reform and call for the Obama administration to take action includes the militarization of the southern border with a wall surpassing the notorious Berlin Wall. Such a barrier would cause the forced relocation of our people, the Tohono O'odham, and the many other indigenous nations that "their" borders would displace. If the national immigration movement's objectives of reform will hurt our people, then how can their agenda be for human rights? We can't help but see contradiction and hypocrisy when the national movement defends Phoenix as the front line in the struggle against attacks on the rights of migrants, while at the same time it supports politicians that advocate other plans and policies that whose logical conclusions necessarily mean the forced removal and relocation of our fellow Akimel O'odham/Pi'Posh and desecration of our sacred sites (as in the case of the proposed Loop 202 Freeway expansion through Gila River). The State sees in this division the opportunity to further divide and conquer our communities and lands, and to pit immigrant and indigenous against each other, historically, the State has used their non-governmental bodies as the means to accomplish this. If the struggle is in fact for human rights, as the national immigration movement states, how is it that the first people of land, that is now deemed the front line, not even considered into their analysis?



The national immigration movement's decision in Phoenix to evoke the 1960's Civil Rights Struggle further demonstrates their misguided attempt for true change. The national movement tends to forget that Martin Luther King Jr and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's fight to end segregation in Birmingham were done in opposition to the police and the State. The Birmingham campaign demonstrated the nature of the police and the State when confronted with the threat of true change. They too, were attacked by the police, and still, they took that risk to go against them. Just imagine if they had not? So why does the national movement proudly support the same police oppression not just here in Phoenix, but all around the country? It would be hard to imagine, in the initial years of the Civil Rights movement, if Martin and even Malcolm would ever have worked hand in hand with the police and the State. They stood their ground and their courage led to the start of change (we are far from being done). Their courage led to the successes that the national organizers now wish to replicate.

But...

The national movement's organizing relationship with the police left them to support the oppression released on the 16th, just as the National Movement did in Los Angeles in 2007, when the LA Police attacked peaceful marchers on May Day. The dynamics are very similar and further show how this national movement of hundreds of thousands in the mid-00's has now declined to the thousands, while simultaneously thousands of migrants are being deported south of the border. A lack of understanding of the police and state infiltration in the immigration movement has led to a narrow message that prevents this movement from being a true movement of human rights. The national movement determines, with the cooperation of the State, what level of action can be taken, and who and how one can participate in "their" movement, while at the same time calling for a National Day of Solidarity. One example of such "gatekeeping." is a call for a Pan-American Indigenous voice that in fact marginalizes the local Indigenous voice, in the case of this area, the O'odham. Most would think, the overall indigenous presence would be amplified by the local Indigenous voice being present, and the participants being supported, in this case the DOA contingent. If themes of indigenous liberation are used, it should be expected that would include a true solidarity with the indigenous people, and an understanding of this very land they organize on. This inconsistent message the national immigration movement organizes around gives the State the power to divide and conquer all people, and provides an avenue through which the State can attack the overall movement.

The police's brutal use of force on the 16, is a wake up call, not just for what corporate media and national immigration movement leaders deemed "an outside faction of anarchists" but to everyone who marched that day, which is that we are living in a police state in which all forms of resistance that address the root problem will be targeted. What happened here in Phoenix can and has happened in communities throughout the country.

The local and national immigration organizers denounced our project of indigenous/anarchist solidarity. As expressed in the first DOA statement, we welcome diversity of tactics to challenge the violence of the state, and thus welcome diverse groups and communities that are compelled into action. Documented or undocumented, environmentalist or anarchist, whomever so desires it in their hearts to live free from this current existence of the tyranny of the state.

The police attack led to the wrongful arrest of five of our comrades. But as the weeks go by, more evidence is showing the contradictions in the police's account on the 16. Recently, two of the arrested cases have been scratched, we continue to stand by the three who are still facing charges and ask that national immigration organizers join us in this latest struggle against state repression.

OSABC at this time is asking that the points of the DOA statement be addressed. The 16 showed what happens when fake gestures of solidarity are expressed, the State sees this as a chance to further divide movements and people. OSABC hopes if the points are addressed, then it will lead to a stronger movement that does not do the State's job by dividing us. We understand many are upset by corporate media and politicians' accounts of what happened, but we would refer that you ask the youth, that the national immigration organizers used as security, for their accounts of what transpired. They also became subjected to the brutality of the Police State unleashed.

The OSABC call for the DOA contingent will hopefully challenge all those who marched, against Joe or for Immigration Reform, to think about the root problem that spawns this system of forced removals.

OSABC is an autonomous collective and no way speaks for anyone but ourselves, families and elders, but will continue to address what appears to be the marginalization of our people and attack on our Him'dag, again. So when these victories for Human Rights happen, it's not built on our backs. So our hajen can be able to freely travel in our lands, free of Border Patrol sweeps, just as migrant familias should be able to travel freely in Maricopa County, free of Sheriff Joe/MCSO sweeps. We, as young O'odham, along with young Diné, recognized the national climate around the immigration issue and felt this was the best way to support not only our fellow migrant brothers and sisters, but fellow O'odham, and all Indigenous peoples that are all affected by the white supremacist/colonial policies of the forced removals and relocations.

**THE OSABC CALL FOR THE DOA CONTINGENT WILL HOPEFULLY CHALLENGE ALL THOSE WHO MARCHED, AGAINST JOE OR FOR IMMIGRATION REFORM, TO THINK ABOUT THE ROOT PROBLEM THAT SPAWNS THIS SYSTEM OF FORCED REMOVALS.**



# A6 STATEMENT

ANONYMOUS ARIZONA ANARCHIST ADVOCATES FOR THE ASSASSINATION OF ARPAIO (or 6A) is emphatic to have hungry eyes pointed in our direction enough to further disregard humility in favor of unabashedly asserting our intentions...

## DISCLAIMER!

The first intention of this release is to distinguish what should be an exercise in simple, basic logic: *the “Assassinate Arpaio” banner does not speak for, or sum up the anarchist contingent’s motivations or represent everyone involved.* As with all instance of slogan, political mantra, or favorite food discrepancies for that matter, much is lost in assuming that a banner represents anyone other than those willing to say so. Some of those present at the march felt no affinity towards the banner, some felt plenty, and some felt they could not afford to publicly advocate for the banner- even if they did support it. Put quite simply, if you want to know which anarchists approved of the banner and which didn’t, you’d have to ask each individual. Most people- and 6A especially- do not feel that any one banner or slogan can accurately portray its multiple meanings in one simple representation. This is no exception. That said...

## ASSASSINATE ARPAIO? ARE YOU SERIOUS?

*6A means it; but it’s not that simple.* Foremost, we don’t see assassination as “the” answer, or as any sort of tenable solution to general social ailments. We ultimately seek a world with no sheriffs. With such a lofty goal, we put all options on the table. Assassinating anyone in this system, at best, renders temporary wounds to positions of power that are easily re-established. The heads of the political hydra regrow unless the whole beast is slain. Our enemy’s heartless indifference towards humanity as their first line of offensive action renders the hydra heads less important than the body. But, while the heads (of state) are expendable, they are not irrelevant- and we should consider this when we’re told to exercise empathy in our actions and words. Severing the heads of the system serves to buy time and provide distraction for discovering weaknesses of the body. Assassination imperatives draw special attention to the subject of the call, but 6A has no intention of spotlighting Arpaio as more of a weight than the system itself. *We want a world with no sheriffs, and this simply includes Arpaio, without heralding.*

We see signs waved by left that suggest “Deport Arpaio.” Deport him to where? Do we take those signs so seriously? Who in the movement (or outside of the right political wing) really feels affinity towards him as a fellow human being? Can we deport him to a place that was not established by the same tyrannical, racist agendas that led to displacement and genocide of the indigenous of the land we now all occupy? *The answer is no, and we are suggesting his deportation from the planet.* 6A sees an assassination call as an appropriate and relevant suggestion in relation to, and in coupling with calls for his deportation or incarceration.

## “IF I HAD THE CHANCE, I’D SHOOT THAT FUCKER MYSELF.” ~ SAL REZA

### BUT... THERE HAS TO BE ANOTHER WAY!

ASSASSINATION AS A TACTIC IS QUESTIONABLE AT BEST, BUT IT’S BEST TO BE IN THE BUSINESS OF ASKING QUESTIONS. WHAT’S WORKING? MARCHES? REFORM?

Arpaio is the first to point out that he is an elected official. He is also the first to laugh while pointing you, meandering, in the direction of mainstream political channels to fruitlessly attempt social change. Even if extreme measures like advocating assassination were *unethical*, they would not necessarily be *untactical*. How *desperate* does it need to get before people are *behaving desperately* enough to even *consider* socially unacceptable things like assassination? Will manifestations of social desperation soon resemble assassinations- or can we first recall the times in history when uniformed and armed foot soldiers of the State ran rampant with racist agendas?

It’s insulting to think anything but the degrading conditions of concentration camps should come to mind when organizing campaigns that call for assassination on behalf of anti-authoritarian social movements. Perhaps, to avoid repeating history, advocating assassinations should come first, just in case it has any bearing on State-employed foot soldiers rising to further power. The resonation of the historical rising this brand of state racism is enough to shake 6A to the point of considering the assassination of Arpaio...

**POINT YOUR FINGERS OF INTER-MOVEMENT CRITIQUE WHERE YOU WILL. BUT IF YOU ARE IN THE HABIT OF FEARING FOR YOUR LIFE, DON’T FOR A MOMENT TAKE YOUR EYES OFF OF ARPAIO OR POLICE TO LOOK IN THE DIRECTION OF A FEW PEOPLE WIELDING A HYPERBOLIC BANNER. THE REAL DANGER OBVIOUSLY LIES ELSEWHERE.**

To answer the original question; Yes, there have to be other ways. From wherever you’re looking, there’s always another way. This is one thing that led us to consider the public advocacy of the Assassination of Arpaio. Feeling immobilized, ineffective, and generally frustrated with the left’s approach, we thought, “There has to be another way!”

“YEAH... WHAT... UHUH... YEAH... C’MON.” ~ZACH DE LA ROCHA

**HEY! YOU MADE US LOOK BAD!**

*Whether or not you suspend skepticism to consider advocating the assassination of Arpaio, doesn't it make the Movement look bad to publicly associate with The Advocates?*

If so, it's a good thing we make it a point to only speak for ourselves, and hold others equally responsible for speaking only on behalf of themselves. Despite what is being expressed, if people in movements were more inclined to act as agents for themselves and collaborate when in agreement (as opposed to fitting molds maintained by movement leaders and slogans) we may have never been driven purportedly mad enough to consider outlandish behavior like the public advocacy of assassination. Maybe such advocacy is reactionary, maybe it's unhealthy... but if you worry about people's well being: consider whether the banner speaks more strongly of the moral and emotional depravity of those who created and wielded it, or more of the severity of the divisive and polarizing political margins fostered by elected officials like that snake Arpaio.

6A did not necessarily seek *support* -even though it received plenty- 6A sought *understanding*. If the banner does speak of the depravity of 6A, it would be foolish to ignore the fact that this visible manifestation of depravity did not go uninfluenced by the monopoly & utilization of violence on behalf of our culture as levied by the State & its representatives.

Make no mistake here: we're not abdicating responsibility. Quite the opposite: we're taking it on as fully as possible. **The best way to discover and explore the complexities and conundrums of holding any position is to approach it as new territory to be explored.**

### **AN EMPTY THREAT?**

**“I REALLY HOPE SOMEONE DOES ASSASSINATE HIM. NOTHING WOULD PLEASE ME MORE THAN TO SEE THE RED MIST SPRAY OUT OF A BULLET HOLE IN HIS CRANIUM, FOLLOWED BY SOME UNDERDEVELOPED PIECES OF BRAIN TISSUE, AND HIS COLD SACK OF SHIT BODY SLUMP TO THE GROUND.” ~ LINDA RONSTADT**

**LET'S BE BLUNT: THE ASSASSINATE ARPAIO BANNER WAS SUPPOSED TO INSPIRE MORE DEBATES THAN ACTUAL ASSASSINATIONS.** 6A can't help but skeptically question the faculties of those who neglect to observe the obvious fact that we were wielding a banner marching amongst thousands that day, & not isolated in wait with sniper rifles (although, it just might be that we're doing that, too). We also did not come equipped with handguns, pepper spray, tazers, body armor, or other tools of war like the other, larger group of violent people in black. So why more debate about utilization of free expression than about how to get the real armed thugs out of our communities? We intended to - and succeeded at - stealing some of the spotlight *from the march*, without stealing it *FROM THE ISSUES*. Our striking imperative highlighted some of the contentious issues of the debate at hand. In a reactive letter to his supporters, Arpaio plead for donations, citing, amongst other more moderate (and decisively less exciting and effective methods of protest) our banner as indication of growing political opposition. Our threat made him sweat. It acted as a weapon of character assassination. Empty or not, our ideas were- at the very least- JUST as loaded as the guns of the police.

**THE COPS WE SHOULD KILL FIRST ARE THE ONES IN OUR HEADS, BUT, IDEAS ARE BULLETPROOF- SO THIS MAY PROVE MORE EASILY SAID THAN DONE. THE HYPERBOLE OF THE BANNER MIGHT JUST ELEVATE THE DEBATE TO THE LEVEL OF ONE THAT RECOGNIZES THE SEVERITY OF OUR SITUATION AS THOSE JOINED IN SOCIAL STRUGGLE.**

### **WAIT... WHAT?**

We suggested something extreme enough to inspire people to make discoveries about themselves, ourselves, and others. We set the stage for us all to gain some perspective.

So- don't take our banner entirely literally. **WE HOPE IT DOESN'T COME DOWN TO ASSASSINATION- BUT THAT DOESN'T MEAN WE DON'T HONESTLY WANT ARPAIO DEAD.**

6A makes no allusions to having all the answers (like “assassination”). There is no “the answer.” To any of our problems.

Keeping that in mind, 6A implores you to light yourself on fire: Allow our banner to incense you. Get pissed off. Decide for yourself the manner in which you'll interpret our call.

Act outrageously and courageously, friends.

**BUT IT'S BEST TO BE IN THE BUSINESS OF ASKING QUESTIONS. WHAT'S WORKING? MARCHES? REFORM?**

# Confronting Border Militarization in Indigenous Communities

## TUCSON BORDER PATROL HEADQUARTERS OCCUPIED!



*“The militarized border imposed by the U.S. has led only to cultural and environmental destruction of the indigenous peoples whose land is on or near the border. This militarization brings death and terror for indigenous peoples from other parts of the continent migrating to this land.”*

At approximately 1:00PM Friday, May 21, 2010 more than a dozen people occupied the Tucson Headquarters of the US Border Patrol to draw attention to impacts of border militarization in Indigenous Communities. Six people, including Alex Soto a member of the Tohono O’odham Nation and a volunteer with the group O’odham Solidarity Across Borders, locked themselves together for up to 3 and 1/2 hours. “Indigenous voices have been ignored. In our action today we say NO MORE!” Said Soto.

Banners were hung, including one placed over the reception window that read, “Stop Militarization of Indigenous Lands Now”, traditional songs were sung and the group chanted, “Border militarization destroys Indigenous communities!” and “No raids, no deportations! No SB1070, no racist laws!” Approximately 30 Border Patrol agents flooded the lobby of the headquarters and scrambled to react. Roads to the headquarters and adjacent air force base were shut down. Tucson City Police were eventually called and began preparing an extraction of the peaceful resisters.

A diverse crowd of up to 70 people quickly gathered outside the Border Patrol headquarters to support those locked down inside. Ofelia Rivas of O’odham Voices Against The Wall, an elder in support of the action stated, “It was a historical and powerful moment for people of all color to unite with O’odham to stand in solidarity for human rights and to see the next generation take a stand”.

At approximately 4 o’clock the peaceful resisters negotiated the conditions of their release on their terms. Their requests to consult with Tohono O’odham elders to negotiate terms of release were denied by Tucson Police. The protesters decided to unlock and were cited for two misdemeanors each of trespassing and disorderly conduct. The resisters were released just outside the premises to join supporters where they gathered in traditional prayer and rallied against border militarization for another hour. Community members including members of the Pasqual Yaqui, Tohono O’odham, and Dine’ Nations reacted emotionally when two Wackenhut Corp. buses left the Border Patrol compound filled with undocumented people. The detainees responded with returning the symbol of resistance - a raised fist.

“This is just one action of many that makes visible the invisible crimes against humanity that occur every day on the colonial border,” stated one of the peaceful resisters. “We commit to honoring the prayers and call for support of the people most impacted by bor-





der militarization, the Indigenous Peoples who's lands we are on and migrants who seek a better life for their families. We cannot not allow government agencies, border patrol, ICE or reformist agendas to further their suffering. We will continue our actions of peaceful resistance for human dignity and respect for all peoples."

The action also denounced SB1070

and HB2281 as racist laws that are a part of an ongoing system of genocidal policies against Indigenous Peoples and migrant communities.

The following is from a previous statement from the group

.... Six people used chains and other devices to lock themselves in the building. These Arizona residents disrupted



the Border Patrol operations to demand that Border Patrol, Immigration Customs Enforcement (ICE), their parent entity, the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), and the Obama administration end militarization of the border, end the criminalization of immigrant communities, and end their campaign of terror which tears families apart through increasing numbers of raids and deportations.

The protesters also call on the State of Arizona to repeal the racist Senate Bill 1070 that criminalizes immigrant communities on the state level, makes it illegal to transport or harbor an undocumented person regardless of family relationship, requires police agencies to engage in racial profiling, and ultimately is an attempt to ethnically cleanse Arizona of those with brown skin. This act of civil disobedience was only the latest in an increasing wave of direct action targeting the federal government's terrorist immigration policies.

1st NATION AND MIGRANTS OPPOSE SB1070 DEMAND DIGNITY, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND END TO BORDER MILITARIZATION

BORDER MILITARIZATION DESTROYS INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES.

The development of the border wall has lead to desecration of our ancestors graves, it has divided our communities and prevents us from accessing sacred places.

Troops and paramilitary law enforcement, detention camps, check points, and citizenship verification are not a solution to migration. We have existed here long before these imposed borders, my elders inform us that we always honored freedom of movement. Why our communities and the daily deaths at the border ignored? The impacts of border militarization are constantly made invisible in the media, the popular culture of this country and even the mainstream immigrants rights movement which has often pushed for "reform" that means further militarization of the border, which means increased suffering for our communities.

Indigenous communities such as the O'odham, the Pascua Yaqui, Laipan Apache, Kickapoo, and Cocopah along the US/Mexico border have been terrorized with laws and practices like SB1070 for decades. Indigenous people along the border have been forced by border patrol to carry and provide proof of tribal mem-

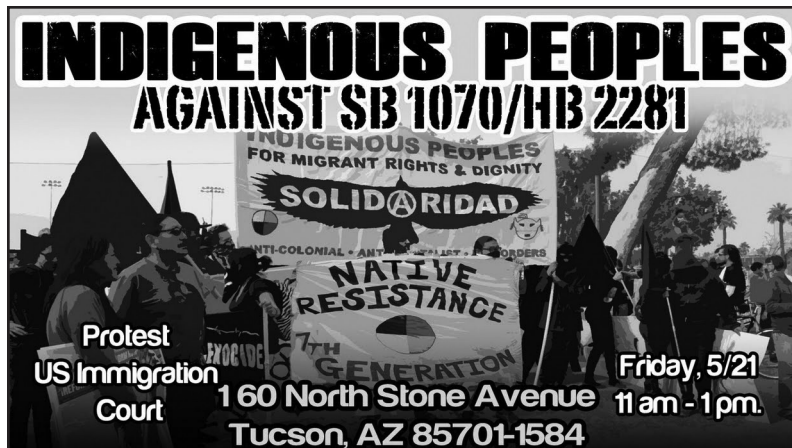
bership when moving across their traditional lands that have been bisected by this imposed border; a border that has been extremely damaging to the cultural and spiritual practices of these communities. Many people are not able to journey to sacred sites because the communities where people live are on the opposite side of the border from these sites. Since the creation of the current U.S./Mexico border, 45 O'odham villages on or near the border have been completely depopulated.

On this day people who are indigenous to Arizona join with migrants who are indigenous to other parts of the Western Hemisphere in demanding a return to traditional indigenous value of freedom of movement for all people. Prior to the colonization by European nations (spaniards, english, french) and the establishment of the european settler state known as the United States and the artificial borders it and other european inspired nation states have imposed; indigenous people migrated, traveled and traded with each other without regard to artificial black lines drawn on maps. U.S. immigration policies dehumanize and criminalize people simply because which side of these artificial lines they were born on. White settlers whose ancestors have only been here at most for a few hundred years have imposed these policies of terror and death on "immigrants" whose ancestors have lived in this hemisphere for tens of thousands of years, for time immemorial.

In addition, the migration that the U.S. government is attempting to stop is driven more than anything else by the economic policies of the U.S. Free trade agreements such as NAFTA have severely reduced the ability of Mexicans and others from the global south to sustain themselves by permitting corporations to extract huge amounts of wealth and resources from these countries into the U.S. This has led to millions of people risking the terror and death that so many face to cross into the U.S. looking for ways to better support their families. Thousand of women, men, children and elders have died crossing just in the last decade. If the U.S. really wants to reduce migration it should end its policies of exploitation and wealth extraction targeted at the global south and instead pursue policies of economic, environmental and social justice for all human beings on the planet, thus reducing the drive to immigrate.

## DEMANDS OF THE ACTION

- AN END TO BORDER MILITARIZATION
- THE IMMEDIATE REPEAL OF SB1070 AND 287G
- AN END TO ALL RACIAL PROFILING AND THE CRIMINALIZATION OF OUR COMMUNITIES
- NO ETHNIC CLEANSING OR CULTURAL GENOCIDE
- NO BORDER PATROL ENCROACHMENT/SWEEPS ON SOVEREIGN NATIVE LAND
- NO DEPORTATIONS
- NO RAIDS
- NO ID-VERIFICATION
- NO CHECKPOINTS



- YES TO IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL REGULARIZATION ("LEGALIZATION") OF ALL PEOPLE
- YES TO HUMAN RIGHTS
- YES TO DIGNITY
- YES TO RESPECT
- YES TO RESPECTING INDIGENOUS PEOPLES INHERENT RIGHT OF MIGRATION



# THE BEST IMMIGRATION LAW IS NO LAW AT ALL

## SOME THOUGHTS ON THE LOGICAL CONCLUSION FOR ALLIES OF UNDOCUMENTED MIGRANTS

BY SALLYDARITY

*Imagine if you will, the Comprehensive Immigration Reform bill of your dreams passing this week. Legalization for millions of migrants, and no guest worker program, no biometrics involved in employment; what could be better? A lot could be better.*

*Even if this very unlikely scenario of amazing reform were to happen, there would still be the forces that have led to so many people entering the U.S. in the first place. Therefore, since the government is not going to allow all migrants in legally, there will still be “illegal” people. Of course, this would be the case unless the reform bill is not quite as perfect as we thought and also includes more border security, aka militarization, to prevent further migration. And even if so, we know that many will find means to enter anyway, and as a result many of them will not survive their crossing.*

### BORDER MILITARIZATION

People are at risk for harm and even death with the continued militarization of the border. The increased security in areas like Tijuana/San Diego and Juarez/El Paso has led people to cross the border in areas with more dangerous terrain and conditions, and this has led to more deaths from crossing. This is not to mention the abuses they face if they are caught.

Migration is a natural thing, while the necessity of obstructions such as border walls are rationalized by those in power to deal with threats to security against a fortress built on the backs of other people. This fortress is the US, taken and secured by force, built up by slavery and attacks on liberation movements throughout its history. The border is therefore illegitimate and we need not and must not regard migrants as helpless victims to justify their crossing. Shouldn't everyone have the right to freedom of movement?

Within the immigrants' rights movement, it is forgotten or ignored that other people are living along the border. If the current militarization were to continue or get worse, many people, such as the Tohono O'odham and the Lipan Apache would still be negatively affected. The border dissects O'odham lands and has increasingly impeded free movement across the line drawn without the consultation or consideration of the people living there. Since many do not have birth records, they have no means of proving their right of re-entry when coming back from the land that Mexico still claims. As of recently, passports are required, which further prevent people from visiting family and attending ceremonies if they would have to cross the border to do so. The Border Patrol and National Guard have harassed and physically abused O'odham and other people along the border, and the check points placed on the reservation have led to increases in such incidents. The construction of the border wall has led to desecration of sacred sites, harmed the environment, disrespected the indigenous people's relationship to the land, and divided people further. We should have little faith that the security and technology companies that have gotten contracts with the US government during the war would give up their contracts for militarization of the border- and they have lots of money with which to sway the government.

### Profit Interests

The fight for justice for undocumented migrants is often rather vague. Were we okay with the conditions they faced before sheriffs started making more arrests and ICE started doing their massive raids? After all, the raids revealed the reality of unsafe working conditions, child labor, not to mention anti-union activities which culminated with the raids. Recognizing that raids are not the only problem, what does justice for migrant workers look like if it does not address the economic interests in maintaining a system that allows these things to happen in the first place?

Since businesses often rely on being able to exploit migrants as a permanent underclass produced by criminalization, what happens if there is no criminalization based on migration status (or very little, since there will still be some “illegal” people)? Would migrant workers still be cleaning the toilets in office buildings like so many insist the rich should be appreciative of? What I'm getting at here is, if reform legalized most or all of the migrants in the country, would the migrants' wages and conditions improve since they are not subject to the lack of stability caused by criminalization? Or would precarity be created (or does it already manifest) in some other way? Why would businesses/capitalists allow for a more equal work force? Which leads us to ask if there will still be exploited workers, and the answer is yes, as we know that plenty of “legal” people are currently exploited. I would argue that business just wouldn't allow something like mass legalization to occur in the first place- at least not without other benefits to the businesses themselves (as an example, over 2 million undocumented migrants were granted amnesty in 1986, but there were also stipulations that while employment of “illegal” migrants was outlawed, businesses didn't have to verify the documents that they received and they could also participate in temporary worker programs. There was also an increase in the use of sub-contractors). But in the unlikely scenario, we must imagine that something else will be used to divide people so as to continue exploiting labor through low wages, long hours, the lack of safety protections, and that may take the shape of new ways to criminalize people, or encouraging further racial division, or something to that effect.

Subcomandante Marcos, in the *Sixth Declaration of the Selva Lacandona* of 2005 writes,

Capitalism means that there are a few who have great wealth, but they did not win a prize, or find a treasure, or inherit it from a parent. They obtained that wealth, rather, by exploiting the work of the many. So capitalism is based on the exploitation of the workers, which means they exploit the workers and take out all the profits they can. This is done unjustly, because they do not pay the



worker what his work is worth. Instead they give him a salary that barely allows him to eat a little and to rest for a bit, and the next day he goes back to work in exploitation, whether in the countryside or in the city.

And capitalism also makes its wealth from plunder, or theft, because they take what they want from others, land, for example, and natural resources. So capitalism is a system where the robbers are free and they are admired and used as examples.

And, in addition to exploiting and plundering, capitalism represses because it imprisons and kills those who rebel against injustice.

Then he also writes, “Then, in neoliberal globalization, the great capitalists who live in the countries which are powerful, like the United States, want the entire world to be made into a big business where merchandise is produced like a great market. A world market for buying and selling the entire world and for hiding all the exploitation from the world. Then the global capitalists insert themselves

and South American countries have been negatively affected by the U.S.? Is it the free market run amok, through the World Trade Organization, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, NAFTA, CAFTA, etc., removing tariffs, lowering wages, privatizing such things as water, lifting environmental protections, and getting and keeping communities in debt, that should be regulated by government? No, it is in fact the government, of the U.S. and each local government in many cases, which allows and perpetuates these things by impeding resistance to these injustices, through assassinations, imprisonment, military attacks, and the destruction of community autonomy and subsistence. Can or would each government just cut off the ability of the neo-liberal globalization efforts, or are they deeply and corruptly involved?

You know how so many anti-immigrant movement people say that Mexicans should go back to Mexico and fight to better their country there, instead of just escaping it? Well, la lucha has been going

tion for the militarization of the border which obviously is not meant to help the people on the reservation. The drug trade brings in a massive amount of money to those involved, who would otherwise likely be poor, and therefore will continue as long as it is illegal and profitable. Were drugs legal or were the US population less susceptible to the allure of drugs, the drug trade wouldn't cause so many of these problems. But even more so, if there wasn't so much poverty and alienation in this world that causes people to be so enticed by a trade that damages our fellow humans, then drug abuse and the drug trade would be quite isolated if in existence at all.

#### **RESPECT FOR THE LAW**

Some supposed advocates for immigrants' rights tend to fall over themselves making it known that they don't disrespect the law. As the reasoning goes, if we advocate law-breaking, it will negatively affect our reputation, especially in the eyes of those who promote the rule of law. This reputation-saving is especially important to those who want to gain political power or maintain a relationship with the government within the non-profit industrial complex (which tends to manage and control dissent). In addition, some may even be in favor of immigration law because they don't want to look at solutions that address the bigger picture. Meanwhile, if we choose not to oppose the laws that criminalize migrants, then those laws will always exist.

The rule of law is a way of unquestioningly using the law as a way of advancing the agenda of those in power. The law has historically and presently been used to give privileges to one group and keep them from another. Take for example the laws that historically kept black people, Mexicans, indigenous people, and women from owning lands, and allowed military, police, militias, or posses to force them from that land.

Mainly since Obama was elected, activists have looked to the federal government to bring reform and to crack down on local law enforcement. Indeed, ICE raids decreased dramatically. Yet, when we look to the federal government to protect us (or others) from the local government (or anyone), we are confined to the law. If detaining migrants is legal, but racial profiling is illegal, then we document the

## **COULD WE EXPECT ANY REFORM TO ADDRESS THE WAYS IN WHICH MEXICO, CENTRAL, AND SOUTH AMERICAN COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN NEGATIVELY AFFECTED BY THE U.S.?**

everywhere, in all the countries, in order to do their big business, their great exploitation.”

We often embrace the Mexicans and others who have already entered our borders, but we might feel too overwhelmed to try to consider solutions to the problems that lead to people leaving their homes and families to enter an unwelcoming nation. Just to give one example of the situation in Mexico, in order to pass the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which the U.S.-based neoliberal capitalists insisted would be beneficial to Mexico (it was to certain elites in Mexico), Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution was changed, which allowed the land to be sold off to the highest bidder, causing loss of land, work, and subsistence for millions of Mexicans.

Could we expect any reform to address the ways in which Mexico, Central,

on constantly in one form or another. But despite the seeming support of the nativists, if there were some major uprising in Mexico that seriously threatened the stability of the State, do you think the US government wouldn't step in to help prevent it?

We must also consider the massive force of the drug trade. Because drugs are illegal, drug smugglers have protected their lucrative trade with the use of arms and violence, thereby becoming more powerful and more harmful. Members of government in both Mexico and the US (and other countries) are corrupt and participate in the drug trade, making it all the more powerful. Meanwhile, many drug smugglers bring harm to the communities along the border, such as on the Tohono O'odham reservation, and are also involved in human smuggling and human trafficking, and provide further justifica-

**NOBODY IN THE WORLD, NOBODY IN HISTORY, HAS EVER GOTTEN THEIR FREEDOM BY APPEALING TO THE MORAL SENSE OF THE PEOPLE WHO WERE OPPRESSING THEM.  
-ASSATA SHAKUR, ASSATA, 1987**

racial profiling and hand over the videos to the feds, hoping something will come of it. The problem is that much of the injustices against migrants are perfectly legal.

Law enforcement has been used to enforce the color line. We can see this with their origins in the slave patrols, the relationship between the klan and the police, to, for example, the death of Fred Hampton forty years ago, other efforts against groups that empower their communities, as well as the drug war, racial profiling, and now the anti-immigrant efforts. As I state in my essay *No Borders or Prison Walls*, “The war against “illegal” immigration is just one part of institutional racism, except this is an example that makes it all the more clear that crimes have been made out of the actions of people because of who they are. It is clear that the law has been used purposefully to render people powerless and exploitable.”

Criminalization of people is a primary weapon of institutional racism. If we were to take away one of the means of putting people in jails and detention centers, that being the fact that so many people are “illegal”, it would make a dent in the system. But undoubtedly, other ways of criminalizing people would be conjured up, just as in the case of the abolition of slavery when black men were charged with vagrancy and other such crimes so they could be imprisoned and their labor compelled. As it is right now, the Department of Homeland Security has been making the distinction of “criminal aliens” while the criterion of what crimes constitute a “criminal alien” are unspecified. Sure, murder would be obvious, but failure to pay a fine? Time will tell. Aside from that, legalization is not likely to stop racism, but would provide more fuel to the Tea Baggers and Minutemen-types to promote more hate and discrimination.

One problem with appealing to the government, such as asking for reform, is that to do so would require not being a threat. But any real just solution to the “immigration problem”, inevitably involving the dismantling of NAFTA and other

neoliberal projects, as well as a serious change in social/political structure, is and always will be a threat to the government.

Another problem is that the government has an interest in appearing to be able and willing to deliver justice. But overall it is not in its interest to truly liberate the people from injustice and in fact its existence is actually antithetical to such an action. It would like to have people ask instead of demand changes, however, and would like us to think of it as a benevolent force in such cases when it’s actually worth their time to make reforms that benefit the people. Therefore, if we ask and they give, they are the heroes. If we demand and they give, they are still the heroes although we still have some sense of having played a part. While we may want to improve conditions for people now, reform often does nothing but function as a moderating force. In *Direct Action*, Voltairine De Cleyre states,

*The main evil is that it destroys initiative, quenches the individual rebellious spirit, teaches people to rely on someone else to do for them what they should do for themselves; finally renders organic the anomalous idea that by massing supineness together until a majority is acquired, then through the peculiar magic of that majority, this supineness is to be transformed into energy. That is, people who have lost the habit of striking for themselves as individuals, who have submitted to every injustice while waiting for the majority to grow, are going to become metamorphosed into human high-explosives by a mere process of packing!*

The government is not a just one. We cannot expect a government that has been built on racism and continues to practice it in various ways (much higher rates of incarceration of people of color than whites, lack of indigenous rights, wars, just to name some examples) to be a force against white supremacy. The operator of immigration detention centers (or the ones who outsource private detention facilities), the performer of raids, is not the one who’s going to save us from the similar actions

of local law enforcement like Sheriff Arpaio. He is doing their work for them. He’s just doing it in an extra “look how demeaning I can be to these people” way. If the federal government does anything about it, it will only be to legitimize and continue its own actions and those of other jurisdictions.

#### **WHAT’S THE SOLUTION?**

*Nobody in the world, nobody in history, has ever gotten their freedom by appealing to the moral sense of the people who were oppressing them. -Assata Shakur, Assata, 1987*

So we must ask, what solutions can we come up with for these problems?

When looking for solutions, we must not look at migrants as one-dimensional people. They have concerns beyond their migration status or how they are perceived based on their skin color or language. There are various struggles such as those for gender equality, sexual orientation, maintaining indigenous culture, etc. Therefore we should not look at solutions only to the “migration problem”, but to the bigger picture problems of domination and coercion. We must also look beyond just the problems border security causes for the O’odham or the Lipan Apache, and we must look at the ways in which many issues of forced relocation and obstructions to movement are in place, to see that autonomy for all indigenous people is essential, and the effects of colonialism reversed where they can be. We need to somehow solve the problems, on this side of the globe at least, that cause forced migration, so we can keep people from being subject to the whims of their governments and capitalists, so that poverty and lack of access to subsistence, particularly where they have been created by outside forces, can be addressed. We need to oppose the environmental degradation, and the hierarchy that exists. Needless to say, the “immigration problem” is but one of the many more and bigger issues that necessitate revolution as a solution.

It is necessary to choose once and for

all between two things: either to be free, completely free, refusing all authority, or to be enslaved perpetuating the power of man over man. The boss or government is necessary only under a system of economic inequality.

In Mexico, we have had and have hundreds of proofs that humankind does not need bosses or government if not in the case of economic inequality. In the rural villages and communities, the people have not felt it necessary to have a government... They needed it for nothing and they could live in that way for hundreds of years, until the natural riches were snatched away for the benefit of the neighboring landholders. They did not eat one another, the way that those who have only known the capitalist system feared would happen; a system in which each man has to compete with everyone else to put a piece of bread in his mouth; the strong do not exert tyranny over the weak, as happens under a capitalist civilization, in which the most idle, greedy, and clever rule over the honest and good. All were brothers in these communities; they all helped out, and sensing equality, the way it really was, they did not need authorities to watch over the interests of those who had them, fearing possible attacks of those who did not have.

-Ricardo Flores Magon, "Sin Jefes," Regeneración, March 21, 1914

Freedom cannot be given by the government. Yet, although we may have varying ideas of what freedom means, isn't that what the people really want? Isn't fear of retaliation the only thing that would keep them from fighting for freedom? Is it not, then, the responsibility of those who benefit the most from this system to fight for freedom? Still, revolution is not to be led by folks like myself, but those who have the most to gain. We must look to the people who are most effected by the issues at hand- not necessarily the leaders who claim to speak for them. But if we are silent or instead, putting all our effort into reforms that stifle liberatory movements by giving out crumbs, then migrants might still think we want to see them waving american flags. The idea of revolution is not foreign to them. I wouldn't claim to speak for them, but without an emphasis, by whites/citizens, on liberation, and efforts that would make it harder for the opposition to crush it, we are settling for the status quo or slightly better. If we are not calling for liberation, then the relatively measly request of legalization for all migrants currently in the US is the extreme position in the current debate, and true freedom is not even on the table. The answer to the question, "What is the solution?" is not an easy answer. But if we settle for what seems pragmatic, what would upset the least number of privileged people, we are not doing anyone any good. In many cases, we are responsible for the conditions that others face, depending on our level of participation or complacency, and we must find our humble place in this struggle.

*We anarchists do not want to emancipate the people; we want the people to emancipate themselves.* -Errico Malatesta, *l'Agitazione*, 18 June 1897

Ideas: Solidarity with local indigenous and migrant communities; Direct action against profiteers of oppression against migrants and local indigenous, and against the state and capitalism; Fighting white supremacy/racism within white communities; Combat the criminalization of people of color.

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# PAST-TO-PRESENT... ASSIMILATION THROUGH U.S. ATTACKS ON EDUCATION AND THE RADICAL RESPONSES TO THEM.

BY: SURVIVAL SOLIDARITY

## THE STUDENTS ROLE IN RESISTANCE

Student response to racist unrealistic laws affecting migrants and people of color communities has always been quick and bold in Tucson. Just years ago students were risking suspension by jumping fences after schools were locked down, walking out of classes and hitting the streets in protest of HR4437. Jumping to 2010 we most recently join students at Tucson high in a 24-hour form of visual resistance outside of the campus. Tucson students were also walking it out after the insane ICE (Immigration Customs Enforcement) April 15 raids and everything that has followed. Tucson students also organized brave forms of protest decrying SB 1070.

It only seems necessary for students to answer the call to action. Numerous student groups have played important roles within many different movements—especially the civil rights movement. All throughout the world actions erupted in the 60's somewhat peaking around 68'. Students, along with portions of enraged working class people, led protests for Civil Rights fights for numerous people of color groups around the world. The 60's were also birth to more publicly visible women and queer liberation groups.

The 60's also brought us the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) that was organized by students in Raleigh, North Carolina. They earned a strong radical image for embracing the belief of Black Power. However it should be noted that both Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale had frustrations with SNCC due to their strong academic leanings in their writings. The majority of the lower class communities Newton and Seale were organizing within were also unable to identify with the SNCC student movement—hence the starting of the Black Panther Party. They [the Black Panther Party] believed that organizing communities around ideas of self-defense were more relevant. They were eventually well received and led to the eventual formation of numerous Black Panther parties forming within the US.

The 60s' also brought the still very popular student movement of MEChA, (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán), which promoted Chicano Studies programs and helped Chicano students identify people to engage in student struggles with. HB 2281 will undoubtedly strike a brutal blow to the organizing now occurring under the banner of MEChA.

## ASSIMILATION THROUGH ATTACKS ON EDUCATION

Arizona students' most recent actions have sparked fear into the cold eyes of the state. Any active large group of organized resistance is truly an enemy of the state. A quick glance at the original colonization of the land that is now known as "Arizona" shows us the usual response the state has to those that resist their forced assimilation. HB 2281 is one of those responses.

HB 2281 explicitly prohibits classes that "advocate ethnic solidarity". The state of Arizona is not only attempting to squash any attempts to resist their laws, they are also now attacking everyone that attempts to garner resistance or solidarity through the celebrating and sharing of culture. Possibly the scariest part of this bill is the fact that it would single handedly remove the chance for youth to learn from their past. Thus, opening the door for the most atrocious accounts of genocide and racism of the past to be repeated. The bill would also contribute to a lack of accessibility to knowledge on how to challenge present and future discrimination. Knowing this we can recognize just how important the fight for ethnic studies is.

While HB 2281 is a new law attempting to pull communities apart through erasing culture, the practice of destroying resistance through forced assimilation in the form of education is not new. It is a tactic that has been employed by colonizers for centuries. The forced attendance of Indigenous youth at government established boarding schools were/are one of the main tools used by the state to weaken Indigenous communities and steal the opportunity for indigenous youth to hear about their past. Andrea Smith's *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide* notes that the government realized just how much cheaper it was to perform educational genocide of a culture instead of actually killing off entire populations (the previous method used for resistance to assimilation). From *Conquest*:

"Some colonists supported boarding schools because they thought cultural genocide was more cost-effective than physical genocide. During his tenure as commissioner of Indian affairs, Carl Schurz concluded that it would cost only \$1,200 to school an Indian child for eight years. Secretary of the Interior Henry Teller argued that it would cost \$22 million to wage war against Indians over a 10-year period, but it would cost less than a quarter of that to educate 30,000 children for a year."

If Brewer's pen signs this bill into effect she will be following in the genocidal footsteps of the original colonizers.

## THE IMPORTANCE OF CREATING ALLIES IN STRUGGLE

Recent speakers at Rallies have said, the attack that such laws as HB 1070, HB2281 and let us not forget HB 2008, is not an attack on just one people; the fight against these bills shouldn't be either. They are fights that People of color, Indigenous people and whites all need to be involved in. To not work together as allies would be foolish. Those that work for the state know this. All races have faces amongst those that carry out the laws through the use of cuffs, guns and other means of violence. The lyrics of the NWA classic *Fuck The Police* tells us this:

"But don't let it be a black and a white one. Cuz they slam ya down to the street top. Black police showin out for the white cop."

There have been numerous collaborations in the past within

active resistance groups. Perhaps two of the most radical examples of this could be that of white radical and life-long anti-racist and anti-imperialists, Marilyn Jean Buck and David Gilbert. Both Buck and Gilbert supported Indigenous struggle and eventually worked hand-in-hand with the Black Liberation Army. Buck was actually charged for her assistance as a white ally in the liberation of Assata Shakur. White allies that helped him and other farm workers with their organizing heavily influenced César Chávez. Many early stories of resistance reflect how Indigenous Tribes would also join together when exposed to the brutality of colonizers; Apache and Tohono O'odham tribes would sometimes join together to raid and burn the camps of their colonizers.

We now join together today and everyday forward in active resistance to the racist heads of power in Arizona. Student or not the time to act is now. It is time to put your actions where your heart and passion stand.

## ALL OF THIS WITHOUT SB 1070 BEING PASSED....

### By: SURVIVAL SOLIDARITY

*“There was a massive show of force, with helicopters, dozens of agents, police vehicles and weapons, assaulting our community in a fashion never seen before... This action clearly demonstrates what we have predicted, that we would all be living in a police state here in Arizona. Kat Rodriguez, of Derechos Humanos, in response to the April 15, 2010 raids.*

From October 2003 to October 2009 there have been at least 107 reported deaths within US detention centers. Since October 2009 there have been 87 deaths on the Arizona border. Most recently the Arizona Daily Star reported finding the body of a migrant along the Arizona-Mexico Border on April 19, 2010. The same report claimed that it was the third body found within a three-day period.

On April 15, 2010 “Operation In Plain Sight” the coordinated effort of more than 800 Immigration and Custom Enforcement (ICE) officers and law enforcement officials from local to international levels resulted in the largest ICE raid of its [ICE] seven-year existence. Five shuttle bus locations, four in Tucson and one in Phoenix, were targeted in the raid. ICE officials claim that these bus services were narcotic-traffickers and human smugglers. 50 vehicles and seven vans were confiscated. At least 47 people were arrested. Some reports have reflected larger numbers of arrests and prolonged detentions.

In communities where these raids have taken place many have experienced fear sweeping through their neighborhoods. The images from these raids have been very unsettling. Unfortunately gun toting, mask-wearing cops rampaging through neighborhoods raiding homes and businesses like car washes and Day Laborer sites is anything but new.

*“... We are concerned about the timing of an ICE operation that seems to be as much designed for media consumption as anything else,” Pablo Alvarado, executive director of the National Day Laborer Organizing Network, said in a statement. “We are worried ICE Director Morton’s intense media campaign to publicize this action will only contribute to a climate of fear that is already sending shockwaves across the state and country.”*

After a callout for emergency rallies in response to the raids, demonstrations erupted in both Phoenix and Tucson. The following week more demonstrations and walkouts happened with small escalations at certain points. In Phoenix nine students felt compelled to chain themselves to a door of the Arizona Capitol

Building resulting in all of them being arrested. One of the student’s attorneys said that the action was taken to send a message to Gov. Jan Brewer and “block the bigotry that was emanating from the Legislature”.

One doesn’t need to look far to see why Arizona state officials would be grasping for straws. The AZ central Star’s number one story of 2009 was recounting the deficit that Brewer and Legislature faced:

*“The Legislature and Governor Jan Brewer spent 2009 thrashing around the deep end, looking for a way out. It didn’t happen.*

*Budget cuts were inevitable, and the public began to see the contours of a shrinking state government: Hundreds of state employees were laid off and thousands forced to take days off without pay. For the first time since the depression the state borrowed to pay the bills*

*The budget quagmire will continue in 2010, where a \$3.3 billion deficit looms and most likely beyond.”*

Another point of contention for Phoenix politics falling apart last year was another top story of 2009 recounting the US Department of Justice (DOJ) investigating Sheriff Joe Arpaio.

From that article:

*March, the DOJ announced an investigation into alleged patterns of racial discrimination based on national origin. Although the DOJ has not been specific, the consensus among Arpaio’s critics is that the investigation relates primarily to racial profiling and illegal searches and seizures. In October, Arpaio complained publicly that DOJ investigators had posed as reporters to gain access to one of his press conferences.*

*When connecting to the DOJ’s Arpaio tip line, it says, “You have reached the U.S. Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, Maricopa County Sheriff’s Office investigation line.” Then it prompts the listener to choose between English and Spanish. By lunchtime Wednesday, [of the week the hotline was established] both the English and Spanish mailboxes were full. They have been full throughout the week and are still full as of Saturday morning. The toll free number for the tip line is 877-613-2137.*

Taking these two weak points into context definitely sheds light on why Phoenix politicians would be looking for scapegoats and easy ways to pose as if they have things “under control”. The fact that SB 1070 has made it this far should most certainly be linked to the fact that we are in a state of literal crisis rapidly approaching a level of disparity similar to that of 1929’s great economic depression.

*“Tucson today is the moral equivalent of Birmingham, Alabama in 1961,” said Mike Wilson, border rights activist and Tohono O’odham tribal member, while attending a rally at the Tucson Federal Building April, 15.*

Since the closing of 2009 and now well into 2010 Arizona has been sinking further and further into political unrest and deficit. In 2005 Arizona enacted a law making human smuggling a state crime and prohibited employers from knowingly hiring illegal immigrants with a law in 2007. What are some of the quotes coming from Arizona’s head political figures in 2010?

Republican Senator Russell Pearce of Mesa, who sponsored SB 1070, said *“... it will take handcuffs off police and put them on violent criminals. Enough is enough”.*

U.S. Sen. John McCain called the bill a *“tool that I think needs to be used.”* His office later said that wasn’t an endorsement.

*“It will be extremely difficult to repair that chain (in reference to the shuttle bus service). It is the missing link that greatly disrupts the infrastructure of human smuggling organizations,”* said Dennis Burke, U.S. attorney for Arizona.

Knowing all of this we need to ask ourselves a few important questions: knowing the US government just closed down a way for many people to safely travel from south of the US border to find work and be close to their families, what can we do to help recreate this safety net and lessen the blow that the government wishes to inflict upon those migrating to the U.S.? Knowing that large-scale fear is sweeping through neighborhoods of people that are subject to repression solely on race alone (that will only increase if SB1070 is passed), what can we do to first, reach out and provide safer ways for those affected to share their stories? Second, how can we improve the ways that we disseminate information about our current community projects (i.e. No More Deaths and Derechos Humanos in Tucson) and assure that we sustain them and use this chance to get new people involved in supporting migrants? We also need to develop community based actions to help alleviate the governments goal of further alienating people of color communities? One project that will surely need more help is the documentation of abuses on Tohono O’ odham land where abuse is already high and will only escalate if it becomes legalized through the passage of SB 1070.

Realistically speaking, what will you do the next time you see police pulling someone over in your neighborhood? What can/will we do to strengthen some of the past efforts started to rally observers for ICE raids, and get serious about supporting those that will continue to feel less safe and unsupported in our communities after raids increase?

Some may see rallies and direct actions as the answer. The author of this piece definitely supports those actions. Looking at the situation strategically though some of the first steps should be stopping and listening to each other. Building community ties right now could be an empowering step one for the problem at hand. The government can easily cut the chain of a lock-down. But they truly fear a group of organized people. So at the next walk-out and rally be sure to actually connect with those around you. Remember to reflect on feelings and provide a space for more wide-scale communication to occur.

Regardless of SB 1070 passing we can expect things around the border to only get worse. Governor Jan Brewer requesting an additional 250 troops to increase militarization of the border definitely reflects that. As long as militarized borders exist and ICE detention centers continue to operate we can be sure that there will be fear and definite reason for it in our communities. Extreme cases of human rights violations and racial profiling will also continue to occur on Tohono O’ odham land and in our communities. The amount of humans dying on the border will also drastically increase. The question at hand that needs to be answered is how are we going to lessen that?

*At the time that this article was being written SB 1070 had not been signed into law.*

IT’S LIKE A POWDER  
KEG AND THE FIRES  
LIT, IT’S ABOUT TO  
EXPLODE!  
— A-ALIKES



# CONFRONTING RESOLUTION COPPER THE BATTLEFIELD OF THE PAST IS ONCE AGAIN THE STAGE FOR A WAR AGAINST ACCELERATED COLONIZATION.

**By: SURVIVAL SOLIDARITY**

Indigenous people have been resisting colonization on this continent for more than 500 years. The stench of empire has littered what's become the southwestern US for hundreds of years and continues to hold an eerie presence today. In the midst of an 1870 battle, US Cavalry forced Apache warriors to the edge of a cliff. With the taste of defeat in their mouths standing eye-to-eye with their possible captors', more than 80 Apache warriors escaped, leaping off the cliff and through the air to their deaths. These days at the base of that mountain chunks of obsidian can be found. They are known as the tears of the Apaches. Apache Leap, that battlefield of the past is once again the stage for a war against accelerated colonization.

*What do you think of when you hear the word "copper"? For Freeport McMoRan and Rio Tinto, profits probably spring to mind. For a brain-washed green capitalist, you might think of solar panels. If you are indigenous to West Papua you probably think of death, war and suffering.*

In Superior Arizona San Carlos Apaches are facing the profit driven attack on their land from Superior Arizona based company Resolution Copper (RC). RC has their mind set on passing legislation to create the largest Copper Mine of North America on Sacred Apache land.

Spared in 1955 through Public Land Order 1229, the Apache Leap, Gaan Canyon and Oak Flat areas of Arizona are now under speculation of being reopened for mining. The piece-of-trash legislation, the Southeast Arizona Land Exchange and Conservation Act of 2009, introduced by Senators John Kyl and John McCain, would allow RC, owned by infamous multinational mining company Rio Tinto, to sink it's teeth into this sacred land. Possibly, the grossest part of all of this is the complete lack of accountability RC is taking from the get-go.

RC has openly admitted to the fact that their process of mining would create significant land subsidence. The ambiguousness of the bill leaves an open playing field for destruction with no end. Without the necessary research, there is no telling what extent the land subsidence will occur at—And what current co-existing parts of the ecosystem will be lost in the process of their mining.

The bill would allow RC to move forward with the project, void of any research on the blight it would cause. There is no discussion of water resource use, acquisition or disposal for the proposed mine at Oak Flat. The drilling of wells for water use with the mine would throw central eastern Arizona's water table into a blur of instabilities in an area that already has severe water problems.

Freeport McMoRan has been targeted with arson, roadside bombs and blockades since the 1970s when they first began mining in West Papua. Connecting the dots from Resolution Copper to Freeport McMoRan and Rio Tinto is necessary to understand the level of blatant coercion, destruction of land and outright murder that is commonly associated with their mining projects. In 2003, news surfaced that Freeport Indonesia had paid more than \$11 million to the Indonesian army for "security" at its mine in West Papua. In efforts to ensure the mine operates fluidly, the Indonesian government began a heavy campaign of murder, political assassination, imprisonment, rape and torture.

After controlling West Papua through acts of insurgency, the Indonesian government came up with an act of free choice format for voting. This was only after notable international pressure to allow West Papua to decide their sovereignty (after having it stolen from them by Indonesia.) The chosen electoral process of the Indonesian government involved kidnapping selected male indigenous people, then torturing them at gunpoint and holding them for days until they would vote for Indonesian control. How is this related to mining in Arizona? Because as you read this the same company is once again working in concert with the US government to push another mine on another group of indigenous people. Since the initial Indonesian takeover, the US has leaked documents admitting a pro-Indonesian takeover was inevitable.

The areas in danger of being mined have been sacred Apache land for ages. Apaches use the land of Oak flat to harvest acorns, which is part of their natural diet and their religious traditions. RC's legislation would require Apaches to obtain a permit to continue the traditional bond they share with the Oak Flat region. Even more appalling is the fact that the current legislation would not allow any challenging to the use of Apache Leap for mining. It actually almost asserts the fact that RCM project would destroy Apache Leap.

Past all of the questionable legal and environmental objectives lies the glaring threat of sacred Apache land possibly being further colonized. Not only would this land be stolen from the Apaches, RC's current ambiguous plans would sacrilegiously render these lands unrecognizable. There is a monumental need for solidarity work to be done with this project. The same people who are killing Indigenous people across the world for resources such as copper and gold now have their sights set on the Apache land. The time to attack is now!

# URANIUM MINING BEGINS NEAR GRAND CANYON

BY: KLEE BENALLY

In defiance of legal challenges and a U.S. Government moratorium, Canadian company Denison Mines has started mining uranium on the north rim of the Grand Canyon. According to the Arizona Daily Sun the mine has been operating since December 2009.

Denison plans on extracting 335 tons of uranium ore per day out of the "Arizona 1 Mine", which is set to operate four days per week. The hazardous ore will be hauled by truck more than 300 miles through towns and communities to the company's White Mesa mill located near Blanding, Utah.

After being pressured by environmental groups, U.S. Secretary of Interior Ken Salazar initially called for a two-year moratorium on new mining claims in a buffer zone of 1 million acres around Grand Canyon National Park, but the moratorium doesn't include existing claims such as Denison's. The moratorium also doesn't address mining claims outside of the buffer zone.

The Grand Canyon is ancestral homeland to the Havasupai and Hualapai Nations. Although both Indigenous Nations have banned uranium mining on their reservations the U.S. Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management may permit thousands of mining claims on surrounding lands.

Due to recent increases in the price of uranium and the push for nuclear power nearly 8,000 new mining claims now threaten Northern Arizona. Uranium mined from the Southwestern U.S. is predominately purchased by countries such as France (Areva) & Korea for nuclear energy.

In July of 2009 members of the Havasupai Nation and their allies gathered for four days on the South Rim of the Grand Canyon at their sacred site Red Butte to address the renewed threat. Red Butte has long been endangered by the on-going threat of uranium mining.

Under an anachronistic 1872 mining law, created when pick axes and shovels were used, mining companies freely file claims on public lands. The law permits mining regardless of cultural impacts.

## OBAMA APPROVES NEW NUCLEAR REACTORS AND INCREASED NEED FOR URANIUM

Currently there are 104 nuclear reactors in the United States which supply 20 percent of the U.S.'s electricity. In January the Obama administration approved a \$54 billion dollar taxpayer loan in a guarantee program for new nuclear reactor construction, three times what Bush previously promised in 2005.

**SINCE 2007, SEVENTEEN COMPANIES HAVE NOW SOUGHT GOVERNMENT APPROVAL FOR 26 MORE REACTORS WITH PLANS TO COMPLETE FOUR BY 2018 AND UP TO EIGHT BY 2020. NEW REACTORS ARE ESTIMATED TO COST MORE THAN \$12 BILLION EACH.**

Although nuclear energy is hailed by some as a solution to the current U.S. energy crisis and global warming, those more closely impacted by uranium mining and transportation recognize the severity of the threat.

## THE COLORADO RIVER, WATER & URANIUM'S DEADLY LEGACY

Uranium is a known cause of cancers, organ damage, miscarriages & birth defects.

Drilling for the radioactive material has been found to contaminate underground aquifers that drain into the Colorado River, and sacred springs that have sustained Indigenous Peoples in the region. In addition, surface water can flow into drill holes and mine shafts which can also poison underground water sources.

Emerging in the Rocky Mountains in North Central Colorado and winding 1,450 miles to the Gulf of California, the Colorado River is held sacred by more than 34 Indigenous Nations. The Colorado also provides drinking water for up to 27 million people in seven states throughout the Southwest.

The river that carves the Grand Canyon has been extensively used by the agricultural industry and cities that are dependent for drinking water, so much so that it now ceases to flow to the Gulf of California, forcing members of the Cocopah Nation (The People of the River) in Northern Mexico to abandon their homelands and relocate elsewhere.

Today there are more than 2,000 abandoned uranium mines in the Southwest. U.S. government agencies have done little or nothing to clean up contaminated sites and abandoned mines. At Rare Metals near Tuba City on the Diné (Navajo) Nation a layer of soil and rock is the only covering over 2.3 million tons of hazardous waste. A rock dam surrounds the radioactive waste to control runoff water that flows into nearby Moenkopi Wash. Throughout the Diné Nation, Diné families have been subject to decades of radioactive contamination ranging from unsafe mining conditions to living in houses built from uranium tailings. Well water is documented by the US Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) as undrinkable in at least 22 communities such as Black Falls on the Dine' Nation. According to the EPA, "Approximately 30 percent of the Navajo population does not have access to a public drinking water system and may be using unregulated water sources with uranium contamination."

Flocks of sheep and other livestock still graze among radioactive tailing piles and ingest radioactive water.

According to the Navajo Nation up to 2.5 million gallons of uranium contaminated water is leaching out of the Shiprock Uranium Mill near Shiprock, New Mexico into the San Juan River every year. At the Church Rock Mine in New Mexico, which is now attempting to re-open, up to 875,000 cubic yards of radioactive waste continue to contaminate the land.

In July 1979 a dirt dam breached on the Navajo Nation at a uranium processing plant releasing more than 1,100 tons of radioactive waste and nearly 100 million gallons of contaminated fluid into the Rio Puerco (which ultimately flows into the Colorado River)

near Church Rock, NM. This was the single largest nuclear accident in US history. Thousands of Diné families that live in the region, including those forced to relocate from the Joint Use Area due to coal mining, continue to suffer health impacts resulting from the spill.

In 2005 the Diné Nation government banned uranium mining and processing within its borders due to uranium's harmful legacy of severe health impacts and poisoning of the environment. And yet, high cancer rates, birth defects and other health impacts still bear out the uranium industry's dangerous legacy.

## **NUCLEAR WASTE & INDIGENOUS SACRED LANDS**

Today the US has nearly 60,000 tons of highly radioactive spent nuclear waste stored in concrete dams at nuclear power plants throughout the country. The waste increases at a rate of 2,000 tons per year. Depleted Uranium (DU) is a byproduct of uranium enrichment and reprocessing which has controversial military uses including armor piercing projectiles. DU has been found to cause long-term health effects ranging from harming organs to causing miscarriages and birth defects.

In 1987 Congress initiated a controversial project to transport and store almost all of the U.S.'s toxic waste at Yucca Mountain located about 100 miles northwest of Las Vegas, Nevada. Yucca Mountain has been held holy to the Paiute and Western Shoshone Nations since time immemorial.

In February 2009 Obama met a campaign promise to cut funding for the multibillion dollar Yucca Mountain Nuclear Waste Repository project. The controversial project was initially proposed in 1987 with radioactive waste to be shipped from all over the U.S.

**.... A FIERCE MOVEMENT OF GRASSROOTS RESISTANCE AND DIRECT ACTION AGAINST URANIUM MINING NEAR THE GRAND CANYON HAD TAKEN SHAPE.... PRAYERFUL AND STRATEGIC MEETINGS WERE HELD ONCE A YEAR.... 8,000 PEOPLE CONVERGED FOR A MASSIVE 10 DAY DIRECT ACTION TO "RECLAIM" THE TEST SITE, NEARLY 3,000 PEOPLE WERE ARRESTED....THE 'ARIZONA 5' WERE CHARGED FOR ECO-ACTIONS INCLUDING CUTTING POWER-LINES TO THE CANYON URANIUM MINE**

via rails and highways. Currently a new proposal for an experimental method of extracting additional fuel from nuclear waste called "reprocessing" renews the threat to desecrate the sacred mountain on Western Shoshone lands.

Western Shoshone lands, which have never been ceded to the U.S. government, have long been under attack by the military and nuclear industry. Between 1951 and 1992 more than 1,000 nuclear bombs have been detonated above and below the surface at an area called the Nevada Test Site on Western Shoshone lands which make it one of the most bombed nations on earth. Communities in areas around the test site faced exposure to radioactive fallout which has caused cancers, leukemia & other illnesses. Western Shoshone spiritual practitioner Corbin Harney, who has since passed on, helped initiate a grassroots effort to shutdown the test site and abolish nuclear weapons.

Indigenous Peoples in the Marshall Islands have also faced serious impacts due to U.S. nuclear testing. In her book, *Conquest: Sexual Violence & American Indian Genocide*, Andrea Smith reports that some Indigenous Peoples in the islands have all together stopped reproducing due to the severity of cancer and birth defects they have faced.

## **CONTINUING RESISTANCE**

In March 1988 more than 8,000 people converged for a massive 10 day direct action to "reclaim" the test site, nearly 3,000 people were arrested. Groups such as the Nevada Desert Experience (NDE) and Shundahai Network continue their work to shut down the test site and resist the corporate and military nuclear industry.

Galvanized by the Havasupai, Hopi, Diné (Navajo), Hualapai tribes and a Flagstaff group, Canyon Under Siege. Prayerful and strategic meetings were held once a year throughout the 80s. In 1989 a group known as the 'Arizona 5 were charged for eco-actions including cutting power-lines to the Canyon Uranium Mine. Attributable in some part to the resistance and but mainly to a sharp drop in the price of uranium, companies like Dennison were forced to shut their mines down.

Mt. Taylor, located on Forest Service managed lands in New Mexico between Albuquerque and Gallup, has also faced the threat of uranium mining. The mountain sits upon one of the richest reservers of uranium ore in the country, it is held holy by the Diné, Acoma, Laguna, Zuni & Hopi Nations. In June 2009 Indigenous Nations and environmental groups unified to protect the holy Mountain and through their efforts Mt. Taylor was given temporary protection as a Traditional Cultural Property.

For 7 years Indigenous People from throughout the world have gathered to organize against the nuclear industry at the Southwest Indigenous Uranium Forum on the Acoma Nation.

At the 2006 Indigenous World Uranium Summit on the Diné Nation, community organizations such as Eastern Navajo Diné Against Uranium Mining (ENDAUM) joined participants from Australia, India, Africa, Pacific Islands, and throughout North America in issuing a declaration demanding "a worldwide ban on uranium mining, processing, enrichment, fuel use, and weapons testing and deployment, and nuclear waste dumping on native lands."

**Klee Benally** (Diné) is a collective member of Indigenous Action Media, on the Board of Directors of the Shundahai Network, and is a musician with the group Blackfire. Author Mary Sojourner assisted editing this article.



# A BRIEF HISTORY OF RELOCATION ON BLACK MESA

*This article was originally taken from the Black Mesa Indigenous Support web page [www.blackmesais.org](http://www.blackmesais.org). It was posted on October 12, 2000*

In 1974 the U.S. Congress passed Public Law 93-531 allegedly to settle a so-called land dispute between the Dineh and their Hopi neighbors. This law required the forced relocation of well over 14,000 Dineh and a hundred plus Hopi from their ancestral homelands. The “dispute” being settled by PL 93-531 was, in reality, fabricated by the US government as a way to obtain easier access to strip-mine one of the largest coal reserves in North America. The land known as Black Mesa is home to thousands of traditional shepherders, weavers, silversmiths and farmers. For hundreds of years before Europeans came to the Americas the Dineh and Hopi existed in balance with each other and with Mother Earth.

The genocide on Black Mesa has been recognized internationally. In the late 1980's the United Nations described the case of the forced relocation as one of the most flagrant violations of indigenous peoples' human rights in this hemisphere. More recently, this is the first time the United Nations ever formally investigated the United States for the violation of religious freedom.

On Black Mesa Peabody Coal Company mines over three million gallons a day, and 1.4 billion gallons a year of pristine, potable groundwater used to slurry coal. It's the only source of drinking water for the Hopi and the western Navajo people. According to data compiled by the Department of Interior, Peabody's operations appear to be causing or contributing significantly to a range of groundwater-related problems, with profound environmental, cultural, and religious implications for the region's tribal communities. (source Natural Resources Defense Council) Peabody Coal Company in the Black Mesa region operates a 103-square mile mine, the largest privately-owned coal mine in the world.

These native peoples, their cemeter-

ies, their burial & sacred sites, religious structures and Anasazi ruins have been destroyed at Black Mesa to make way for coal mining. People are not only restricted from access to sacred sites, but many religious sites, burial grounds and homes stand threatened with destruction.

Many families on Black Mesa are now in their third decade of resisting relocation, attempting to continue their traditional lifestyles. As a result of their resistance the U.S. government is waging a covert war against the people and the land. This includes bulldozing homes and ceremonial structures, impounding sheep, horses, and cattle, destroying water wells, restricting wood gathering, disallowing the construction or renovation of homesites, restricting ceremonies, restricting medicinal herb gathering, ongoing surveillance and intimidation by police and federal agents, and harassment by low flying military aircraft.

The Dineh believe that the rich coal reserves underneath this sacred land is Mother Earth's liver and must not be destroyed. However, these beliefs fall on deaf ears to Peabody Coal Company, which sees the coal as simply a way in which to produce large amounts of capital. For over a quarter of a century this extremely powerful corporation has mined the 103 square miles around the mesa area leaving behind a wake of devastation. A land that was once so rich in natural beauty is now left barren and dead. The mine has displaced thousands of traditional families and their homes, destroyed an estimated 4,000 ancient ruins, burial sites, sacred land formations, and prayer sites. In order to further the development of the mine, Peabody bulldozes important plants and trees used by the Native peoples for food and medicine.

Many people believe that today much of the mine operates illegally and without regulation. This mine uses a coal slurry pipeline to transport its coal over 200

miles to the Mojave Generating Station in Laughlin, Nevada. There, it is converted into electricity for the use of Nevada, California, and central Arizona, while many of the Dineh who live at Black Mesa and in most areas of the reservation have no electricity. The coal slurry pipeline uses billions of gallons of water to move the coal. Water is pumped from the precious desert aquifer under Black Mesa, used solely for mining purposes, while only a few miles from the mine families have to haul water for themselves and their livestock, from up to 20 miles away to survive. Countless springs and wells have gone dry, grazing land has been dried up and depleted, and crops have begun to fail. Peabody makes billions of dollars annually from the mine, while the traditional peoples living on the land being mined, or who have been relocated because of it never see a cent of the profits made from the land.

What happens to the people when they relocate? The federal government has relocated many of the Dineh to the “New Lands” at Sanders, AZ. This land is contaminated by the worst radioactive waste spill in North America. (It is downstream from the disaster at Church Rock, New Mexico, 1979) Some people living there have died from cancer or are dying from it now. The birth defect rate is outstanding. And many of the traditional ways are gone. People live in tiny trailers side by side, hundreds of miles away from their families, with no sheep, no sacred sites, no cornfields, no ceremonies. Many people who relocate find themselves with nothing to live for, their sacred way stolen from them. The suicide rate is outstanding as well. A special report concerning Navajo relocation issued from the Navajo-Hopi Land Commission Office over ten years ago testifies that they've “seen hundreds of Navajo families become practically homeless. They left their ancestral homes on the Hopi-Partitioned Land in order to comply with the federal governments' directive. These families, the so-called Navajo ‘refugees,’ have drifted from place

to place for many years. Some live in shacks, some live in vehicles, while the lucky ones squeeze in with other family members.” Others have found themselves having to pay for water, heat, food, electricity, taxes, things they never have had to deal with before. Many of the elders speak little or no English - people who have had no experience with a cash economy have been moved to border towns. These Navajos have been warehoused in substandard housing. They have received little or no counseling to help them make the radical changes that federal law has required. And while the relocation law has required the federal government to provide community facilities and services and to minimize the adverse social, cultural, and economic effects of relocation, that promise remains unfulfilled almost two decades later. Many find it impossible to get jobs, and they are forced into homelessness. The genocide is complete.

There are still Dineh families on Black Mesa who are resisting relocation and do not wish to sign an Accommodation Agreement. There are many families struggling to keep their livestock. Despite years of lawsuits against the federal government to repeal the relocation law, the United States continues to deny the Dineh the right to live on their homeland and preserve their traditional way of life. The resisters of Black Mesa have requested outside support in their struggle. Most of the relocation resisters are elders, many of whose children have been relocated or otherwise forced to leave their homeland. As a result many elders live alone and it is difficult for them to continue their daily lifestyles while also going to court and dealing with the everyday harassment from U.S. and tribal governments.

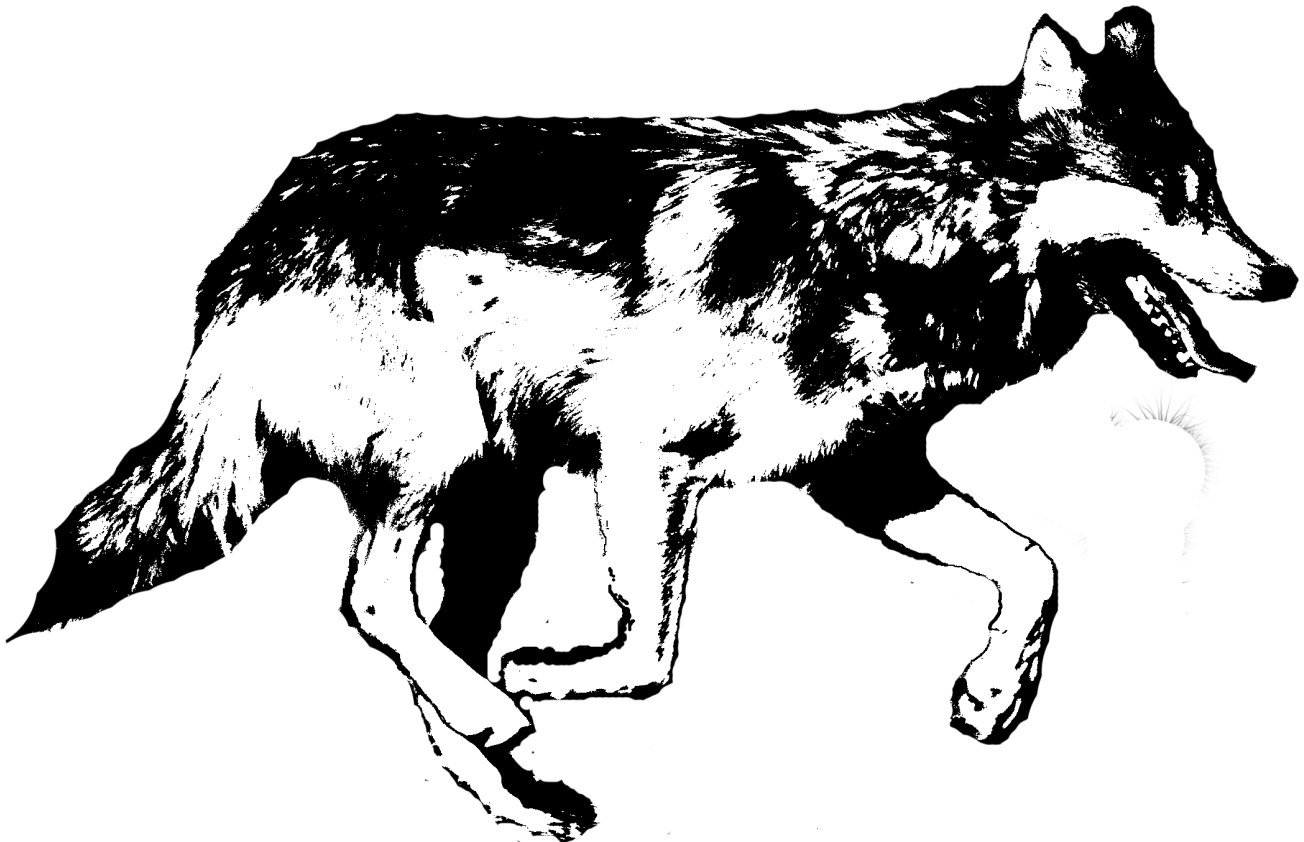
# GENERAL NEEDS LIST

## **STAY WITH A FAMILY ON BLACK MESA.**

Continued residency by families throughout the Big Mountain of region has a significant role in the intervention of Peabody Coal Company’s plans to desecrate Black Mesa & add to climate chaos. An elder grandmother states “We welcome people to come out and support our resistance in this way.” So consider volunteering to herd sheep or work on projects as families continue to live peacefully and defend their ancestral homelands! Herd sheep, chop wood, assist with cooking meals, help with projects and chores, and act as human rights observers. You can visit for several weeks to several months or organize a work crew for about a week. Guests are expected to be adequately prepared prior to staying with families on Black Mesa, which is high desert and very remote. Since it is crucial to have good help out there, and not create more work for the families, all supporters are required to read and sign the Cultural Sensitivity Preparedness Packet. Contact BMIS in advance so that we can make arrangements for your stay, answer any questions, and help put you in touch with a family.

## **VEHICULAR REPAIR & VEHICLE PARTS:**

The rough, dirt roads on the reservation take their toll on the families vehicles.(from the



washboards on the dry dirt roads and from the mud by the rains that likes to cake onto the undersides of vehicles.) A very worthwhile project is to raise funds for a skilled mechanic to visit homesites on Black Mesa, do a needs assessment, trade or purchase car parts in the border towns such as Leupp and Flagstaff, and finally, install and repair the vehicles. BMIS can assist with this much needed project wby supplying road guides, doing needs assessment, helping with contacts of junk yards, possible mechanics, and shops. Some families do know how to fix vehicles and can assist with repair, allowing for an economic opportunity while helping out in their own community. This project would require at least \$2,000.00.

#### **WORKING VEHICLES:**

Some families have no vehicle and many of those that do could use a newer one. Vehicles are vital on Black Mesa where the terrain is vast and rough. Vehicles are needed to collect wood, haul water, and other necessities.

Tires-new or good used ones. Mainly 235/245/255/265 x 15's and 235/245/255/265 x 16's.

#### **FOOD:**

potatoes, oats, beans, brown rice, peanut butter, white flour (Bluebird is excellent for fry-bread!), blue cornmeal! (locally available, for pancakes, flat bread, and hot cereal), baking powder, grains, oil, canned foods, fruit & vegetables -fresh from farms if possible, dried milk, coffee, herbal teas, fresh vegetables & fruits, fresh meat if it can be delivered frozen or cold, dry foods, nuts. Organic whenever possible.

#### **ANIMAL FOOD:**

Hay for the livestock and food for dogs and cats are very much appreciated. Dogs play an important role in guarding and herding sheep while cats keep the mice population down.

#### **MEDICINE:**

Cedar, white sage, natural arthritis rubs, Arnica / muscle-easing salve, herbal teas, & first aid. If you are traveling to Black Mesa via Flagstaff, a wonderful place to stop at is Winter Sun Trading Post which has many Southwest botanicals. Another form of medicine is gentle massage for the Elders.

#### **HARDWARE/TOOLS:**

Shears, axes, mauls, sledgehammers, shovels, pick-axes, hammers, handsaws, chainsaws, hoes, pliers, wire-cutters, nails, rope, sledgehammers, construction tools, drills, generators, floor jacks and tools for vehicles are very helpful.

WOOD! Wood! Wood! And wood choppers too. Ideally right before the cold winter months arrive.

#### **MONEY:**

Sponsor an educational lecture series or a speaker's travel tour. Sponsor international diplomacy efforts (i.e., Human Rights and the European Union forums) by Dineh delegates or spokespersons. Funds are needed for building supplies to be used for homes, corrals, and various other projects that are needed by families living on Big Mountain and surrounding communities.

#### **CLOTHES:**

Nice blankets & clothes please. Horse blankets included.

#### **HOUSEHOLD ITEMS:**

Lumber, Soap, toilet paper, personal items, pocket knife, matches & lighters, flashlight & batteries, propane, gas, dishwashing liquid, sponges, cloths, brushes.

#### **WATER:**

Families are needing water, especially with the drought in the SWest and with Peabodys ongoing pumping of the NAquifer. Several wells near the Hopi Partitioned Lands residents have been cut off and families have to travel far for water. A resident of Big Mountain has requested funding for two wells to be dug somewhere on Black Mesa for the people living in the communities on and around Big Mountain. If you can help with this, contact Black Mesa Indigenous Support via email or leave a message on our voicemail and we can supply you with further details.

**GOOD READING MATERIALS!** Books about resistance, Indigenous authors, educational books, etc.

**MISC:** radios, scanners, solar panels, blankets, batteries, lanterns, heavy duty flashlights. Additionally, several families have expressed the wish to have a huge canvas or army tent so that residents can set up community meetings and gatherings.

**PRESSURE** is needed at all levels of the government. Visit the contact list of appropriate public officials. Write letters to, call, and email the appropriate government officials, write letters to your newspaper, stage peaceful demonstrations.

Last but not least, people are asking for your prayers.

—**STRONGHOLD 38**



# ALLIANCES WITH WHITES

## FROM A BLACK LIBERATION ARMY PERSPECTIVE

*The following article was originally published in Message to the Black Movement—a political statement from the black underground. Season of Struggle. It was dedicated to all the comrades killed, captured and exiled in the struggle to build the armed urban guerilla front, and to those who supported them when all others refused to face up to reality.... The season of Struggle is our season. It was facilitated by the coordinating committee: Black Liberation Army.*

We are opposed to unprincipled class collaboration in our struggle for liberation, for unprincipled class collaboration can only weaken and dilute our struggle. On the other hand we uphold the principle of unity based on struggle around issues that relate to our peoples revolutionary development. The principle of unity on struggle does not remove our right to principled criticism of reactionary ideas and struggle with incorrect views.

The question of Black-white alliances is both a tactical and strategic question of policy, that can only be answered by given objective conditions and not by emotional reflex. Many brothers and sisters think that under no circumstances should we as black people enter into alliances with whites—These comrades consistently confuse alliance with bourgeois integration or they maintain that all whites are our enemy, and therefore to have any alliance with whites can only lead to co-optation of our forces. Still other arguments maintain that in Black-white alliances we will be “fronted off” and used for whites’ own benefit. Some argue these views ideologically, in that they believe that a method, ideological system, if invented by whites cannot be adapted to, modified and developed to serve black folks. It is a good thing Mao, Ho Chi Minh, Amilcar Cabral, Kim Il Sung and a host of other revolutionaries who led successful struggles did not think with such blinders.

The root cause of such incorrect views of alliances with whites is “fear” and lack of confidence in the forces that we ourselves build. We as a people are not at all used to dealing with white folks from a position of power and we fear that we will be manipulated against our will. Another contributing factor in creating our narrow perspectives is the fact that because we lack a clear understanding of class struggle we are unable to see the real differences that exist among whites themselves, and are unable to exploit these differences for our own struggle. Nothing is absolute, including white folks and their alleged unity. To persist in the incorrect view that whites are all embracing in their unity among other whites is a stupid and childish myth that we have as a people—It is a confusion an oppressed people make when confronted with a seemingly all powerful system of oppression. We have confused the appearance of the system with its substance. In capitalist society class struggle, inter-group antagonism, ethnocentric divisions, are all at the basis of such a system. Competition is the order of the day, and class unity, group unity, are all-transitory, subject to change at any given moment. The historical fact that out of such conflict racism has evolved as culturally typical of all of white society should not obscure the

real differences among whites based on economic, social, and political position. We combat racism with revolutionary nationalism and a Black revolutionary united front, not with reactionary nationalism and racism. We combat economic exploitation with revolutionary class struggle waged against the capitalist class and (their flunkies. These are the methods the movement should employ, revolutionary nationalism secures in our own hands our movement for self-determination, and thus combats the historical dynamic of white racism, while revolutionary class struggle allows us to defeat our class oppressor and enter into alliances beneficial to us.

Revolutionary struggle is a process, and like all things go through stages of development, setbacks, and periods of dormancy, at one point uniting seemingly contradictory elements, and at another eliminating these elements. The principles of united fronts, principled alliances, are basic recognition of this dialectical process of social change. Alliances based on revolutionary class-consciousness and around our national interest as a people can never be “integration”. Integration is a class collaboration of an unprincipled and reactionary nature, for it is based primarily on racial considerations, whereas alliances based on the revolutionary considerations of our struggle must be principled ones, its principle characteristic being our own working class interest as a people.

Does this mean Black-white worker solidarity at any cost? Black-white worker solidarity cannot be attained at any cost, but at a particular cost. We do not agree with white leftist revisionists that Black and white workers share the same interest because they are both workers. While this may be true on a tactical level (specific struggles around certain issues) it is not true on a strategic level. Strategically speaking (long range) the Black workers ultimate goal is the same as the masses of blacks, which is toward national self-determination as a people, the creation of a socialist state, or Black nation places different requirements on the Black worker—our move is for autonomy—our working must not exist for any other state but our own. Whereas, the white worker has a historical obligation to create his own social relationships—The cultural, and social dynamics of racism mandates this distinction if we are not to fall victim to powerlessness in the future when capitalist relations are abolished. National self-determination is therefore a necessary stage for both blacks and whites in creating new human beings able to relate to each other. Thus Black worker-white worker solidarity can only be a tactical policy, not a complete strategy having as its end one socialist entity as the revisionists would have us believe. Recognition of our right to

national self-determination is not compromised when we clearly understand our tasks as a movement.

On the armed front, solidarity is based upon revolutionary action. We recognize the legitimacy of all revolutionary violence against the capitalist corporate state, its ruling classes, and its institutions. Militarily speaking, clandestine alliances between different revolutionary armed formations is a matter of coordinating command first. Until such time as the armed front develops its logistical machinery in depth such coordination of command is unlikely. But for the Black liberation movement, its armed front and its entire clandestine network, there is no hang up concerning ideological or military control of our struggle by whites. Organized armed struggle has freed us of this fear so typical on the mass front. Our formations are Black led, controlled, and organized to win our fight for liberation.

The Black liberation movement must be a principled and revolutionary movement, or it will be unable to lead our struggle for freedom forward to final victory. The question of Black-white alliance is not a question of should we form such alliances, but a question of when and with whom. To consider any tactical alliances that are in our own best interests, and that strengthen our struggles position as “integrationist” is therefore an incorrect view. To ally oneself with something is not to necessarily bring that thing into your ranks and give it control over your political policy. We refute all ideas that confuse principled revolutionary unity with unprincipled class collaboration.

In closing it is clear that there is still much to be learned, and our movement will surely encounter difficulties and setbacks in the coming years. We must prepare ourselves, our people, and our ideas for the long and difficult road ahead. Our preparation must be thorough and complete, for our very existence will depend on how well we prepare on all fronts of the struggle. We are in the turbulent years, the hard years. Black people and oppressed peoples throughout the world are entering the season of struggle.

## THE SOONER BEGUN, THE SOONER DONE!

# LOOKING AT THE WHITE WORKING CLASS HISTORICALLY

David Gilbert (born October 6, 1944) Is a radical activist that started out working with SDS then later with the Weather Underground. After eleven years underground, he was arrested in 1981, along with members of the Black Liberation Army and other radicals, after they killed two police officers and a security guard in the course of an armored car robbery. Gilbert was tried and convicted for his part in their deaths and is now serving a 75 years-to-life sentence for his role in the robbery.

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BY DAVID GILBERT

September 18, 1984

One of the supreme issues for our movement is summed-up in the contradictions of the term “white working class”. On one hand there is the class designation that should imply, along with all other workers of the world, a fundamental role in the overthrow of capitalism. On the other hand, there is the identification of being part of a (“white”) oppressor nation.

Historically, we must admit that the identity with the oppressor nation has been primary. There have been times of fierce struggle around economic issues but precious little in the way of a revolutionary challenge to the system itself. There have been moments of uniting with Black and other Third World workers in union struggles, but more often than not an opposition to full equality and a disrespect for the self-determination of other oppressed peoples. These negative trends have been particularly pronounced within the current era of history (since WW2). White

labor has been either a legal opposition within or an active component of the U.S. imperial system.

There have been two basic responses to this reality by the white left. 1) The main position by far has been opportunism. This has entailed an unwillingness to recognize the leading role within the U.S. of national liberation struggles, a failure to make the fight against white supremacy a conscious and prime element of all organizing, and, related to the above, a general lack of revolutionary combativeness against the imperial state. More specifically, opportunism either justifies the generally racist history of the white working class and our left or romanticizes that history by presenting it as much more anti-racist than reality merits. 2) Our own tendency, at its best moments, has recognized the leading role of national liberation and the essential position of solidarity to building any revolutionary consciousness among whites. We have often, however, fallen into an elitist or perhaps

defeatist view that dismisses the possibility of organizing significant numbers of white people—particularly working class whites.

There is very little analysis, and even less practice, that is both real about the nature and consciousness of the white working class and yet holds out the prospect of organizing a large number on a revolutionary basis. This fissure will not be joined by some magical leap of abstract thought – either by evoking classical theories of class or by lapsing into cultural or biological determinism. We must use our tools of analysis (materialism) to understand concretely how this contradiction developed (historically). But an historical view can not be static. In seeing how certain forces developed, we must also look (dialectically) at under what conditions and through what means the contradiction can be transformed.

In this review, I want to look at three historical studies that contribute to the needed discussion: 1) Ted Allen's two essays in *White Supremacy* (a collection printed by Sojourner Truth Organization); 2) W.E.B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction* (New York: 1933) 3); J. Sakai, *Settlers: The Mythology of the White Proletariat* (Chicago: 1983) C) J. Sakai's *Settlers: The Mythology of the White Proletariat*

While Allen and DuBois focus on specific periods, Sakai sketches the whole time from the first European settlement to the current time. Also, Sakai examines the relationship of the white proletariat to Native Americans, Mexicanos, and Asians, as well as to the Black nation.

This, of course, is quite a scope to cover in one book. Sakai starts from an explicit political perspective: what is called the "United States" ... "is really a Euroamerican settler empire, built on colonially oppressed nations and peoples..." In this light, a lot is revealed about U.S. history that is not only quite different from what we learned in school but that also debunks interpretations generally put out by the white left.

Even for those of us who think we understand the white supremacist core of U.S. history, reading *Settlers* is still quite an education. To take one stark example, when the Europeans first arrived there were an estimated 10 million Natives in North America. By 1900, there were only 300,000. Sakai also critiques the white supremacist nature of movements mythologized by the left such as Bacon's

Rebellion, Jacksonian Democracy, and the struggle for the 8 hour work day. Sakai shows that integral to most advances of "democratic" reform for white workers was an active consolidation of privileges at the expense of colonized

### **THIRD WORLD PEOPLES.**

In covering such a range, there are some points of interpretations that could be questioned. Overall it is a very revealing and useful look at U.S. history. For this review, I just want to look at one period, the 1930's. Then we also will examine the overall political conclusions that Sakai draws.

The Depression of the 1930's was a time of intensified class struggle, the building of the CIO,[ 6 ] the famed sit-down strikes such as Flint, the height of the Communist Party USA. The CIO of this period has often been praised by leftists as exemplary in including Black workers in its organizing drive.

Sakai sees the essence of the period as the integration of the various European immigrant minorities into the privileges of the settler nation (white Amerika). In return, as U.S. imperialism launched its drive for world hegemony, it could depend upon the armies of solidly united settlers (including the whole white working class) serving imperialism at home and on the battlefield. The New Deal ended industrial serfdom and gave the European "ethnic" national minorities integration as Americans by sharply raising their privileges – but only in the settler way: in government regulated unions loyal to U.S. imperialism.

Where the CIO organized Black workers it was utilitarian rather than principled. By the 1930's Black labor had come to play a strategic role in 5 industries (usually performing the dirtiest and most hazardous jobs at lower pay): automotive, steel, meat packing, coal, railroads. Thus, in a number of industrial centers, the CIO unions could not be secure without controlling Afrikan (Black) labor. "The CIO's policy, then, became to promote integration under settler leadership where Afrikan labor was numerous and strong (such as the foundries, the meat packing plants, etc.) and to maintain segregation and Jim Crow in situations where Afrikan labor was numerically lesser and weak. Integration and segregation were but two aspects of the same settler hegemony." (p.86)

At the same time, it was CIO practice to reserve the skilled crafts and more desirable production jobs for white (male)

workers. For example, the first UAW/GM contract that resulted from the great Flint sit-down strike contained a "noninterchangeability" clause which in essence made it illegal for Black workers to move up from being janitors or foundry workers. Such policy came on the heels of Depression trends that had forced Blacks out of the better jobs. Between 1930-1936 some 50% of all Afrikan skilled workers were pushed out of their jobs.

Roosevelt's support of the CIO came from a strategy to control and channel the class struggle. A significant factor in the success of the 1930's union organizing drives was the government's refusal to use armed repression. No U.S. armed forces were used against Euro-American workers from 1933-1941.[ 7 ]

This policy was in marked contrast to, for example, the attack on the Nationalist party in Puerto Rico. In 1937, one month after President Roosevelt refused to use force against the Flint sit-down strike, U.S. police opened fire on a peaceful nationalist parade in Ponce, Puerto Rico. Nineteen Puerto Rican citizens were killed and over 100 wounded. While leftists committed to organizing of the 30's might want to bring in different examples and argue Sakai's interpretations, I think that overall subsequent history of the CIO has been clear: it has both reinforced white monopolies on preferred jobs and has been a loyal component of U.S. imperial policy abroad.[ 8 ]

What conclusions about the white working class can we draw from this history? Sakai takes a definite and challenging position. *Settlers* is addressed, internally, for discussion among Third World revolutionaries. Still, it is important for us to grapple with its politics and to apply those lessons to our own situation and responsibilities.

Sakai's general view of the history is that the masses of whites have advanced themselves primarily by oppressing Third World people – not by any means of class struggle. Also that for most[ 9 ] of U.S. history the proletariat has been a colonial proletariat, made up only of oppressed Afrikan, Indian, Latino and Asian workers. On top of this basic history, U.S. imperial hegemony after WW2 raised privileges to another level. "Those expansionist years of 1945-1965... saw the final promotion of the white proletariat. This was an en masse promotion so profound that it eliminated not only consciousness, but the class



itself.” (p.147)

Thus, for Sakai, there is an oppressor nation but it doesn't have a worker class, at least not in any politically meaningful sense of the term. To buttress this position Sakai, 1) discusses the supra-class cultural and ideological unification in the white community; 2) points to the much higher standard of living for white-Americans; and 3) presents census statistics to indicate that whites are predominantly (over 60%) bourgeois, middle class and labor aristocracy. Here, Sakai enumerates class based solely on white male jobs in order to correct for situations where the woman's lower status job is a second income for the family involved. This method, however, fails to take account of the growing number of families where the woman's wages are the primary income. The methodological question also relates to the potential for women's oppression to be a source for a progressive current within the white working class.

In a way, Sakai puts forward a direct negation of the opportunist “Marxist” position that makes class designation everything and liquidates the distinction between oppressed and oppressor nation.

Sakai's survey of U.S. history understates the examples of fierce class struggle within the oppressor nation which imply at least some basis for dissatisfaction and disloyalty by working whites. Still, these examples – defined primarily around economic demands and usually resolved by consolidation of privileges relative to Third World workers – can not be parlayed into a history of “revolutionary class struggle”.

Class consciousness can not be defined solely by economic demands. At its heart, it is a movement toward the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. “Proletariat internationalism” – solidarity with all other peoples oppressed and exploited by imperialism – is a necessary and essential feature of revolutionary class consciousness. In our condition, this requires up front support for and alliance with the oppressed nations, particularly those within the U.S. (Black, Mexicano, Native). Thus white supremacy and class consciousness can not peacefully co-exist with each other. One chokes off the other. An honest view of the 350 year history clearly shows that the alignment with white supremacy has predominated over the revolutionary class consciousness.

Furthermore, the culture of a more or

less unified, supra-class, white supremacist outlook is also a very important factor. That culture is a reflection of a common history as part of an oppressor nation; it also becomes a material force in perpetuating that outlook and those choices. Common culture is a format to organize even those whites with the least material stake in white supremacy.

All the above considerations, however, do not provide a complete class analysis. There are other aspects of people's relationship to the mode of production which are important. A central distinction is between those who own or control the means of production (e.g., corporations, banks, real estate) and families who live by wages or salaries, i.e., by working for someone else. Those who live by the sale of labor power have little control or access to the basic power that determines the purpose of production and the direction of society as a whole. In the best of times, most white workers may feel comfortable; in periods of crisis, the stress might be felt and resolved on qualitatively different lines within the oppressor nation (e.g., which class bears the costs of an imperialist war or feels the brunt of economic decline). Even among whites, those who aren't in control have a basic interest in a transformation of society. It may not be expressed in “standard of living” (goods that can be purchased) as much as in the quality of life (e.g., war, environment, health, and the impact of racism, sexism, decadence). Crises can bring these contradictions more to the surface, expressing the necessity to reorganize society.

In my view there definitely is a white working class. It is closely tied to imperialism; the labor aristocracy is the dominant sector, the class as a whole has been corrupted by white supremacy; but, the class within the oppressor nation that lives by the sale of their labor power has not disappeared. This is not just an academic distinction; under certain historical conditions it can have important meaning.

A dialectical analysis goes beyond description to look at both the process of development and the potential for transformation. This is the great value of the Ted Allen essays. They show how white supremacy was a conscious construction by the ruling class under specific historical conditions. This implies that, under different historical conditions, there also can be a conscious deconstruction by oppressed nations, women, and the working class.

Our analysis has to look for potential historical changes and movement activity that could promote revolutionary consciousness within the white working class.

In approaching such an analysis, we must guard against the mechanical notion that economic decline will in itself lessen racism. The lessons from DuBois' description of the “anti-draft” riots of the 1860's (as well as our experience over the last 20 years) shows the opposite to be true. Under economic pressure, the spontaneous tendency is to fight harder for white supremacy. While the absolute value of privilege might decrease, the relative value is usually increasing as Third World people abroad and within the U.S. bear the worst hardships of the crisis. The white workers closest to the level of Third World workers can be the most virulent and violent in fighting for white supremacy.

Rarely have major sectors of the white working class been won over to revolutionary consciousness based on a reform interest. Imperialism in ascendancy has been able to offer them more bread and butter than the abstraction of international solidarity. But a more fundamental interest could emerge in a situation where imperialism in crisis can't deliver and where the possibility of replacing imperialism with a more humane system becomes tangible.

**CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS CAN NOT BE DEFINED SOLELY BY ECONOMIC DEMANDS. AT ITS HEART, IT IS A MOVEMENT TOWARD THE REVOLUTIONARY OVERTHROW OF CAPITALISM.**