

LOVE AND RAGE

a revolutionary anarchist newsmagazine

\$1

Vol.2 No. 7

sección en español

August 1991

NEWS

Interview With Sendero Verde, Cuba's Green Opposition Page 4
(Castro last seen clutching a copy of Love and Rage...)

CASTRO DEAD OF HEART ATTACK



Post Paid
U.S. Postage
PAID
New York, NY
Permit No. 6555

Anti-Racist
Action In
East St. Paul

Page 3

National
Movements In
Yugoslavia

Page 6

ANARCHIST
PRISONER
MARTIN
FORAN
ESCAPES!

(SEE NOTES OF REVOLT)

PO Box 3
Prison St.
Queens
NY, NY
110012

Letters

Purpose Pragmatism and Privilege

Dear Love and Rage:

As an AIDS activist who is probably more an anarchist than anything else, I'd like to share some comments about the June/July analysis of ACT UP.

First, I value any approach which, like the *Love and Rage* issues I've seen, has no sacred cows. Our movement can only benefit from that approach. I especially value Ms. Highleyman's point that what we used to call participatory democracy is directly related to group size. This point, which I've seen nowhere else, deserves a place with Robert Michels' point that oligarchy (i.e. hierarchy) is directly related to the division between leaders and followers in any group [in Michels, *Political Parties*].

Of the many other important points in the ACT UP analysis, I would like to examine two here. One is that "ACT

UP and similar groups cannot be considered an anarchist ideal." I think it's generally understood that ACT UP was not set up as an anarchist ideal, but to develop an effective response to the AIDS crisis. ACT UP members see a situation where rapidly growing numbers of people are dying as an emergency. In an emergency we do whatever works to enhance and save lives. Whether that action fits an anarchist or other model of social organization is another, and in these terms, theoretical question.

This of course is our old friend American Pragmatism, still the dominant paradigm of thought and action in the US (C. Wright Mills, who rode a motorcycle to work at Columbia, wrote one of the few examples of pragmatist self-criticism, *Sociology and Pragmatism*.) As Ms. Highleyman pointed out in the opening session of the Minneapolis [*Love and Rage*, June 1991] conference, critical analysis which points to concrete alternative models (in this case of anarchist organization) is often what best makes the point of that analysis - American Pragmatism again. In other words: show us a better way to work.

The other point is, at least to this Gay man, more serious. In comparing the various communities in the US affected by AIDS, the ACT UP article states what is becoming a common theme on the left: that while "this [the Gay] community [has] relatively high levels of education, skills, and resources," others "(communities of color, IV drug users, women)...have historically faced discrimination and

oppression...have less faith in the political and medical establishment and less to lose by challenging it."

To most people in my community (who are not anarchists or leftists of any kind), this would sound like a modified version of the right-wing attack on the "Gay lobby." To others, it is the separation of Gays from other groups which "have historically faced discrimination and persecution" that is most disturbing. Just as with racism, sexism, or any belief system legitimizing oppression, a significant element of heterosexism is to deny the existence, or minimize the effects, of the oppression of Gays.

The specific assertion that, compared to these other groups, Gays have "relatively high levels of education, skills, and resources," is not and never has been substantiated. For many Gay men, it is an unpleasant echo of what was said in Weimar Germany about Jews. It is for that reason, if no other, that this assertion must be challenged.

When, as in this case, it comes from within the Lesbian/Gay community, it may well be related to tensions within that community. In our Queer caucus discussion, one member stated her perception that Gay men dominate Lesbian/Gay organizations, and have more resources than Lesbians. I have heard Gay men say the same thing in reverse.

To the extent that these tensions are the real basis for assertions about the "privilege" of Gays relative to communities of color, IV drug users, and women, this separate question needs

to be raised and dealt with directly in that community. When it is not, it will, as it has in this case, influence judgments and analyses of other issues (e.g. AIDS activism) to the detriment of all concerned.

No oppressed group, including Gays, needs any more enemies than it already has. I would urge all of us, whatever our community, to examine our assumptions about others, and to develop an analysis which, while having no sacred cows, does not perpetuate the very conditions it seeks to transform.

Eric L. Sambach
Minneapolis, MN

Love and Rage is created by the Love and Rage Network, a group of supporters who are in general agreement with the *Love and Rage* Political Statement and contribute time, money, and energy to *Love and Rage*. Major decisions and overall policy are made when all the supporters gather for a conference — roughly once a year. Less major interim decisions (consistent with decisions of the conference) are made by a Network Council of people from many regions that meets at least once between conferences. Any group with a genuine interest in the project may send 2 voting delegates to Network Council meetings. Decisions requiring faster action (consistent with decisions of the conference and the Network Council) are made by an elected Coordinating Group which consults the Production Group (PG) by phone and mail. Day to day decisions are made by the PG, resident in New York City, where the paper is published. In some cities and regions, *Love and Rage* supporters have organized themselves to cooperate in support of the paper on the local level and they sometimes plug into the rest of the network through their group or collective. Other supporters work alone.

Most *Love and Rage* supporters are active in efforts to change the world above and beyond publishing *Love and Rage*. Supporters are involved in a broad range of local groups and non-groups, publications of various sorts, and issue networks and organizations that work nationally and internationally, and they often write about their activities in *Love and Rage*.

The *Love and Rage* Network is not a closed circle of friends. If you are in general agreement with the Political Statement and are comfortable pledging your time, energy, or money to our joint effort, you can become part of the network and participate fully in the decision making process. Ask the person who sold or gave you the paper, or write to:

Love and Rage
Box 3, Prince St. Station
New York, NY 10012
(212) 925 7966

Coordinating Group

Audrey, Minneapolis, MN
Brent, Dayton, OH
Brian, Williamstown, MA
Dan, New York, NY
Gustavo, Miami, FL
Jacynthe, Hull, Québec
Johnnie, Atlanta, GA
Kieran, Minneapolis, MN
Laurie, Chicago, IL
Liz, Boston, MA
Matt, Facilitator, New York, NY
Lisa, Co-Facilitator, Brooklyn, NY

Production Group:

Wendy, Rachel, Matt, Lisa, Gwendolin, Gene, Demo, Erica, Dan, Dave, Ita, Jane, Chris, Christopher, Chris, Bob, Ashley, Keri, Ed

Translations:

Alvaro, Gustavo, Nino, Eugenio

We try to go to press by the second week-end of each month, so we ask that submissions be in the office by the first of the month. We try to mail the issues by the third week-end of each month, though that is often not possible because we don't have the money. If you are having trouble getting the paper please call the office.

Boring Disclaimer:

Look. Articles, letters, Notes of Revolt, and other things printed in *Love and Rage* do not necessarily represent the views or opinions of the Production Group, Coordinating Group, Network Council, Conference or anyone involved in the *Love and Rage* Network. We print a variety of articles for a variety of reasons, including articles we don't agree with because but because we believe they are interesting or provocative. So there.



Satisfaction Guaranteed

Dear Anarchist,

I hope you are well there.
I am fine.

Well, I am well aware of America's (as in the USA) shortcomings, but, as we say here in Texas Prisons for something we favor "I will ride with her until the wheels fall off, and then I'll carry her to the mechanic." The mech. at Democracy serv. stations.

Please discontinue your mailings to me. I thank you for your generosity.

Be Well,
Gerry S.

Towels, Socks, Gentrification...

Having attended the *Love and Rage* organizational conference in Minneapolis, I have some final comments about the political statement. I am of the opinion that the paper doesn't need a

political statement. Besides beating our heads against a wall to iron out the statement and wasting countless hours debating the revisions, the statement only lists those issues brought up at the conference and in no way could ever list every form of oppression that anarchist thought opposes. Some important areas forgotten about: what of the oppression of disabled persons, or what of ageism? or how about "Love and Rage is anti-gentrification?" There are countless other issues that could be discussed, but the actual reason that I wrote was animal rights. I pretty much became an anarchist through the issue of animal rights and privilege of one species over another. The old political statement had a section that was a catch-all of animal rights, ecology, and nature. The proposed new section now only talks about ecology, and the few words addressing animal rights have been lost in the shuffle. From

what I understand, during the next months *Love and Rage* will revise and update the political statement, so I hope this issue won't be overlooked again. Who knows, maybe someday *Love and Rage* can publish their complete "laundry list" of pros and antis and call it "The Dos and Don'ts of Anarchy the Official *Love and Rage* Party Line."

Chuck Snyder,
Cincinnati, OH

Marxists Don't Cut the Mustard

Love and Rage,

I recently read one of your papers and I liked it. I've been an Anarchist all my life, I just didn't know it. Please send me a subscription free of charge, I am a poor Political Prisoner. I had been reading marxist papers, but they just don't cut the mustard. Freedom begins where the state ends!

Cordially,
George W.

ARA CONFRONTS RACISM IN EAST ST. PAUL

BY JEAN MARC

OVER 300 ANTI-RACISTS gathered for a rally and march through the East Side neighborhood of St. Paul, Minnesota on June 22. Organized by Anti-Racist Action (ARA), a democratic coalition of anarchists, anti-racist skinheads, lesbians, bisexuals and gay men, the march proved to be a huge empowering success. Prompted by the rise in racist attacks and organized white supremacist groups such as the White Aryan Resistance, the Ku Klux Klan, and racist Christian Identity preachers, Anti-Racist Action refused to allow this dangerous organizing to continue unexposed and unchallenged.

After some great music and a few inspiring speeches by folks who had helped organize the event, the microphone was given up to residents of the East Side who attended. Residents who spoke talked of their disgust at the blatant racism and racist violence happening in the community, and their desire to find a way to peacefully co-exist with the Black, Asian, and white families who are trying to forge a home in St. Paul.

Although a few racist goons were walking around casing the event to get an idea of its strength and viability, and about six carloads of white supremacists were watching from side streets, the decentralized leadership structure decided to proceed with the march through the racists' "stomping" grounds. Almost immediately the march spilled into the street, all the while chanting "The East Side's for everyone, put the Nazi's on the run!" and "No Nazi's, No KKK, No Fascist USA!" When we came up to a major business intersection, it seemed almost second nature to just take the four-lane street — the energy of this crowd would not be abated! Even though the cops were sweating at having no idea what we were going to do next, they were

relatively tame. I guess the St. Paul police aren't as well versed in indiscriminately cracking heads as the Minneapolis cops, because they left us alone on the whole. (Nice guys, those police.)

ARA was well aware of the risk of violent attacks from the racists, as well as the fundamental lack of protection from the police if this did occur, so an intricate and refreshingly decentralized system of internal security was developed. Our plan was to refuse verbal confrontation with any Nazis who might show up (and a tip from Mr. Tom Metzger himself let us know that many California boneheads might be sent our way (!!!), though none actually showed up) yet also unflinchingly defend the march from any attacks by the white supremacist knuckleheads. Although the security system can be worked on for better intercommunication and efficiency, it nonetheless served its purpose extremely well, as shown when several Neo-Nazi boneheads from W.A.R. Youth showed up to provoke the march with taunts of "White Power," "race traitors" (yay!), and goose-stepping to "Seig Heil." They looked pathetically insignificant when twenty-five of the security team went towards the back, ready to protect the march from any attacks. They graciously refused.

On the whole the racists were ignored and we continued the march, winding through the predominantly Black section of the East Side. Families came out of their houses to join in with the rhythmic chants of "Hey Hey Ho Ho, Racism (or Racist Scum, depending on your politics) Has Got To GO!" As I glanced towards the front of the march, I noticed a young African-American girl's face light up and she began to chant, while proudly carrying a placard that announced "Queers

Bash Back." I realized who the march was for — not the white reactionaries in the community (although a large aspect of the march campaign was focused on conveying ARA's intent for the march to the white community, as well as articulating a broad-based analysis of racism and racist extremism), but rather to lend support and show solidarity with the people directly affected by racist violence. The empowerment of feeling a sense of solidarity with the Blacks, Chicana/o, and Asian communities was overwhelming.

This rally and march was three months in the planning, and utilized quite different tactics and strategy than what is usually employed by anarchists, socialists, and radical peace and justice activists in the Twin Cities. The extra time allowed for an extensive propaganda blitz with leaflets, posters, a news flash in a city-wide "alternative" newspaper, as well as leafletting and distributing informational pamphlets at the premiere of the documentary on the racist revolutionary right, *Blood in the Face*. This event, in particular, proved to be an excellent forum for conveying ARA's politics and plans for a march, as after seeing such a scary and painfully real film, many people talked of being unsure of how to combat this rising menace.

The campaign on the East Side was the most innovative however. A fairly thorough educational pamphlet was put together and distributed door-to-door on parts of the march route, which allowed for face to face discussion, as well as the opportunity to gauge support from the community. As it turned out, Black youth directly affected by the violence, supported the march, as did some white anti-racist citizens. An extensive anti-racist spray-painting campaign was also begun in the East Side (although

it received some slack for being callous and disrespectful to the community — an important criticism to look at). ARA also has been engaged in an all-out surveillance of the members and leaders of racist and Neo-Nazi groups within the Twin-Cities and has amassed an impressive amount of information. We also attended two separate district Community Councils in the East Side to inform them of the march and whip up support. We were met coolly at the first, but at the second they were tremendously impressed with the work put into the march, as well as the professionalism of the anti-racist information packet, and we were lent their support and encouraged to persist in our struggle.

The following day's articles in the local mainstream press were, despite some biased (of course) reporting, nonetheless fairly thorough. After two lukewarm front-page Sunday articles in the mainstream press, the *piece de resistance* was an Op/Ed article the following Wednesday which avowed the need for "unified action" and celebrated ARA's role in bringing the racist violence and organizing to the surface. Effective organizing can bring about positive change, as long as it is creative and unceasing in its commitment. ARA now is committed to following through with organizing on the East Side, and we have been offered offices to hold meetings in. We have also been given the free production services of two people who work at the local cable access channel so that we can air an anti-racist cable show that might help to combat Race and Reason's racist messages.

The march introduces new ways of attacking racism and organizing the support necessary for the dismantling of racism within affected communities themselves, rather than just white people organizing a demo and expect-

ing people of color to support it. This itself is no new tactic, as many liberal white groups try to create change using this idea. Their problem is that they don't get their hands dirty. They are conveniently supported by status quo state mechanisms, and haven't won the confidence and respect of disaffected communities of color. It takes being in the streets to threaten those in power into beginning to understand the extent of racism and authoritarian imperialism. There are, however, many grassroots community groups of color who fight against racism, and it is of utmost importance to lend support, and respect their leadership. Instead of only asking them to "join in" on our marches and rallies, we must find those groups that share a revolutionary perspective and offer our support in destroying racism. White people must also commit to discussing and educating about racism with white people, as we are familiar with white culture and have larger inroads in those communities.

We are at a critical time within US history. With the Civil Rights gains being rolled back piece by liberal piece, as well as the recent overturning of sanctions against South Africa, and the rulings against access to free legal abortions and the current "gag" rule, we are threatened with the return to an ultra-conservative, and ultimately proto-fascist American State. With such a powerfully repressive apparatus in place, it is of utmost importance for current revolutionaries to use any and all means of countering this turn towards right wing conservatism. This means hard fucking work and realizing the necessity of using creative ways to counteract the spectacular lies fed to people. Some ideas might be to organize a

(Continued on page 9)

Our Newly Revised Political Statement

Love and Rage Political Statement

Love and Rage is a monthly anarchist newspaper intended to foster revolutionary anti-authoritarian activism in North America and build a more effective and better organized anarchist movement. We will provide coverage of social struggles, world events, anarchist actions and cultures of resistance. We will support the struggles of oppressed people around the world for control over their own lives. Anarchy offers the broadest possible critique of domination, making possible a framework for unity in all struggles for liberation. We seek to understand the systems we live under for ourselves and reject any pre-packaged ideology. Anarchism is a living body of theory and practice connected directly to the lived experiences of oppressed people fighting for their own liberation. We anticipate the radical and on-going revision of our ideas as a necessary part of any revolutionary process.

Love and Rage is revolutionary.

We support the overthrow of all forms of authoritarian social relations and the creation of a society based on cooperation, solidarity and mutual aid. We recognize that social revolution can only be made by the oppressed majority of humanity in a movement that they control themselves. We support the use of whatever means are necessary to emancipate humanity and bring an end to the war, poverty, hunger and misery generated by the existing system. We support the use of diverse tactics in working toward a social revolution.

Love and Rage is anti-statism.

We oppose all states (governments) regardless of ideology. The purpose of the state is to maintain and regulate all forms of domination. The state has a monopoly on organized, legal violence: the police, military, and the prison system enforce the authoritarian organization of society. We oppose the immigration system and attempts to control the free movement of people across state borders. We believe that people can organize their own lives and communities. This self-organization can take care of any useful functions for which people now rely on the state.

Love and Rage is anti-capitalist.

We support all resistance to capitalist domination — resistance such as strikes, workplace struggles, squatting, rent strikes, and struggles for community control of resources. We desire the total transformation of production and consumption in a life-affirming, cooperative economy. It should be decentralized, equitable, fluid and experimental and controlled by those who participate in it.

Love and Rage is anti-racist.

We support the self-determination of all communities of color. We fight against white supremacy and work for the creation of societies that respect cultural diversity. We recognize the specific oppression of African-Americans from the time of slavery to the present. We fight for the liberation and self-determination of Black people in the US. We acknowledge that the basis for the current racist society was laid by means of genocide and forced assimilation of indigenous people. We

support the preservation of cultural traditions and land rights for Native Americans. We oppose anti-Jewish racism. We fight to expose cultural imperialism. We support self-determination for Québec and an end to the oppression of Francophones in North America. We organize against racist skinhead, Klan, Nazi and cop terror. We recognize and oppose the racism implicit in the economic, political and military domination and exploitation of the so called "third world." We are striving to create a society where people of all colors and ethnic backgrounds can feel safe, respected, and unthreatened by racism.

Love and Rage is anti-imperialist.

The society we fight for will celebrate the beauty of human diversity, honor the earth, and recognize the cultural and social contributions to the human community made by the planet's majority, people of color.

To create this society, humanity must overturn an existing one imposed on the planet by a minority through force — one that has enslaved the planet's majority for the enrichment of a few. This refers to all forms of state imperialism, not just domination by Western finance capital. *Love and Rage* supports the struggles by oppressed and exploited peoples for self-determination and freedom from domestic and foreign domination. We critically support the struggles of less powerful countries against imperialist bullying and control. This means dismantling all existing empires including the US federal state and the Soviet Union.

Love and Rage is anti-sexist.

We reject the patriarchy and fight for the empowerment, liberation and self-determination of all women. This includes unquestionable reproductive freedom and accessible woman-centered health care for all women. (And all means all!) We recognize that sexual violence and objectification of women are necessary to the continued functioning of the state. The state will not solve our problems. We celebrate women's strength and rejoice in our diversity and individuality.

Love and Rage supports Queer liberation.

We reject the compulsory heterosexuality of the patriarchal family and traditional sex roles and support attempts to foster a diversity of consensual human relationships and sexuality. This includes the liberation of bisexual, gay, lesbian, and transgender people.

Love and Rage is Anti-Ageist

The manifestations of ageism take many forms, from the oppression of youth to the problems of older people, all of whom are marginalized and alienated from this society. Our ideas for liberation are always developing and cannot be presented in a paragraph, but must be discussed in the paper as a whole and throughout our entire lives. This issue cannot be simplistically addressed, and will be dealt with in relevant articles on the AYF (Anarchist Youth Federation) Page and elsewhere.

Love and Rage is Eco-Anarchist

All forms of life are intertwined. We reject the myth that people exist outside the natural world. Instead, we see human life as an integral part of nature.

At the same time, we see all forms of social domination as thoroughly interconnected with ecological destruction. We know that if we want to stop the destruction of the planet we must also end all forms of domination that corrode social life.

Merely changing individual lifestyles or "greening" capitalism will not save the planet. Instead we must understand that it is corporate and state capitalism together with forms of domination such as patriarchy and racism that are responsible for the current ecological crisis.

An anarchist society must be ecological and an ecological society must be anarchistic.

This statement does not attempt to include all issues of concern to anarchists and anti-authoritarians nor does *Love and Rage* pretend to fully understand, or be fully united on, all issues. We do not purport to represent the full spectrum of diversity in the contemporary anarchist movement. We will not shy away from controversy. We will always seek the input of our readers and other activists in our efforts to advance both our own understanding and that of the movements we serve.

On Gogol Boulevard

BY BILL WEINBERG

The following interview is with Mercedes Paez and Orlando Polo of Cuba's Movimiento Eco-Pacifista Sendero Verde (Green Path Eco-Pacifist Movement) taped in April while they were visiting NYC on a U.S. tour.

Previously, OGB reported on Green Path's denouncement of the U.S. invasion of Panama (Love and Rage May '90).

With Cuba so much in the news, it's particularly timely to report on and support its alternative movements like Green Path, which refuse both Communism and Capitalism, while the "left" (such as the US Hands off Cuba Coalition) haplessly promotes its Fidel fetish and the "right" plans its invasions. The Cuban people get screwed either way.

Because of this, NYC-Neither East nor West, in cooperation with Latin American-Neither East nor West (Cuban and other Latin American emigres and exiles in Miami) has taken on solidarity with Green Path as one of our activities.

Our immediate concern is Orlando's and Mercedes' return to Cuba — they were warned by Cuban security "Not to return," meaning they face jail. If so, we'll know immediately and are ready to organize protests.

If you're interested in Green Path contact: Neither East nor West, 528 5th St., Brooklyn N.Y., 11215.

Bill Weinberg: When was Sendero Verde formed?

OP: We were officially founded on October 6, 1988. But before that, there were various other groups, generally without names, which participated in this kind of work. Ours is the first to band together under a title.

BW: How many members do you have?

OP: Actually, we have no official membership. We are not interested in numbers of members so much as in the quality of our activities. Because of the structure of Cuban society, it is impossible to have open membership.

BW: But how many people are active in the group?

OP: There were 18 founders in 1988. It was founded with a traditional pyramidal structure, with a president, a vice-president and various activist positions. But we later converted to a radial structure.

BW: A radial structure?

OP: A radius rather than a pyramid — a non-hierarchical structure, although I am still the leader among equals, I admit.

There are five people in the first cellular group, or directive. Each one of those five works with four people who each form sub-groups. This forms a derivative chain. Each of the members of the sub-groups can form new sub-groups of five members each, and the process can continue infinitely.

BW: How far has this process gone?

OP: Up to a fifth generation. There are now some twenty sub-groups. But keep in mind that they must always meet in a very informal situation, again because of the structure of Cuban society. The network exists throughout the whole country — not just in Havana. And each of the sub-groups has autonomy within the structure of Sendero Verde. No matter how remote each sub-group is from the nucleus, it reports back to the center, to work within a central program of a general character — an open and pluralistic program.

Why five elements? From a social point of view, five people can work together in equilibrium and harmony easiest. Also, for legal reasons — in Cuba, when more than five people gather together it is interpreted by the state security as being suspicious and attention is directed at the group. Of course, it depends on who is gathering together. If it is five people from the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution — no problem! But if it is five people from Sendero Verde or Comité por Derechos Humanos (Committee for Human Rights) — there is a problem.

BW: And what kind of response can you expect in terms of government surveillance or harassment?

OP: Well, the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution are assigned to every single block in the country and in the cities. And there are people who are in the confidence of State Security, who are informants. So any unusual meeting would be reported to the political police division of State Security.

BW: So when these groups of five get together, what do they talk about and plan?

OP: We have three fundamental areas of work. One is the area of *bio-cultura* — everything concerning the individual human being, biologically, psychologically and morally: food and nutrition, physical and mental health, human relationships and spiritual development.

SENDERISMO

BW: Have you explored alternative diets such as vegetarianism?

OP: Sendero Verde is a wide path, which contains many different aspects. Each element keeps its own identity within the group. But there is a common denominator, a point of convergence for all the elements — and this is called Green — the color of *naturaleza Cubana*. Cuba is very green, all around, all through the year. But Green also has a very important symbolic

power — it is the color of happiness, of hope. So the Green Path is the path of happiness and hope.

Mercedes Paez: And a part of this path is vegetarianism, and natural medicine, and spiritual traditions such as yoga, Buddhism, and certain alternative elements of Christianity.

OP: We follow a philosophical doctrine that we call Senderismo.

Senderismo is an eclectic doctrine. Mercedes and I have been vegetarians for six years, and there are many other vegetarians in Sendero Verde. But it is not mandatory — there is room for non-vegetarians in the group as well.

MP: We would welcome Communists into our group, but because of the orthodoxy which prevails in Cuba, Communists don't understand pluralism and aren't interested. We don't want to deny Communists the right to be Communists — but we cannot tolerate anybody denying us the right to believe what we believe.

BW: What is Sendero Verde involved in other than issues of personal lifestyle?

OP: The other two spheres are the sphere of nature and ecology, and the sphere of society — human rights, legal rights and economic rights. In each of these spheres there are groups which work on specific questions. We are working on designing the future society, drawing from the experience of living through both Capitalist and Communist societies. We are looking for a future which would combine the best of both systems, while also avoiding the fundamental errors of both systems.

MP: We also don't want a society like Sweden, where they seem to have the best of both systems, but also have a very high rate of suicide!

OP: We want a society where the individual can grow



Mercedes Paez (l) and Orlando Polo (r)

freely, but organically with everything else around it. But for this you have to work very hard. You have to work on the consciousness of the people. It is not enough to just have the political power. You have to educate the individual.

BW: What were you doing before Sendero Verde was formed, and how were you first introduced to these ideas?

MP: I was involved in sports, and therefore was very interested in physical health. I was a martial arts expert, and I was on Cuba's national karate team. I was Cuba's worldwide karate champion in 1979. My outlook on society changed with the Mariel boatlift in 1980, because of the acts of repudiation which were put upon anyone who manifested the idea of wanting to leave the country — massive mobs attacking people. Ironically, it was these sad events which made me change my lifestyle, and I became interested in spiritual growth through Zen Buddhism and vegetarianism. I began to see my karate study more as a discipline for personal growth rather than a combatant discipline for competition and fighting.

BW: Were there books available in Cuba at that time on Zen and vegetarianism?

MP: Only through foreigners, friends of diplomats, and, ironically, church groups. And also through people who had had those books hidden away from before the revolution.

Orlando was at that time organizing walks for peace and ecology through Cuba, and I heard of this through a friend and joined the group. And we met and immediately fell in love and got married within fourteen days. Since then, we have only been separated when the State Security police have pulled us apart!

BW: Has that happened?

OP: That has happened on many occasions. The first time was on the Walk for Peace and Life in 1985. October 1990 was the last time we were detained by State Security. We've been detained by State Security 34 times.

BW: On what charges?

OP: Possessing enemy propaganda, public disorder.

BW: Have these charges ever been brought to trial?

OP: No. They are only a tactic of intimidation. We are put in separate cell blocks, sometimes verbally threatened by the guards with lengthy prison terms. In August 1989 I was detained in Havana's psychiatric hospital. I was threatened with electro-shock, but because of international outcry they didn't do it. Lech Walesa in Poland spoke up, also President Felipe Gonzalez of Spain. I was fasting, but I am sure that if I had eaten there would have been drugs in the food.

BW: What is the longest that either of you have been detained?

Why have your cases never gone to trial? Due to outside pressure from the world community?

OP: The longest we have been imprisoned is two months — complete incommunicado. We are almost always kept in solitary confinement, and systematically interrogated. They use every type of psychological interrogation tactic. They view us as laboratory animals. We aren't the most subversive element, but we are convenient to experiment new intimidation techniques on. Every time there is a new technique, they pick up one of our group to try it out on.

BW: What techniques?

OP: Well, in our case, trying to get us to change our diet. They will give us a huge, juicy steak — which is not usually available for the general population, but they know that for us to eat it would be torture. Food they would not usually give to an ordinary prisoner, but to us it is offered! They will pretend as if no other food is available, and try to come across as if they are really concerned about our health. If we refuse to eat it, they tell us: "You are being too demanding, you are under arrest, this isn't your grandmother's house."

MP: Technically, the reason we have not yet been brought to trial is because we are not viewed as being counter-revolutionary. We do not consider ourselves counter-revolutionaries, and we try to work within the law. It is very difficult for them to brand us as terrorists or counter-revolutionaries. We are dissidents in many ways. But the real counter-revolutionaries are those who oppose pacifist ideas, a healthy environment, ecological politics. It is the government which is counter-revolutionary!

OP: Within the government there are people who are fighting for the betterment of Cuban society. But because of the system, it is very hard work. They are the silent voices which are trying to help us.

BW: What issues were you addressing in your walks for peace and ecology?

OP: On these marches, we organized meetings on the streets, which is very unusual for Cuba. We did unannounced conferences at civic centers throughout the country. We try to stay focussed on positive actions such as vegetarian festivals to educate people on diet and nutrition, or to plant trees or clean the streets. Yet many of these meetings have been attacked by the police. When we talk about trees and purely ecological issues — that's fine. But when we hit the point of anything that has to do with repression, or intolerance, that's when things get ugly. That's when we have to confront the police face-to-face. Which has occurred on many occasions. And when we react nonviolently, that bothers them, because they know they cannot reduce us to obedience by force. We embrace them, we actually shake their hands, in act of love. And that disarms them.

THE GREENING OF COMMUNISM?

BW: I have here the fall 1990 edition of San Francisco's Earth Island Journal. It includes an article by one Karen Wald [an American] which is fairly flattering to Fidel's environmental policy. She writes of an Areas Verde conference which was held in Havana last November. She writes: "Notably absent were members of Cuba's only opposition 'Green' group (and she puts 'Green' in quotes), Sendero Verde, an organization announced a few years ago by a wandering dissident named Orlando Polo. In 1988, Polo attended press conferences with some of Fidel Castro's more outspoken opponents, describing himself to the foreign press as an 'eco-pacifist'. If Sendero Verde actually exists, it missed a unique opportunity to make itself heard and felt among like-minded highly-placed individuals and organizations that attended this event."

MP: Well, we know Karen Wald. Let us speak very clearly — she is considered a "Friend of the Revolution," she lives in one of Havana's classiest neighborhoods, and as a foreigner she has many privileges which are denied to most Cubans.

OP: We did not attend the conference because we were not invited! This was an official event, and we have never been invited to any official event! These conferences are organized for government officials. We tried to get information on how to attend, but it wasn't possible. We don't know if this was done intentionally, or due to bureaucratic deficiencies. Frequently, if you are not a government official, you have to pay in U.S. dollars to attend these conferences. So they are not really open to the public, even if they appear to be from the outside.

Cuba's Green Opposition

Last September, there was a United Nations conference on crime held in Havana that we did try to attend. There was going to be a session on the idea of ecological destruction as a crime. We petitioned to human rights organizations all over the world, and after strenuous diplomatic efforts, we secured invitations for three of our representatives. But even with official permission to attend, we only made it as far as the front door of the conference when we were physically taken away by the security police. Obviously, we were not detained, because of the highly visible circumstances. Some of us made it past the guards into the conference merely by being inconspicuous and dressing the right way — then we made our presence known once we were inside, and did manage to speak to some of the human rights representatives from around the world before we were forcibly ejected. It was a sort of theater action.

BW: According to Wald's article, Cuba has a very enlightened environmental policy. She portrays an official policy swinging in favor of bicycle transport because of the oil cut-off from the Soviet Union. She reports that there is a new emphasis on traditional herbal medicine. Do you feel that this is the case?

OP: We don't deny that Fidel Castro's government is intending to produce a paradise on Earth. Our quarrel is with *how* they are going about it. They are trying to impose their paradise by force! There is force and intimidation to compel people to participate in the official movements. They don't allow any room for individual initiatives.

We proposed to the government a policy of promoting bicycle use to avoid environmental contamination in 1975. It was completely dismissed. Only when the conditions and pressures on society demanded the change, because of the petroleum shortage, did they ironically make this policy change.

BW: But the bicycle program does exist.

OP: It exists, but the new energy policy is a double-edged sword. For instance, they say the development of nuclear energy resolves the country's development projects, and actually helps preserve the ecological balance of the country. They say that nuclear power is "clean" energy.

How is it possible that a government like Cuba's, with an army of 250,000 active men and women on duty for a country of only 10 million people, which has taken over 57,000 Cuban men and women to the shores of Angola armed to fight—how can we believe that such a militarist society can follow a strictly pacifist path, especially as regards nuclear power? Cuba is not a signatory to the Treaty of Tlatelolco [which attempts to create a Latin American nuclear-free zone]. There is no control over nuclear development there.

BW: Do you actually suspect that Cuba is trying to develop a nuclear weapon?

MP: In Cuba it is impossible to even know what the military budget is, information is so closely controlled. OP: The first nuclear reactor is under construction right now, near Cienfuegos, with Soviet technology. It is scheduled to start functioning in 1992, but it will probably be postponed due to the withdrawal of Soviet technical teams. The Cuban government is now negotiating with Japan to complete the plant.

BW: Have there been any protests in Cuba against the construction of the nuclear plant?

OP: Only we have been able to protest this. Only we have protested against the war in Angola. We actually went to Cienfuegos to protest the plant on two occasions — in 1985 and in 1986. In August of 1986 we went with a group of students from the Superior Center of Art to do street theater displaying the dangers of nuclear power.

It was the time of the Cienfuegos carnival, and there was a conga line, with hundreds of people dancing in the street and beating on drums and tin cans. We joined the line and started singing out to the music and rhythm—only with our own songs and words, for peace, against war, and on anti-nuclear themes. People just repeated what we were singing, because it was part of the music, it was carnival! When the police realized what we were singing, they rushed into the crowd. They found us and beat us, and we were imprisoned for three days.

BW: Most leftists here in New York wouldn't have any problem with your anti-nuclear position, I would hope. But the perception on the left here is that the Cuban troops were on the right side of the war in Southern Africa.

OP: The correct place for Cuban troops is in Cuba, to protect the Cuban territory in case of a foreign aggression. But there is no reason for any Cuban soldier to leave the national territory for any war, no matter how just it may seem. Because justice in every country has to be defined by its own people, not by other countries. In our view, the Cuban army was acting as a mercenary force in Angola. And the proof of that is that the Cuban government actually charged Angola for the use of the Cuban troops. And, in fact, the Cuban troops were being indirectly paid by transnational oil companies which operate in Angola to protect the oil installations from [CIA-backed rebel Jonas] Savimbi's troops! It was done through clandestine channels — the Angolan government was the mediator.

time channels — the Angolan government was the mediator.

BW: Has there been any resistance to military conscription in Cuba?

MP: Military service in Cuba is usually for three years from your sixteenth birthday. If you offered to go to Angola, it was only for two years. This is the reason there was this outpouring of soldiers willing to go to Angola.

OP: When the draft was first instituted in 1964, thousands of young people resisted, and thousands were imprisoned in special camps—the UMAPs—*Unidades Militares de Ayuda a Produccion*, Military Units to Aid Production. They were the camps where homosexuals were also detained. And longhairs and people with religious tendencies, especially Jehovah's Witnesses.

MP: Presently there are still problems with the military conscription program — especially after the experience in Angola. Young people who served in the military are frustrated when they see Savimbi shake hands with [Angolan President] Dos Santos—there is a lot of resentment. People wonder what they were fighting for. In response, the government has reduced the time of military service to two years.

"We don't deny that Castro's ...intending to produce a paradise on Earth. Our quarrel is with *how*...They are trying to impose their paradise by force!"

... The government has told us that if we were to merely be *ecologists* and not *eco-pacifists*, we would be accepted. But we are not going to make any concessions so that we can be accepted by *them*.

OP: But we hope to work within the government system so as to transform it from the inside.

BW: Would you say that military service in Angola was unpopular?

OP: Military service has never been popular in Cuba. People comply simply to survive.

BW: What was the Ochoa trial really all about? [General Ochoa and a number of other military officers were tried June '89 for dope trafficking]

OP: Simply put, Ochoa was the leader of a group of people who believed in changing Cuba through military means — but a reform that was still within the realm of the left; not towards of Capitalism, but towards democratic socialism. Ochoa was a man very much loved by his troops, a true hero of the Angolan war. Even though we don't particularly admire this type of individual, we recognize this. We don't propose a violent change in Cuba — we want a pacifist change in Cuba.

BW: Towards what?

OP: Pluralism and democracy — but not the democracy of the United States: a democracy unique to the Cuban experience, with a different vision of the future, an ecological democracy.

BW: What about economy? Would you support a transition to capitalism?

OP: No. Capitalism is to us a dehumanizing force, and also archaic. It is time for a new philosophy. Capitalism is in a state of decomposition. There are certain human needs which the Capitalist system cannot satisfy. Capitalism is supposed to mean freedom, but it is obvious that people are not truly free here.

BW: Here in the US or in Cuba?

MP: People are not free in either place. In Cuba, there is no capitalism, but nor is there any socialism.

BW: Then what is there?

MP: In Cuba there is *Fidelismo*.

BW: But what does that mean? There seems to be a trend towards more openness and liberalization in Cuba at the moment, but simultaneously we've had arrests of human rights leaders and the Ochoa affair. So it seems that there's something contradictory going on.

OP: The Cuban government is simply instituting a bunch of cosmetic changes — let's be clear. The goal is simply to satisfy international demands and internal demands for change, but without ever really transforming the structure — the goal is simply to stay in power.

BW: But does this give you, as activists, more room to organize?

OP: Whatever room we have is based upon the creativity of our tactics.

OP: It is very interesting. This talk is in the political interests of both the *Fidelistas* and the anti-*Fidelistas*. The anti-Castroite establishment in Miami is controlled by people who are really interested that Fidel Castro stays in power — that there continues to be this

screaming and yelling and hysteria and yelling back and forth. If Fidel Castro falls, their whole anti-Castro power structure they have established in Miami falls with him! The United States is aware that Fidel Castro is not a Saddam Hussein or a Manuel Noriega. The threat of an invasion is not realistic.

BW: Do you see a post-Fidel Cuba on the horizon?

OP: Yes. The paternalistic and repressive tactics which have been used by the Cuban government for 30 years has engendered in the Cuban people a profound realization of the need for fundamental liberties developed independently and creatively, without appeasement to any authoritarian government.

BW: What about appeasing the CIA and the reactionary forces in the US which have been trying to topple Fidel for the past 30 years? What about the threat that some right-wing exiles from Miami could be installed in power after Fidel's departure?

OP: Make no mistake — it is going to be the Cubans in Cuba who are going to govern Cuba after Fidel. It's going to be different from the way the Cubans in Miami imagine it. Thirty years of revolution have not left the Cuban population untouched. The Cuban people will not accept these people who left the island to become wealthy returning only to exploit and oppress.

BW: What kind of support do you need from like-minded activists in the United States?

OP: We need more people to know that we exist. Sadly, we have to have our office here in the United States. We have an office in Miami, and we are hoping to establish offices in New York, Washington, and California.

BW: Could you talk a bit about the travel restrictions facing Cubans, and what pressures we can bring to liberalize them?

OP: We brought a project here to the United States called *Plan de Paz Giron 1991* — the Bay of Pigs Peace Plan 1991. The Bay of Pigs is a symbol of war, and this peace plan would end the long state of war between the two countries. We are demanding that the blockade of Cuba be lifted — lifted by *both* governments, because we recognize that there is an information blockade by the Cuban government as well as the economic blockade by the US. We are demanding a peace treaty between the two countries which will guarantee against any future invasion. We demand the resumption of full diplomatic relations between Cuba and the United States. And we demand the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Cuba — both the Soviets and the American troops at Guantanamo Naval Base.

BW: Now that the "Soviet Threat" is no longer a serviceable propaganda device to justify US intervention in Latin America, drug trafficking seems to be the new rationale which is emerging. Are figures in the Cuban government involved in drug running, or was the Ochoa affair just a convenient excuse for Fidel to eliminate a rival?

OP: In the Ochoa case, it was largely a political tactic. But there was a problem with drug smuggling within a small nucleus in the Interior Ministry. There are also some figures in the government who use drugs — mostly cocaine. And this is also something we are fighting against, in terms of government corruption — and we have accused particular functionaries within the Cuban government of this. Sadly, drug use is increasing in Cuban society, but mostly among the sons and daughters of government officials, because they are the only ones who have the means of obtaining drugs. There is also prostitution, which is not officially recognized, but is encouraged by certain sectors of the government to obtain dollars and information. These prostitutes engage in industrial and political espionage.

BW: What is the status of abortion in Cuba?

MP: It is like eating candy — it is completely accepted. This is not entirely good. Abortion is encouraged by the government if, for instance, a marriage is not going well. And often, couples cannot live together because of the acute housing shortage in Cuba. We believe that abortion is not something which should be denied, but it is not something which should be encouraged so freely by the government. Sex education and the availability of contraceptives is finally being taken seriously by the government in response to the AIDS crisis and an explosion of promiscuity in recent years.

BW: The Cuban policy of having AIDS patients quarantined has aroused a lot of controversy here in the US. We understand that there is mandatory AIDS testing in Cuba, and up to 500 people have been forcibly quarantined. But we also recognize that at least these people are receiving health care, and are arguably in better shape than thousands of AIDS patients in the US who are homeless or in prison or have no access to health care. So I'd like your opinion of the AIDS program in Cuba.

OP: We are opposed to the quarantine. We recognize the need for some type of control, but we think it should be done in a more humanistic way. There was a group at the prison in Combinado del Este which attempted to resist quarantine. The details were not made public but apparently there was some kind of disturbance.

YUGOSLAVERY

BY IVO SKORIC

THE ETHNIC GROUPS that constitute the modern federation of Yugoslavia never lived together in one country until 1918. Before then they lived on the borders of two feuding kingdoms — Croats and Slovenes were subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, while Serbs and Montenegrins were subjects of the Ottoman Empire. Borders between these greedy kingdoms often changed, with Croats and Serbs often playing the warrior's role for their imperial masters. Bloody wars, mourning over dead and wounded, orgiastic hate, thousands of refugees, and fearful violence were the mainstream of history for these ethnic groups.

Due to these circumstances Serbs and Croats are mixed over a wide territory. One example is in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Yugoslavian republic that Tito [the partisan leader who drove the Nazis out of Yugoslavia and went on to rule the country's Communist government], by shifting Bosnian Islam from a religion to an "ethnicity," set up after WW II to prevent the impending clash between Serbs and Croats, Croats live in the south-east close to Serbia, and Serbs live in the north-west, close to Croatia. Both Croatia and Serbia today claim rights on Bosnian territory. This history also made the Serbian and Croatian languages so close that there is virtually no difference today — these two languages are now together called Serbo-Croatian. The stubbornness of the Serbian and Croatian peoples and their backward Croatian-Catholic and Serb-Eastern Orthodox priests made the difference permanent: since 1054 AD Croats are writing using a Roman alphabet, and Serbs are still writing in Cyrillic.

The kingdom formed in 1918 of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was a very unsuccessful experiment that showed all the difficulties of organizing these ethnic groups to live under one flag. This small, primitive, bourgeois, authoritarian, kingdom was very similar to the kind of "governments" we saw in Africa after de-colonization. We have important signs to support this argument: martial law was quickly introduced by the king himself, people were persecuted because of their political thought, a leader of the Croatian opposition was killed in the Parliament in Belgrade, the Yugoslav king (a Serb) was shot by the Croatian Ustasha movement (an underground ultra-nationalist group) in Marseilles, the government sided with Hitler before the war, there was a successful coup

d'etat (supported by MI-6, British Intelligence) against this government, the king and his aides abandoned their people and hid in London before Hitler attacked Yugoslavia (certainly they took the treasury with them). In 1945 a new Yugoslavia was formed by Tito's partisans. He learned from the mistakes of the first Yugoslav state. The second Yugoslavia lasted longer and has disintegrated in more subtle ways.

Tito's Yugoslavia was a bolshevik kingdom. This was a clever answer to the ethnic strife. As a General Secretary of the Communist Party, Tito had all the power of a King of Yugo-

The war-spawned Communist Party didn't hesitate to use guns and tanks to force people to comply with this "great" idea. This is the reason I felt fear and angst when Ante Markovic, the current president of the Yugoslavian Federal Government, stated that "they (the Federal Government) will defend the constitution by all legal means," and then sent troops into Slovenia to crush the independence struggle. US Secretary of State James Baker actually okayed this. After all, why for god's sake would he oppose a country's Prime Minister when he so clearly wants to "protect his constitution?"



Croatian nationalists demonstrate in New York

slavia, but he wasn't representing any particular ethnic group. He was a Croat by origin, but he introduced himself always as a Yugoslav, as a Marxist, as a Communist, and as a Bolshevik.

Since the Bolsheviks had already successfully confronted ethnic nationalism, which they condemned as bourgeois, with "proletarian internationalism," Tito had fewer problems enforcing his dictatorship. Opponents were thrown in gulags, shot, vanished. Nationalism was the highest possible crime, much worse than rape, drugs or even murder.

I wonder if anybody asked him/herself what would happen if the Bolshevik ideology became one day so unpopular that there would be no one willing to enforce it by violence any more. I doubt it. But this is exactly what happened. Communist thought, as an idea to "free the working class by use of any available means," in praxis became a monster-thought that people survived as an idea "to forcibly move the river up the hill."

After that the world survived a juicy bloodbath in Slovenia, where the Yugoslav Army even used air-to-surface missiles and



Yugoslavian anarchist group, Autonomija, in Zagreb

combat aircraft against Slovene civilians. I hope it will inspire the young Slovenian painters from Irwin (who in 1986 won a commission to produce a poster for the Yugoslavian Communist

Youth Group, and simply replaced the swastikas of a 1940's Nazi poster with the emblems of communism), infamous for their "retrograde" art, to make an homage to the massacre in Gornja Radgona by the remake of Picasso's Guernica. The use of air attack in dealing with internal rebellion is, however, justified by the constitution in at least two countries: Yugoslavia and Iraq. Actually the US used combat aircraft once to stop coal-miner's rebellion in West Virginia (in the early 20th century). Constitutions can be very flexible. Maybe we do not always have to protect them.

There are also always and everywhere people like Vyshinsky (Stalin's chief prosecutor) or like Adolf Eichman who "are just doing their job," and who "just executed somebody's orders." But such people do not really have an ideology — they are more or less built of liquid metal like the T1000 Terminator (Schwarzenegger beware), so they will serve any ideology that will provide them with the secured corner where they will be allowed to "do their job." In Yugoslavia there are no more people who will fight for Yugoslavia. With Tito's death died the ideology of bolshevism. With the death of ideology died the only unifying element of Yugoslavia.

So, in the early 1980s the need for a new identifiable common factor in the ethical vacuum that arose after the total defeat of "communism" forced the most dissident intelligentsia to start speaking out politically. The rednecks, a traditional majority in all Yugoslav ethnic groups, having no patience to wait for that intelligentsia to find a new set of

attempt to establish a Yugoslav democratic opposition. This attempt was made too late (1988), and was opposed by the powerful Serbian bureaucracy. The Society for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative was banned in Belgrade. The Terminator people felt by their unfailing instinct that the establishment of a democratic government in Yugoslavia would mean their final, and not honorable, discharge. Terminators, acting as bolsheviks, made a lot of loud statements against "nationalism," but they were really very comfortable allowing their "enemies" to take over in Slovenia and Croatia. Since they own the media, they have spearheaded the ethnic hatred for the past five years. As they own the Communist Party, and the Communist Party "allowed" the first free elections, they gave the license to free speech: the more of an extremist someone was, the faster he got the permit. They created this chaos that is now storming Yugoslavia. They had the need for that. They have nothing to offer the people except guns, tanks, police truncheons and lot of hate and violence. They don't know anything else. What they are proficient in is exactly the opposite of what is needed to maintain a stable and healthy society.

So the Terminator-people do not want the creation of a stable and healthy society, why should they? They could make a coup d'etat. Coup d'etat is usually more common and more successful than free elections, and it also corresponds well with the Terminator-people's structure of mind. The only reason they allowed free elections is to delay a coup d'etat until they become stronger and more able. They had first to develop ethnic hatred and then release all ethnic groups from the Yugoslav Army with exception of Serbs — which they are actually doing now. Now that Serbs are the biggest ethnic group they hope they will still have a military strong enough to maintain their power in Yugoslavia.

I remember how police officers during informational discussions wanted me to become a nationalist (informational discussion is when they arrest you without a warrant; there is absolutely no public record of such an arrest; it can last anytime between one hour and few days; the longest I was held was 12 hours). Obviously, there was a plot behind it. It didn't work with me. But it worked with millions of others. A majority of the juicier youth in Yugoslavia adopted nationalism as the way to turn their nihil-

(Continued on Page 12)

The following groups support *Love and Rage*. If you like what you see in *Love and Rage* and would like to find out more about revolutionary anarchism, contact the group closest to you.

UNITED STATES

Youth Greens
P.O. Box 7293
Minneapolis, MN 55407

Revolutionary Group X
P.O. Box 6022
Chicago, IL 60680

Revolutionary Anarchist
Bowling League
P.O. Box 10854
Minneapolis, MN 55458-3854

Love and Rage
Supporters in Atlanta
P.O. Box 2234
Decatur, GA 30031-2234

Liberate the Obsessed
P.O. Box 1916
Belle Fourche, SD 57717

Collective Action
P.O. Box 44563
Detroit MI 48244

Circle A Collective
#LF 1303 Ursulines Ave.
New Orleans, LA 70116

Bay Area Anti-Racist Action
P.O. Box 3501
Oakland, CA 94609

The Alternative
UT P.O. Box 16156 UT Station
Knoxville, TN 37996-4900

Autonomous Anarchist Action
P.O. Box 3 Prince Street Station
New York, NY 10012

Autonome Forum
P.O. Box 366
Williamstown MA 01267

Art Decco
P.O. Box 12504
Raleigh NC 27605

Anarchist Youth Federation/NYC
P.O. Box 365, Canal St. Station
New York, NY 10013-0365

Anarchist Action Network
Suite 147, 3325 Loma Rd. #2
P.O. Box 360999
Birmingham, AL 35236

Amor y Rabia
P.O. Box 45-2001
Miami, FL 33245

CANADA

Outraouais Outrage
P.O. Box 4051, Station E
Ottawa, ONT, K1F 5B1

Ecomedia Toronto
P.O. Box 915, Station F
Toronto, ONT M4Y 2N9

Community Charge
P.O. Box 57069
Jackson St.
Hamilton ONT L8P 4W9

Arm The Spirit
c/o Wild Seed Press
P.O. Box 57584, Jackson Stn.,
Hamilton, ONT L8P 4X3

Anarchist Black Cross

Ellen Peel Seeks Support

Ellen Peel is in her 16th year of a seven year to life sentence in California for conspiracy to kill her husband.

She is also the survivor, along with her children, of years of physical, sexual, and emotional abuse inflicted by her husband. After attempting to the leave her abusive "home" with her children several times, and being found by her husband, Ellen took the only way out she could see at the time. In 1977 when she went to trial "Battered Woman Syndrome" was not seen as a defense, or recognized.

During the years Ellen lived with her abusive spouse she was beaten, stabbed, raped, terrorized mentally and thrown from a moving car. Her two sons and daughter also lived as captives, being physically, sexually, and emotionally abused from the time of their births. Ellen attempted to protect her children by leaving, but could not. When her 12 year old daughter became pregnant after being raped by her "father," Ellen acted to end the abuse.

In the past year several states have moved to free women imprisoned for killing abusive partners. Ellen has clearly suffered more than enough, first abuse from her husband, and now the state of California. She is asking people to write to Gov. Wilson of California, at the State House in Sacramento, CA 95814.

Ask that her case be carefully reviewed, mention the rulings on behalf of incarcerated battered women this past year. Because the cultural tide is starting to turn slightly towards recognizing battered women's right to self defense this is a good time to write to the governor. A little pressure may well get this case reviewed. And PLEASE write and send your support to Ellen. If you have written to the governor let her know. Her address is:

Ellen Peel
W - 12799 Emmons B 547L
Frontera, CA 91720.

Harassed Outside, Harassed Inside

ABC page received this letter from Jamie Jones 4/14/91

To whom it may concern,
I am 25 years old. I have been incarcerated since September 1988, I was convicted for burglary.

After serving six and a half months in the Butler County Jail, I arrived here at O.R.W. (Ohio Reformatory for Women) to serve an indefinite sentence of 5-15. On April 4, 1989 I arrived in admissions. I was released into population on May 5th, 1989. I started working a job assignment at C.F.S. (Central Food Service) during the end of May, under the supervision of one Kelley Buchanan. On July 9, 1989, I was sexually victimized by said supervisor. I immediately notified the Captains Office of the incident — they asked me if I would be willing to help "set up" the officer, I agreed. The Captains Office formulated a plan, and arranged for two-way radios on closed circuits. When the time came for the plan to unfold, when Kelley Buchanan took me to an unauthorized store room area to quote "get me" end quote, one Captain Seeling was already in the designated area that I had informed the Captains this officer would take me to. It is my contention, that for whatever particular reason, the Captains Office, or a particular Captain or Captains, purposefully foiled the "set-up", and in the process let the officer know that they were aware that something was up.

Prior to what Kelley Buchanan did to me, this very same officer had already once before been accused of sexually assault by another inmate, in March of 1989. This accusation was ignored. At the time of the incident with myself, when I was in the Captain's Office telling them of what had happened, Captains Seeling and Graham literally laughed in my face. They told me that Kelley Buchanan had been reported for the same thing before, that this was NOT the first time for this kind of accusation regarding him. That "unless he was caught in the act, they could do nothing, and I would probably not be the last to report him for this type of behavior." I agreed to help in catching him "in the act," so the question comes to mind, why then did the captains not follow their own plan in the set up, to catch him in the act?

The next day, July 10th, 1989, after speaking with the deputy of program, Melanie Turner, and Major Beightner, I was locked up in disciplinary detention for 5 days. In the mean time nothing was done, and upon my release officer Buchanan was still employed at O.R.W.

On Sept. 23, 1989 Kelley Buchanan was finally caught in the act of sexual misconduct with a third prisoner. He was caught by a fellow employee, only then was he fired.

On October 10, 1989, the first assaulted prisoner and myself testified before a Grand Jury in Union County Court, Marysville, Ohio. Officer Buchanan was indicted on two charges of sexual battery on Oct. 16, 1989.

Silvia Baraldini

Silvia Baraldini is an Italian political activist, serving a 43 year sentence as a political prisoner in the Federal facility at Marianna.

In 1988 she was diagnosed with having uterine cancer, she underwent surgery and radiation treatment. She was told that the tumor had a high risk of recurrence and that regular follow up exams and tests were critical. Of the 9 exams she was to receive she has had only four, and even then only after month long delays. Following her last test she was told that the results were abnormal. No further testing has been done to determine the cause of the abnormal test, nor have her medical records been released to her outside doctors. Further testing and treatment is crucial.

Silvia is an Italian citizen, and the Italian government has asked the US to return her to Italy. The US government has so far refused citing Silvia's political beliefs and associations.

An Emergency Medical Campaign for Silvia has been begun and demands: "Since Mid-April, political prisoner, Silvia Baraldini, has needed urgent evaluation for a possible cancer recurrence. I urge that all diagnostic tests and necessary treatments be administered without further delay." The message in quotes can be sent via Fax Gram to the Director of the Bureau of Prisons in Washington, DC. The cost is \$ 5.00 per Fax, they will bill you for the cost. To send the Fax Gram call 1-800-888-5284, and ask for message # 518. Or send your own fax or letter demanding that Silvia receive treatment and that she be allowed to return to Italy. Send letters to:

Attorney General Richard Thornburgh
US Department of Justice
10th Street and Constitution Ave.
Washington, DC 20530

Michael Quinlan
Director, Bureau of Prisons
320 First St. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20534

ALF News

The Animal Liberation Front Support Group in Edmonton, AB in Canada is putting out a newsletter "detailing ALF actions and information from across Canada and the world." The newsletter also carries info. on activists who have been arrested, or jailed and need support.

rested, or jailed and need support.

Box 42, 10024-82 Ave.
Edmonton, AB,
Canada T6E 1Z3

OUT OF TIME

OUT OF TIME is the newsletter of Out of Control - Lesbian Committee to Support Women Political Prisoners. In the May issue (#10) they had articles on FBI harassment of activist lawyer Linda Backiel, the horrible situation at the Ontario Prison for Women, and prisoner updates. It's great!

Out of Control
Box 30
3543 18th Street
San Francisco, CA 94110

Infamous "B"ob

This just in from the ever (in)famous "B"ob Mc Glynn, the author of the now classic article that appeared on this page two months ago, "Anarchist Irresponsibility." Bob has done a lot of work on the letter campaign for Rainbow Hawk and Sergei Troyanski whose cases have been twinned. For a pamphlet explaining the case in much more detail than we have room for here you can write to Bob, whose address follows the update on Rainbow's situation.

Rainbow Hawk Parole Date Set

Anarchist prisoner, Rainbow Hawk (aka Paul Knapp) will go before a parole board the week of Sept. 16th.

Rainbow was arrested due to his appearance on the scene of a drug deal set up by his friend "Woodstock" (aka Lenny Fridella), the victim of an 8 month long entrapment campaign. All parties involved were arrested, although every one who was busted agreed that Rainbow was never in possession of the drugs. Woodstock, who admitted his "guilt" signed affidavits that his friend was never involved. Rainbow was told he would be freed if he would agree to spy on the Rainbow Family, a large counter culture group in which he was involved. Of course he refused, and received the max, 8&1/2 years to life. Since the trial, Mark Kahle, the actual owner of the LSD, has been released.

Rainbow has been told repeatedly by prison personnel that the sole reason for his imprisonment is his Rainbow family connections, anti-war politics, etc.

Rainbow's case has been twinned with that of Free Initiative member Sergei Troyanski, a political prisoner in the USSR with a similar case. An international campaign is underway

for Rainbow and Sergei with letters coming in from the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Germany, Canada, Denmark, Italy, and the USA. Picket in support of parole for Rainbow is planned for the US embassy in Moscow.

A.B.C. page readers responded to a letter writing campaign on behalf of John Perotti. John's prison conditions improved from those letters. Simple letters could help Rainbow too.

Please send letters supporting his parole (and requests for the pamphlet & \$1.00) to:

Rainbow Hawk / Sergei Troyanski
Defense Committee
c/o Bob Mc Glynn
528 5th St.
Brooklyn, NY 11215

Note from NY A.B.C.

Several months ago we outlined Rainbow Hawk's case in an article in the January 1991 *Love and Rage*. I wrote that article from a long letter sent by the Defense Committee. I edited to save space, but tried hard not to change the tone or meaning. Unfortunately, I blew it. Part of the original article involved Lenny Fridella, also known as Woodstock. Woodstock and Rainbow Hawk were co-defendants in the LSD case. Woodstock felt, after reading the article that he was portrayed as a "snitch." In a letter to Bob Mc Glynn he wrote; "I wanted to express two concerns — the first is that the way it was put that it made me sound like I was a snitch ... If one does not know the case it could be misconstrued to seem like I was finally manipulated into setting up a supplier." In NO WAY did I mean to imply by the tone of the article that Woodstock set up anyone, or was dishonest in any way. He was clearly a victim of the court along with Rainbow Hawk. I am sorry. Jane



CONTACTS

To learn more about political prisoners, prisoners of war, and prisons in North America, write to any or all of the following groups:

Anarchist Black Cross
Toronto
P.O. Box 6326, Stn. A
Toronto, Ont, M5W 1P7
Canada

Friends of Liberty
Box 95686
Seattle, WA 98145-2686

Anarchist Black Cross
Vancouver
P.O. Box 2881
Vancouver, B.C.,
V6B 3X4 Canada

Anarchist Black Cross
New York
P.O. Box 20521,
Tompkins Sq. Stn.
New York, NY 10009

Anarchist Black Cross
San Lorenzo
P.O. Box 215
San Lorenzo, CA 94580

Anarchist Black Cross
Latino Americana
P.O. Box 451208
Miami, FL 33245

The ANTI-WARrior
48 Shattuck Sq.,
Berkeley, CA 94704

Prisoners' Legal News
P.O. Box 1684
Lake Worth, FL 33460

Through The Walls
472 Albert St.
Kingston, Ont.
K7L 3W3 Canada

Bulldozer
P.O. Box 5052, Stn. A
Toronto, Ont,
M5W 1W4 Canada

Leonard Peltier
Defense Committee
P.O. Box 583
Lawrence, KS 66044

Committee to End The Marion
Lockdown
343 S. Dearborn, Suite 1607
Chicago, IL 60604

Project 1313
P.O. Box 1313
Lawrence, KS 66044

Wimmin Prisoner
Support Network
P.O. Box 770, Stn. P
Toronto, Ont,
M5S 2Z1 Canada

LAWS AND OUTLAWS

WE'RE NOT FEMINISTS BUT WE PLAY ONES on TV...Welcome to Cleo and Connie's exciting extravaganza on wimmin's self-help, or matters to that effect. We've divided this into a two part series because *Love and Rage* dissed our space. Basically, we wanted to write about what we know (as painlessly as possible), learn something in the process, and get tons of feedback. It sucks how, separately, women feel so ignorant and disconnected concerning their bodies, yet we've found that getting together we feel very strong.

When it comes to the medical industry, most doctors find it much more convenient to slide a prescription for the pill across the counter than to take time and thought to discuss alternatives and so ultimately it's the doctor controlling your body. Not to say that all doctors don't care, but the medical industry is motivated by profit and, like all institutions, is founded on social inequalities: racism, sexism, homophobia. Medicine is something we must take into our own hands. Because how can you smash the state if you're still walking funny from a visit to the gynecologist's? Enough of this already...

A SHORT HISTORY OF OUTLAWED HEALERS

This "witch" thing has become a pretty cliché term, and is now generally associated with your basic babe who totally loses her shit and spends a lot of time contemplating the relationship between menstrual cramps and lava, but historically we're actually talking about the process by which a developing ruling class attempted to annihilate a mostly matriarchal tradition of people's medicine. At least that's what I'm talking about in this groovin' article. Anyway, midwives and healers were key targets of a four-century-long (14c.-17c.) witch hunting crusade in Europe, escalated by the combined functions of church, state, and feudalism. For example, check out these harsh facts:

- one year in Wertzberg— 900 "witches" murdered

- around Como, 1000 executed in a year
- in the Bishopric of Trier, 1585, 2 villages are left with only one warm woman in each

Such witch hunts were the highly organized tactics of a developing capitalistic society, which utilized law as a justification for murder. The non-dependency of a self-help based female peasant population posed an obvious threat to governing powers. So, in 1484, the *Malleus Maleficarum* ("Hammer of Witches") showed up in courtrooms everywhere. Composed by Kramer & Sprenger (good buddies of Pope Innocent VIII), *MM* acted as the ultimate authority on whether or not any given woman deserved to go to hell. A precedent was set deeming "failure to report a witch" as a punishable crime. Whereas "When a woman thinks alone, she thinks evil" (*Malleus Maleficarum*). Healing circles of bad-ass babes could expect tortures such as thumb-screws, the rack, spikes, bone-crushing "boots," starvation, and beatings. And, fuck this you've-come-a-long-way-baby shit: women continue to be under serious threat if they opt to take their health into their own hands; denied access to non-institutional healing knowledge and subjected to unnecessary operations and harmful chemical treatments (but more about that later).

Three basic charges against witches, as stated in the *MM* were sexual crimes against men, organization, and possessing magical powers affecting health: harming, healing, and obstetrical skills. Childbirth must have been a tricky issues for those who considered women Satan in disguise, cause babies after all do pop out of she-wolf herself. Church officials at least had some of an amusing solution, theorizing that man deposits a "little person," soul and all, into the female homunculus for temporary housing where the tiny one remains unsafe until baptized by a priest. Here's some words of wisdom from *MM*...

"Now there are, as it is said in the Papal Bull, seven methods by which they infect with witchcraft the vernal act and the conception of the womb: First, by

inclining the minds of men to inordinate passion; second, by obstructing their generative force; third, by removing the members accommodated to that act; fourth, by changing men into beasts by their magic act; fifth, by destroying the generative force in women; sixth, by procuring abortion; seventh, by offering children to the devils, besides other animals and fruits of the earth with witch they work much harm..."

"Witch healers" were doctors to the poor, offering possibilities which posed a direct threat to the power of church and state. Their medicine was labelled Devil's magic but oddly enough, many of the remedies practiced by that school of people's medicine are still utilized today such as:

- Ergot derivatives used to hasten labor and aid in recovery from childbirth
- Digitalis to treat heart ailments

During this feudal period, two basic forms of medicine were combatively co-existing: "witches" healing circles, and church sanctioned, medieval medical training schools. The "witches" believed in senses, trial & error, cause & effect; the church was anti-empirical. Emerging "professionals" consulted priests, and were not allowed to treat a patient who refused confession. As medicine became increasingly institutionalized by church & state, women — even affluent ones who could afford tuition — were easily barred from above ground medical practice.

A significant case is that of Jacoba Felicie who was brought to trial in 1322 by the University of Paris, charged with illegal medical practice. Felicie was especially spooky to the "professionals" because not only did she work independently but her clientele were affluent, which made her actual competition. Doctors were turning medicine into a business and were for the most part successful except in the area of obstetrics, which remained out of reach and in the hands of midwives for about another three centuries. This medical monopolization was a direct product of the slaughter of women healers in the form of witch trails, jured and

Anarchist Falls Down After 16 Hour Meeting at Conference!

BY PAUL TOUPÉ

Well, we had an anarchist organizing conference...

Everyone showed up in different cities on different days...Ha Ha!

GOVERNMENTS DON'T Fall By Themselves", the 1991 *Love and Rage* Anarchist Organizing Conference, took place in Minneapolis, Minnesota over three days at the end of June. Over one hundred and twenty five people attended. Kalamity Kate from Minneapolis fed us all in grand style.

The *Love and Rage* project was formed over a year ago at a conference quite like the one we just had - but this last one was different and represents some significant progress. The *Love and Rage* project has been about more than putting out a monthly anarchist newspaper (a formidable task!). It has also been about forming structures and organizations that encourage direct democratic participation. It has been about making collective process work on a large scale.

There have been numerous problems with the structure in the first year and a half. Many people have felt left out of the project. We lost some supporters who felt no connection to this thing they got in their mailbox each month. On the other end, the Production Group often had trouble getting enough articles, translations, and graphics to fill the paper. The material in the paper has not always reflected the make-up of its supporters. And over time many problems with the political statement became apparent.

At the conference we tried to address all of this stuff, and did so more or less successfully. In addition to all of that we had eleven issue workshops on a wide range of topics, and we came away from the conference with plans for several big ac-

tions. And we drank some beer and went swimming in the rain and generally had a good time with anarchists from 22 cities in the US and Canada.

ACTION

In what was probably the least contentious plenary session of the weekend we endorsed 17 action proposals. Some were proposals for coordinated activity by the Network of *Love and Rage* supporters. Some were changes to the paper itself. Most notably, the conference overwhelmingly endorsed the new Anarchist Youth Federation page.

Love and Rage is also calling for a Boycott of the 1992 Presidential Election (see the September issue). The decision to make this call for a boycott was difficult, especially taking into consideration the relatively recent enfranchisement of women and blacks and the social importance of those hard-won victories. The other factor that weighed against the boycott was the threat to women's reproductive freedom and the feeling among some that electoral politics is an important aspect of preserving that freedom. After much discussion and several people arguing persuasively that political power is in mass organization, not the polling station, and we were able to reach a consensus in favor of the proposal.

RABL introduced a proposal for an Anarcha-Feminist Womyn's Health Tour. In addition to travelling and doing workshops on womyn's healthcare, the proposal seeks to build support for Polish feminist organizations.

The conference adopted a proposal for a special focus in the paper on anti-racist organizing over the next year. We also endorsed proposals: from Kingston, Ontario AYF to confront Britain's Prince Charles and Lady Di when they visit

Kingston on October 12 & 13 of this year; a demonstration against the mining at Ladysmith, Wisconsin; and a proposal by Autonomous Green Action dealing with James Bay.

Love and Rage will also publish pamphlets on various subjects, beginning with a reprinting of Chris Day's "Getting It Together" series on anarchist organizing. The two bodies of the new structure (see structure section below) will review pamphlets for publication.

A committee was formed to work on redesigning the paper (they'll want your input so write to 'em, c/o the RABL PO Box [see List of Supporters]). Two other proposals dealt with items that will appear in the paper; one a disclaimer explaining the editorial policy; the other a very important appeal to people to submit articles and artwork, graphics and photos.

YOUTH ROCK ANARCHIST CONFERENCE

The new AYF page reflects the greater participation of youth in the project. Young people were a strong force at the conference, and showed some good leadership on difficult questions, but their participation was not met with immediate acceptance. After some political disagreements were treated dismissively, some youth walked out of the meeting — feeling disenfranchised. The group process was really compromised by the fact that those remaining continued the meeting for nearly an hour, and didn't deal with this obviously fucked up dynamic. The youth came back and confronted their oppressors in a united fashion. The whole conference was really galvanized by the struggle of young people to be heard and respected.

The problems weren't limited to group dynamics: there was no time scheduled for a Youth

caucus, and AYF's late (through a comedy of errors and no fault of their's) request to schedule a networking meeting couldn't be accommodated. Despite this, much important networking among youth happened and the AYF found time after a day of grueling meetings to get together.

POLITICAL STATEMENT IMPROVED!!!!?

The conference spent two lengthy sessions revising the paper's Political Statement, amid plenty of controversy. In the opening plenary objections were raised to spending any time at all on revising the individual sections of the Statement. It was argued that the Statement was totally inadequate and should be re-written as a single statement of a more general nature. Others defended the importance of having a political statement that was specific and which makes our common politics clear - pointing out that while, as anarchists, we are all assumably opposed to all forms of oppression, there is much disagreement in the movement over different forms of oppression and domination.

While we were unable to reconcile all of these differences, a compromise was reached that will hopefully result in a more satisfactory statement. Over the next year discussion of the Political Statement will be a feature of the paper and the discussion bulletin (which is available to anyone - see ad in this paper). Next year's conference will address the task of writing a new one and hopefully lots of forethought and discussion will inform that process. In the mean-time we've a newly revised version of the original statement.

While this new version is a great improvement, it suffers from some of the same problems. There is still a "list" of

issues — which some people find inadequate and inappropriate. The tone is still largely negative — the new version is more constructive, but still focuses more on what we oppose than what we want to see. Further, some people questioned the validity of printing principles at all — shouldn't our paper reflect our principles in its contents more than in a political statement?

ANARCHIST ORGANIZATION

Another significant change was the decision to make the loose network of supporters of the project a little more formal as a Network. Thus the *Love and Rage* Network is born. Part of the point of doing this was to recognize that *Love and Rage* is more than just a newspaper and more like a network of people with political affinity who produce a paper as one among many projects. We hope that this — and the changes in the structure of how the network does things — will enable this Network of people to work together more efficiently and do more.

Since our founding conference 16 months ago the Editorial Council — a group elected by the first conference to make decisions that needed fast action between conferences — met four times and did the tremendous job of keeping the project afloat. The EC made some important decisions, including the decision to call for a Black Bloc at the January 26 march on Washington (a success). The EC also had plenty of problems. Originally composed of 12 members, the body added 8 more to itself to increase the representation of different areas. At the end of the year, several of these long-time members of the project dropped out from it entirely.

(Continued to page 12)

judged by the church, state, and "doctors." Malleus stated, "if a woman dare to cure without having studied she is a witch and must die." Of course, women weren't allowed to study so DUH! Moving right along, the 17th & 18th centuries in Europe were accompanied by the formation of the middle class and that just changed everything. Suddenly obstetrics was viewed as a lucrative (ha,ha) field. As a result, midwifery went under heavy fire again, this time with the added issue of mucho moolah. Non-professional male practitioners—"barber surgeons"—set up shop, introducing use of obstetrical forceps and claiming to be all super-advanced. The middle class ate this up, probably seeing it as novel, a mark of dignity. Midwives organized, issuing warning that the doctors didn't know how to use the forceps (I can't imagine why). But the well-off apparently preferred status to the words of a discredited witch; other women couldn't afford them anyway.

Midwifery in the US has been virtually outlawed since the early 20th century, and is frowned upon much more here than in other "1st world" countries. In terms of the "medical profession," the US has the lowest percentage of female doctors in the industrialized world. This is kind of how that happened... Around the early 1800's colonized "Americans" worried about resembling Europe in any way (when they weren't busy killing native peoples and stealing their land). With only a handful of schools, healing practice was basically a free for all. In the area some white dude decided to call New Jersey, practice was woman dominated. Many places had wife/husband teams wherein men performed surgery, women handled midwifery & gynecology, and the rest was shared. But then groups of "formally trained" doctors sought to distinguish themselves from lay practitioners. The distinctions were obvious: male, upperclass, expensive doctors were fashion accessories for the rich and prescribed dramatic medications such as bleeding, huge doses of laxatives, and opium. Lay practitioners prescribed mild herbal medications and were generally accessible. Desiring to be the only legal practitioner, "regular doctors" utilized their connections with legislators to achieve that goal. By 1830 thirteen states had outlawed herbal-based people's medicine.

THE POPULAR HEALTH MOVEMENT

During the 1830's & 40's women's issues and lower class issues found common ground in a distrust in the medical profession. An elite medical field left the poor without medical options. That it was a male elite left women with fucked options. Women organized self-help classes, the content of which was know-your-body type of stuff. Their principles were based upon preventive care, frequent bathing (not recommended by "doctors"), loose-fitting women's clothing, temperance, eating whole grain based diets, and birth control. It's funny in a crazy kind of way that there is little talk of this movement which apparently combined sex and class issues, while NOW-types go on until you wanna kill them about class/race specific movement such as them suffragettes. Not too surprising really...

The Popular Health Movement seems to have been an umbrella group composed of numerous factions. One slogan was "every man his own doctor", other factions stated the medical profession as "parasitic, non-producing classes", others cited "king-craft, priest-craft, lawyer-craft, doctor-craft" as the four great evils; some had connections with the working-man's party. The Popular Health Movement was incredibly successful in creating a powerful space for alternative, albeit systematized, medicine. By the 1840's, most medical licensing laws had been repealed and three new schools of medicine—Eclecticism, Grahamism, and Homeopathy—had been established. The movement, however, seems to have strived to get

the law on their side and so of course ran into problems. By the 19th century the factions had evolved into competitive sects, leaving them vulnerable to attack.

The American Medical Association, established in 1848, represents a society of doctors sponsored by the ruling class. During the height of what's been called "medical anarchy," the AMA practically disintegrated, yet with the state on its side, inevitably got a second wind. They attacked the alternative schools for their "sectarian learning," and acceptance of women. Most mainstream schools and hospitals banned women, with the occasional exception of one or two aristocrats. Most of those women who did make it into the AMA, where textbooks contained statements such as "She [women] has a head almost too small for intellect but just big enough for love" (AMA, 1848), identified themselves with the elite that got them what they wanted and joined the AMA in opposing self-help and midwifery.

Johns-Hopkins, the first American-German style medical school, was established in 1893. This event signifies the birth of "modern medicine": lab work, basic science, clinical training & research, ties with Europe, full-time faculty, 4 years of college preceding 4 years medical school, etc. Meanwhile oil and coal industries were establishing the US as an industrial leader. Corporate America was forming, lead by the Rockefeller and Carnegie foundations—both of which proclaimed a dedication to "medical reform." Abraham Flexner, representing the Carnegie Foundation, was sent on a national tour of medical schools. The idea was to determine who should and who shouldn't receive grants: in other words, which schools deserved to exist. Flexner's report, published in 1910, resulted in tons-o-dough flooding into universities and commercial medical schools. Soon after, six of the country's eight black medical schools closed, as did many alternative and women's schools. Go figure.

Up until 1910, 50% of all babies in the states were being delivered by midwives, most of whom were black women & immigrants. Yet this was bad business for the new, flourishing AMA obstetrical "specialists." So a campaign was launched against midwives, slandering them as unscientific, stupid, and unclean. Armed with big bucks, the AMA definitely were able to make conditions very difficult for the alternative scene. And, although a 1912 study by Johns-Hopkins found that most American doctors were indeed less competent than midwives, states began outlawing midwives, pushing the movement underground but unable to destroy it.

Alright, alright, why would a woman choose a midwife today? More than 500,000 unnecessary cesarean sections are performed in the US every year, as well as more than 150,000 unnecessary hysterectomies. In general, hospitals suck and from my personal experiences in a gynecology ward, I would much rather have a baby on the back of a city bus than in a hospital. Many women would choose a midwife because hospitals present a real danger of forced sterilization—for example on or near native american reservations. My friend had her baby with a midwife and we talked about it while making tofu pasta...

PARAPHRASING ANARCHA WORDS OF WISDOM

My friend referred me to the maternal center, which is a group of midwives who are trying really hard to bring back midwifery as an actual option, so they're accessible to women on medicaid. The legal restrictions on midwifery vary from state-to-state, but I know it's really difficult or impossible for a homebirth midwife to accept medicaid. Those midwives who have the freedom to act independently take an intense non-interventionist stance, basically acting as a guide, making sure nothing goes wrong. Legalized birth centers

have to work with a lot of city channels and bureaucracy in order to overcome economics, so they really have to limit themselves to women with low risk health problems. They have units in Manhattan, South Bronx, and New Jersey; they take on women up to about the seventh month of pregnancy. I was two months pregnant when I went to them, eager to get involved with the process. First I attended a group orientation where they evaluated medical histories. This is to make sure that there is no need for hospital care, which is in fact the case for the majority of women. Midwives handle problematic births—breach, twins—much better; there are fewer deaths in midwife births than hospital. I don't think hospitals make any sense for the majority of women except in cases where you really need certain technology.

I choose the birth center because it was as close as I could come to the natural way. It's your birth and you have the control, as opposed to hospital situations where the doctor is in charge and has the final say.

At the center, the midwife who actually helped you through the birth depended on whose shift coincided with your labor. One midwife was an apprentice, and she asked if she could be on call for mine. There were some women there I would not have preferred but it just so happens I was lucky and they were all cool.

You meet with a midwife initially once a month, the frequency increasing as your pregnancy progresses. You take your own weight, your own urine samples... you are the one who holds the records and then you give them to the midwife. It's not like the institutional approach of a private matter, where you're kept in the dark. Who you are, your lifestyle, is really respected; not the "cattle call" of a medicaid clinic, but also not the expensive, upper east side clinic you could never afford the benefits of. They go over your diet with you, and there were women on staff who were vegetarians and vegans who were cool.

Since they really respect the natural process, the midwives allow you to labor as long as your body requires. In a hospital, they're pretty quick to do a c-section depending on how busy the hospital is, if they need beds... everything depends on the doctor, but hospitals just don't wait too long. My entire labor was about 15-16 hours, the real intense part was the last 6 hours, and there was about 20 minutes of pushing. I spent about the last three hours of labor at the center. They encourage you to stay home as long as you can—assuming your home is a place you feel comfortable, but that place was so nice! You can do whatever you want to make things right for you. They had air-conditioning, a T.V. room, showers—I spent a lot of time in the showers. Hot water soothing your body definitely helped with the labor pains which, once again, is something you couldn't get in a hospital. Midwives don't drug you up, so you could eat for strength, if you wanted. You could be surrounded by people who make you feel safe.

K. was born with the cord wrapped around his head, but they took care of that real quick. They're definitely equipped for emergency situations; they have oxygen, incubators, life support systems—but you don't need any of that, except in exceptional cases. And although I didn't really have to deal with the fees (because of the medicaid), midwifery on the whole is pretty much cheaper than hospitals, which is the irony—all that and it's cheaper!

The whole idea of midwifery definitely puts power back in the hands of women giving birth; takes away the doctors' authority, anyone's authority which isn't her own.

Next month... underground abortion movements yesteryear and today, more interviews with our friends, more surprises, more sexiness.

Anti-Racism

(Continued from page 4)

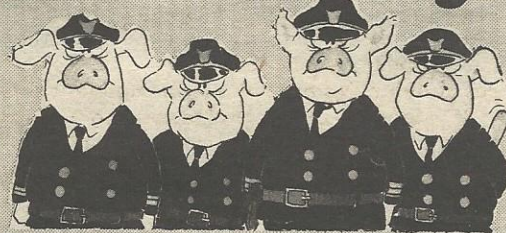
local anarchist-oriented show on community access television if you live in a city that offers this (Tom Metzger has been effectively using this as a tool to draw together disparate racist elements for ten years with his racist show "Race and Reason"). Or ask to get on an already established public access community-oriented talk show (you couldn't believe how many people have those damn satellite dishes!) Write letters to the editor of your local paper or alternative rag. Make relevant art and put it up all over town. Hold forums on anarchism and anti-racism. Go door to door with some sort of anti-racist information packet. Organize a local group to combat racism and other forms of domination and hierarchy. Groups tend to draw much more attention than individuals, and are (sadly enough) given much more credence and authority in society than isolated individual anti-authoritarians! Plus a zillion more creative things that I can't see but you could.

We need to use everything possible at our disposal to combat racism and its roots in authoritarianism. Using creativity to upset the current repressive atmosphere is the best way to fight fascistic tendencies, as conservatism and fascism cannot exist in a society free of rigidity, or even one where creativity and playfulness are valued and utilized. It presents those in power with a dilemma which they cannot cope with. It isn't in their mind-set, as they themselves are rigid, so the only way for them to combat it is with repression and violence. And creativity cannot ever be defeated if allowed to foster within ourselves and society as a whole. This, to me, is our most powerful weapon, and we must utilize our creativity to its most brilliant capabilities!

So far, there hasn't been that much of a purely revolutionary anarchist analysis of racism and fascism within *Love and Rage*, or, for that matter, any other @ publications that I've encountered. This means that we need to formulate that revolutionary anti-racist analysis. That takes dialogue and much discussion to forge out one that anarchists continentally can

generally agree on. For example, should we offer support to statist Black groups such as the Nation of Islam or the Republic of New Afrika? And if so, then should it be total support or critical support? And is anarchism mostly a white movement? And if so, why, and what is keeping it from becoming a diverse mass movement? The only way these questions can be fully addressed is through dialogue and discussion, and *Love and Rage* seems like a unique format for these discussions. I know I don't have, and don't pretend to have, an all encompassing anti-racist analysis, but this is a start to looking at some ways of effectively combating racism in our communities, and I hope it sparks more people to write in with some of their own evaluations of anarchism and anti-racism.

Subscribe to Love and Rage



Subscribe to *Love and Rage* and have every issue of this revolutionary anarchist newsmagazine delivered to your door by a uniformed agent of the State. Indicate your preference and send your check or money order to:

Love and Rage
Box 3, Prince St. Station
New York, NY 10012 USA

\$9 for a third class subscription (slow mail).
\$13 for a first class subscription (fast, in envelope).
GI? PWA? Prisoner? Check here for a free subscription.
I would like to support Love and Rage with a monthly pledge of:
\$10 \$20 \$50 \$100 Other.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____
Zip _____ Country _____

Notes of Revolt

Martin Foran

MARTIN FORAN, an anarchist prisoner wrongly jailed in Britain, escaped last month. Martin suffered years of abuse and medical neglect in prison. He escaped while finally being transferred to a hospital. Information is scarce. Next month we will have a statement from him. Send funds to: BM Hurricane, London WC1N, 3XX ENGLAND. We hope Martin stays free!!

Class War International Conference

CLASS WAR, Britain's most unruly movement, will be hosting a 5-day-long conference entitled "Our Time Has Come" from Monday, September 23 to Friday, September 27 in East London. The provisional agenda includes discussions of anti-capitalism, the working class, anti-fascism, lifestyle, revolution, and internationalism, among others. They're looking for workshop proposals and for people from around the world to come and participate. It looks great. For more information:

Class War
P.O. Box 467
London E83QX
ENGLAND

Canada Makes Flight Harder

REFUGEES FLEEING to Canada from their own countries may find it much

duces the Safe Third Country concept: if a refugee claimant is currently stopped over in a supposedly "safe" third country, they cannot apply for refugee status in Canada. The US will presumably be on this list, thus effectively deterring the vast majority of refugees from Central and South America.

One of the alleged reasons for the legislation was to reduce the backlog of cases waiting to be heard. Although in effect for two years, the legislation has done little so far to reduce backlog — you can lead bureaucracy to water, but you can't make it think.

At the same time the United States is attempting to pass regulations which would allow refugee claimants to be deported without trial and without evidence being publicly presented against them.

This report was mostly reprinted from *Community Charge*.

Frame Up in Italy

ON MAY 10, the people who publish *Anarchismo* (a theoretical quarterly) and *Provocazione* (a news-oriented monthly journal) were astounded to find themselves accused of a wide variety of actions in the local and national media. According to the media, an "Anarchismo and Provocazione" group was responsible for numerous kidnappings, car bombings, destroying electrical pylons, possessing an arms cache which was discovered in a basement in Rome, and a variety of other activities. In an attempt to clarify what was going on, participants in the journals visited a police station but, strangely, the cops claimed to be completely in the dark about the accusations. As yet, no charges have been laid.

In the most recent *Provocazione*, the

Endeavor Project

THE ENDEAVOR PROJECT is a group in Texas working to abolish the Death Penalty. The group consists of Huntsville Death Row prisoners, their families and friends. They publish a bi-monthly newspaper, *Endeavor, Live Voices From Death Row*, written and edited by Death Row prisoners from around the country. The group is currently running a national letter-writing and petitioning campaign to put pressure on the governors of Death Penalty states. To find out more:

Robert West c/o:
Endeavor P.O. Box 23511
Houston, TX 77228-3511

Subterranean Homesick Bluesfest

THREE FULL DAYS of action, fun, revelry and resistance against the New World Order, from Friday, August 23 to Sunday, August 25 in Chicago. Thursday, August 22 - Potluck Dinner to commemorate the signing of the Hitler-Stalin Pact, and to welcome out of town guests. Friday, August 23 - STATE MURDER OF SACCO AND VANZETTI; 3pm Demonstration Downtown; 8pm Performances and Party at Theater Oobleck (?). Saturday, August 24 - 11am Gather at Bughouse Square Park; 12noon Speakout; 1pm Mudpeople March through the Gold Coast; 4pm Workshops (?); 8pm Music of all kinds somewhere. Sunday, August 25 - 23rd ANNIVERSARY OF LINCOLN PARK RI-

OTS (Democratic Convention 1968); 12noon Picnic, Networking, and Workshops in Lincoln Park. None of this is definite!! For ideas, suggestions, info, etc:

Baklava
c/o RGX
P.O. Box 6022
Chicago, IL 60680

Squat The Land!

ACCORDING TO the 1990 Census there are 10.3 million empty homes, apartments, and condos in the United States — 1 out of every 10 visited. This figure doesn't even include "abandoned" buildings not visited by the Census Bureau.

In Vermont, 22.3% of all homes are vacant. In Maine, 20.7% are empty. In New Orleans, 17%, 15% in Houston and Atlanta, 10% in Chicago and 6% in New York.

What are you waiting for?

Squat the Land! Part II

ON SUNDAY, MAY 19, about 75 people broke into the boarded up Arion Court apartments in Seattle. The building was claimed for the city's homeless in this action, organized by members and supporters of the Seattle Displacement Coalition's Operation Homestead.

Citing that the building's owner was in violation of the city's Anti-Abandon-

ment law, activists removed the locks from the doors and the plywood from the windows and hung a banner reading "Operation Homestead" from the fire escape.

Anne Levinson, spokesperson for Mayor Norm Rice, stated "they are in there without permission and they are trespassing. The police should move with all due speed." On May 24 the police moved in and arrested 11 people. The police then posted guards to keep the building empty until the owner could hire private security to do so.

CIRA Sends Books

CIRA, the International Center for Anarchist Research, has shipped a total of 200 kilograms of books about anarchism and related subjects to anarchist groups in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Romania. They would like to keep doing it, but need either books, or money to buy books. For small contributions, they ask that you send cash (\$2 US will ship 1 kilo of books).

CIRA
Ave. de Beaumont 24
CH - 1012 Lausanne
SWITZERLAND

Better Late Than Never

ON SATURDAY, April 20 a small group of Nazis, Ku Klux Klan members, racist skinheads, and assorted other white supremacists attempted to hold a national celebration of Hitler's Birthday in downtown Denver, Colorado. They were met by between 400 and 2000 (depending on who you believe) anti-racist protestors, determined to let them know that racists and racist ideology were not welcome in Denver. Unable to hold their celebration, the white supremacists fled their own rally under police protection. The anti-racist protestors then held a celebration.

The mainstream press launched a full-scale smear campaign against the counter-demo. The anti-racists were attacked for being violent (some cans and horse dung were hurled) and displaying "hatred" against the racists. They were also criticized for "drawing attention" to the white supremacists.

Racist rally organizer Shawn Slater plans an August 17 rally to celebrate the birthday of Nazi Rudolph Hess.

For more info:
Saxifrage Group
P.O. Box 18717
Denver, CO 80218

R.A.F. Action

ON APRIL 1, 1991, the Red Army Faction executed Detlev Kursten Rohwedder with the Ulrich Wessel Commando. Rohwedder was the president of the Berlin "Treuhandanstalt," the corporation in charge of privatizing the state owned businesses in the former East Germany.

If you want to read the R.A.F. communiqué on the action, it was printed in *Clash* No. 3., or contact *Arm the Spirit*.

ATS c/o Wild Seed Press
P.O. Box 57584
(Jonathan) Jackson Station
Hamilton, Ontario
L8P 4X3
CANADA

Pest Resists Extermination!

ON JULY 10, Pest Squat in NYC was broken into by police and housing bureaucrats. Squatters from various squats confronted the would be evictors and the pests re-entered the building.



Much Better! (photo courtesy of AGA)

harder to gain access into the country. Tighter restrictions brought in under bills C-55 and C-84 may soon come into effect. This worries many refugee support groups, law associations, and the Canadian Council of Churches, all of whom fight for refugees' rights.

In 1987 Canada abolished the B-1 list of dangerous countries such as Chile and El Salvador. The list and accompanying legislation gave immediate refugee status to those fleeing listed countries.

Abolishing these measures is intended to deter refugees from considering Canada as a prospective home.

Bill C-84, the Refugee Deterrents and Detention Act states that it is an offense to organize refugees to come to Canada. This includes helping refugees gain entry, obtain visas, etc. Bill C-55 intro-

editor states that *Anarchismo* and *Provocazione* have always criticized "clandestine, centralized" groups which conform to the image portrayed in the media accounts. Instead, they support "generalized attacks" carried out by "small groups and individuals who have no connection between them except a very strong common belief that everything which destroys us should be attacked and destroyed."

Info from:
Provocazione,
C.F. 61,
95100 Catania,
Italy

Anarchist Youth Federation

AYF Invades Love and Rage

BY BRENT BLATANT, D.A.C.

GOVERNMENTS DON'T Fall By Themselves" was the title of this year's Love and Rage organizing conference. It was held in Minneapolis, Minnesota on the weekend of June 29. The conference consisted of at least 100 anarchists of all ages from around the country and Canada who gathered to discuss the future of Love and Rage and the anarchist movement in general. The conference kicked off Saturday morning with a general meeting in the auditorium. As I looked around the room I realized there were a lot more young people than I expected, including many folks from various AYF groups.

The discussion started off by spending way too much time on the conference schedule, but then got going with some lively debate about the Love and Rage Political Statement (which is still way too uptight), racism in the anarchist movement, underwear maintenance, and other sticky subjects. As the discussion progressed, I think a lot of the younger anarchists began to feel ignored or looked down upon by the older and more intellectual types. This was a problem that we devoted a lot of discussion to later in the day at the youth liberation workshop. In talking about the ageism thing, we realized that almost all of the youth at the conference felt dissed in one way or another by the older anarchists, and we felt that it was really fucked to see the same sorts of prejudices that come down on kids in society re-

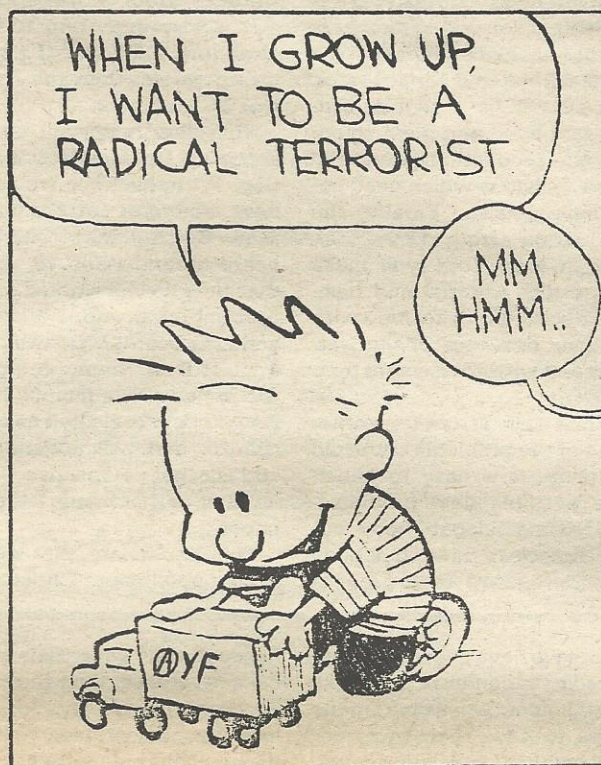
flected at the conference. We decided it would be better to do something to try to change the situation rather than sit back and complain, and kept it in mind as we discussed the many other topics that revolve around youth liberation.

Sunday morning went by quickly with some interesting and cool caucuses and workshops, but, by Sunday afternoon it was time for the whole group to discuss structure and organization of the zine. This discussion was, in my opinion, definitely the most frustrating, condescending, and monotonous discussion of the conference. I think that most of the young people participating felt that their opinions were devalued and even unwanted by the Love and Rage "in crowd," and they felt that this proposed structure would go through with or without their approval simply because there wasn't enough time to write another one. We were bored, and a bored anarchist has two options; 1) Blow It Up! or 2) Leave, & being that all of the plastic explosives had been earmarked for local banks, recruiting centers and shopping malls, we chose option #2.

Suddenly, there weren't enough people in the auditorium for the older folks to continue their discussion without guilt, so they broke for dinner. After dinner the group, including youth, reassembled in the auditorium and the young people were questioned as to why they left, and were even accused by some as not caring

about the paper. The youth reply had 3 basic elements; 1) we're anarchists & we'll do what we want!, 2) If we didn't care, we wouldn't be here &

began to realize that there was a problem and something had to be done to change it. We eventually did come to some agreement on structure and fi-



3) give us equal respect and consideration (or face the consequences - GLF), and thus began the discussion and confrontation on one of the biggest problems in the conference and the paper: youth accessibility.

As we talked, I think a lot of people opened their eyes and

nally it was time for the long awaited AYF meeting!

(See accompanying article for what was discussed at the AYF meeting.)

Monday morning started off with a hangover, a pancake breakfast in the cafeteria, and then a general meeting in the auditorium to elect the new

Love and Rage facilitator and coordinating group. Once again we talked about ageism at the conference, and I feel that almost everyone who was perpetuating it was aware of the discrimination and trying to change it. The elections were proof of the new attitude. Matt Black and the NYAYF goddess Isa were chosen as the new facilitators and 5 young, sexy AYF'ers were voted on to the 10-person coordinating group. And yes, folks, Love and Rage is more fun already.

The rest of Monday was spent talking about action proposals (which you can read about in the pages of Love and Rage) and the "new, improved" political statement (or shall I call it the "we're so P.C. it's sickening" list). We said a few goodbyes, and all went out and fucking partied together. And as we were sitting around the beach of a river somewhere in Minneapolis I got to thinking that what happened this past weekend was really cool because as the meeting kicked off we realized that there were a lot of differences and frictions between us, but instead of coping bad attitudes and giving up, we confronted the problems, talked about them and did a lot to resolve them. And that's what this shit is all about. I mean, if all the anarchist groups in the world could deal with their personal differences and bury them, we could come together to fight the common enemy of government and other forms of authoritarian bullshit.

AYF Hordes To Descend Upon Canada!

August 9-12 there will be an anarchist gathering in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada with a focus on (the long ignored issue of) Youth Liberation. People of all ages are welcome. The gathering will include workshops, films, picnics, a concert and other events, and no doubt quite a few rowdy parties. Workshop ideas so far include: Youth & the Law, Combatting Racism, Sexism & Homophobia, School and much more.

There will also be the third AYF mini-gathering, where such issues as an AYF statement of beliefs, and discussion of an AYF gathering will be addressed. If you would like to attend, suggest a workshop or for more information, write:

AYF Ottawa
P.O. Box 4402, Stn. E
Ottawa, Ontario
K1S 5B4 Canada

Donations are also desperately needed, for those of you in a position where you are able to give.

Oh, Shit...It's the GLF!

In response to the ageism, and irritating seriousness of certain older @'s at the 'Government's Don't Fall By Themselves' encountered, the radical terrorist commando group "Goof Liberation Front" (GLF) was formed. The GLF pulled off several actions, including the kidnapping of deposed dictator/facilitator Ned "Leon" Gunderday. Unfortunately for those who believed the GLF were a temporary response to the tyranny of boring meetings, they have been amassing for further strikes against the agents of seriousness, and have vowed not to let up until ageism has been rid from the anarchist movement... (or until folks learn how to laugh).

Love and Age is a news sheet that has been set up by the GLF-MSG (Goof Liberation Front-Monosodium Support Group) to publicize GLF actions, and support commandos caught in the act. The first shit-hot issue is out now. For more info, write to:

IMPULSE
Route 1

Red Wing, MN 55066
Goof Guerillas shake the serious!

AYF Meets, State Crumbles

The 2nd AYF mini-gathering was held in Minneapolis, MN at the Love And Rage conference. It was attended by 30-40 cool people, representing Minneapolis-AYF, NY-AYF, D.A.C., C.A.A.C., Ottawa-AYF, Autonomie Forum, Community Charge & many others. The meeting ran for 2 hours, tons of stuff was discussed, and lots of decisions were made (Unfortunately, due to space constraints we cannot reprint the entire minutes. Only the most important decisions are listed here). Overall, it appears the AYF is heading in a positive direction, and things are picking up for the network.

Stuff that was decided:

-The AYF will have a monthly page in Love And Rage. This is important because it will help AYF'ers keep up with the anarchist movement, and vice versa. The page will be produced by NY-AYF. Some sort of editorial structure will be set up in Ottawa.

-Mid-South AYF broke up, & will no longer be listed on the AYF contact list. Furthermore,

anyone with half a mind should avoid writing to the old Mid-South P.O. Box, as it is controlled by a sexist, homophobic lunatic (Hi, J.P.!) More on this in future AYF pages

-AYF'ers should be on the Love and Rage Coordinating Group. This happened (Coup

Shit-Hot AYF Contest

The "Government's Don't Fall By Themselves" conference was held in a Catholic elementary school. While we were there, we stumbled across the following poem on the wall, written by a student. It read:

Outside my School, It's lonely.
Inside my School, It's cozy and safe.
Outside my School, I feel regular.
Inside my School, I feel like a star.
Outside my School, I see vandalism and pain.
Inside my School, I see beauty and peace.
Outside my School, I hear noise and hard rock music.
Inside my School, I hear beautiful music & the sounds of laughter.
-A (totally mind-fucked) 6th Grader of St. Stephen's School

So here's the deal. Send us your own, totally subversive version of the above poem. The 'winning' entry will be printed on the September AYF page, which will be dedicated to anti-school actions (the winner will receive a top secret prize!). So come on all you class war poets, put on a turtle-neck, brew up some cappuccino, and start composing!

D'Etat!! There are now 5 young people on it. They are Kieran (MN), Brian (MA), Brent (OH), Jacynthe (Quebec) and Dan (NYC).

-At Ottawa, we agreed to collectively write some sort of statement of principles (so any homophobic, sexist, racist can't consider themselves part of the AYF). There are also a bunch of other shit that needs to be discussed (like an AYF zine)

-There are a bunch of folks who are in the process of discussing a future anarchist gathering dedicated to the AYF only

This is only a sampling of the stuff discussed. For a complete copy of the notes, and other AYF junk, send \$50 + SASE to NYAYF (Attn: Minutes).

What Is AYF?

The Anarchist Youth Federation is an international network of autonomous anarchist youth groups dedicated to totally fucking up this system, until it dies a horrible death (and we all live happily ever after)

What is the AYF page?

The AYF page is a new, monthly feature bringing a much needed youth perspective to Love And Rage. We are also funny and sexy. All correspondence for this page should be sent to:

NY-AYF P.O. Box 365 Canal St.
Station, NYC 10013-0365

The AYF has tons of groups all over the universe. Due to the fact that we are making so much news at the moment, a complete listing could not be fit onto this page. For a listing of affiliate groups, and basic AYF info, send a stamp to the New York address.

Conference

(Continued from Page 8)

The EC was not an effective democratic body — the members weren't really accountable to anyone and there was no method for involving more people in the decisions the EC made. Both of these problems relate to a major stumbling block in the project: lack of communication.

The EC discussion bulletin had problems getting submissions and getting distributed. Also, the EC at twenty members was too large to poll quickly if something important came up and some members were virtually incommunicado due to logistical problems. As a result the production group had to rely on the few people they had real contact with for input. Also, input from the rest of the supporters into important processes such as planning the conference was limited and much work fell to a few people.

The problems with communication and the EC bulletin will hopefully be addressed by the new improved Discussion Bulletin, taken on by folks in Minneapolis, which will go out monthly. The one factor they can't control is input. Everyone should write their thoughts on the paper and the Network and stuff and send them to the discussion bulletin care of RABL.

The deadline for submissions is the 15th of every month.

The larger problems of structure and process were addressed by the conference in part through adopting a new decision making structure for the Network. The new structure has four bodies. The annual Conference remains the most important decision making body for the Network and major decisions are reserved for it. The Network Council (NC) is a delegate body composed of up to two voting delegates from any group that supports the Network. It meets one or more times between conferences to deal with large questions or problems that need action. The Coordinating Group (CG) is made up of ten voting members elected at the conference, plus the facilitator and co-facilitator. The CG will be in regular contact by phone and meet to advise the production group and make decisions which need immediate action. Finally, the Production Group (PG), resident in New York, will make day to day editorial and business decisions - in keeping with previous decisions of the Network and with advisement from the CG.

While this structure solves some of the problems of the old structure, it is easy to anticipate possible new problems. The NC is a delegate body, but it is not clear how somebody gets delegated to represent

their group at the meeting, nor is it clear how they will be accountable to these groups or to the Network as a whole. It also seems a possible danger that the CG could really abuse its power in making decisions. The only real check we have against this is the trust which we have in the people elected to the CG and our common commitment to collectivity and non-hierarchical social relations.

Also, if these groups do not strive to keep good communication going, the Production Group will have no one to advise them, and will end up making a lot of decisions on their own and with little input from the supporters of the paper.

It is also important to keep changing. Of the CG's ten members, less than half are former EC members.

The other important change is that of the facilitator's position. With this issue we have a new facilitator for the paper: Matt Black. Matt came on board around issue #6. Since that time he has worked on the production group. Wise beyond his beard, Matt will bring a lot of fresh young energy to the project. The famous Isa of New York was elected as co-facilitator and will undoubtedly add another perspective — and another pair of hands — to the paper.

This also means that we are saying goodbye to Christopher

Day as facilitator. Chris is "physically, emotionally, and financially exhausted" after sixteen months on the job. We look forward to his continued participation in the project and more writing for the paper after he gets a good nap. Thank You Christopher! for almost four years working on making this monthly anarchist publication a reality!

ORGANIZING A CONFERENCE

I have to consider the conference a great success, but there were problems with how it was organized. The biggest problem was the relatively closed process. Without a reliable discussion bulletin to ask for help, the Minneapolis group got little help from anyone except NY (thanks to those of you who did help — no dis intended to anyone), of course we didn't find people calling us offering to help either...

Some things were left out that are important and shouldn't be forgotten in the future: Youth Caucus, four or more minutes of unscheduled time for fun and/or for things not scheduled or on the formal agenda. I think we tried to do too much in three days, and the process in later meetings really suffered because of that.

Clearly the savior of the weekend was the mysterious and elusive Goof Liberation Front (GLF, cir - eh - cle) who liberated all sorts of goofiness

amid some rather tense meetings.

The workshops were all very good, and I want to thank everyone who put work into them. In the future we might want to schedule workshops once we have presenters, not the other way around.

FOOD HAPPENS?

If it hadn't been for the super-human efforts of one individual — Kate — food wouldn't have happened as well, if at all. We should also thank all the co-ops and bakeries who helped with the food effort. When interviewed, Kate claimed that she enjoyed the whole thing, but for future conferences I hope people will organize more collectively, so the food preparer can also attend some of the conference.

Lastly, I want to thank everyone who came to the conference and made it such a success, and to send my love to my new friends who I met there. Paul.

Love and Rage

Discussion Bulletin

Available for stamps from:

c/o RABL PO Box 10854
Minneapolis, MN 55458

Yugoslavery

(Continued from Page 6)

ism, desperation and disappointment with the economic and spiritual poverty that had recently conquered the country, to anger, to rage, to fight. And they do have the guts to really fight, as we have witnessed in Slovenia.

The nationalism of youth is usually connected with the soccer game. But the soccer hooligans' bonding, though it was on ethnic presumptions, is in its spirit more like the "Warriors" type of activity, than it is statism. In Slovenia this youth nationalist-thing played as a funny way to kick the ass connected to the communist pigs — instead of soccer — with music, particularly punk and industrial. Industrial became so strong that the only two Yugoslav rock bands popular out of Yugoslavia are the Slovenian industrial bands Laibach and Borghesia.

The statism came later. After the defeat of the Yugoslavian idea, in Belgrade 1988, when the Terminators banned the Society for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, rednecks gained in popularity in all parts of Yugoslavia. With clever use of historical statehood and ethnic symbols they got most of the citizens already tired of great ideas and philosophy and political experiments onto their side. With even smarter flirting with the terms "freedom" and "independence" they got non-statist-nationalist soccer hooligan youth as their weapon. The Croatian Democratic Union, a ruling Croatian nationalist party, even uses Bakunin in their review to explain their struggle for independence as an opposition to Bolshevik enforced Yugoslav unity. This is like George Bush sending marines to help squatters and homeless to get Dinkins's pigs out of the park, to gain voters for the 1992 elections. (The only problem of poor people in the U.S. is that they are a minority. If they become a vast majority, as they became all over Eastern Europe, such a move by Mr. Bush would become highly possible.)

Now we have everybody converted to nationalism: rednecks build their nationalism from the desire to have their own redneck empire (I feel deep sympathy for Serbians in Croatia — because most of them had a career in police, army or national security, and most of today's rulers of the Republic of Croatia were imprisoned for several years by these people because of their political opinions, and kept as Croatian nationalists in the prisons with overwhelmingly Serbian guards). The intelligentsia that flirted with Yugoslavism found a rationale for their nationalism in the death of the Bolshevik Yugoslav idea and a lack of commitment by any political group today in Yugoslavia to establish any new feasible Yugoslav idea.

Libertarian but nationalist youth found a lot of adventure and relative freedom in the new regime (in Slovenia they are actually forming the core of the regime: Defense Minister Jansa (a former peace activist!) and Interior Minister Bavar are both under 35, at least 5 of the "congressmen" are under 30). Even anarchists found the shelter in the ethnic-thing that almost swallowed everybody in all of Eastern Europe.

This is about what happened with libertarians in Yugoslavia: a lot of them left the country, and are now in Paris, London, Milan, Berlin, Toronto, San Francisco, Chicago, New York... World, beware! They moved out after they recognized that they made a mess that they were not able to put in order any more. Just a joke. The ones who stayed were absorbed in the ethnic-thing. Even long time resister Trivo Indjic appears to be slightly nibbled by the ethnic-thing in his recent article in the *Umanita Nova*, an Italian Anarchist Review. The rest are probably dead, because I haven't got a ring from them for almost a year.

This is an interesting question: should anarchists allow themselves to establish a state? In Spain they tried this in 1936, didn't they? They failed. It seems that everybody is happy about that. Rightists — because they won. Leftists —

because they save their political correctness, thus they won — by moral victory. So, who lost? People lost, pigs won. As usual. Should we form a sort of international brigades to help freedom fighters in Slovenia, or should we wait for the even greater disaster that is promising to happen in the Soviet Union, and for which the Yugoslav bloodshed is just an ugly prelude?

I do not want to go in theory any deeper. I hope Jansa, the Defense Minister, whom I happen to know as we were both active in the peace movement (he in Slovenia, me in Croatia), had studied well the Russo-Finnish winter war of 1939-1940, or at least ordered some of the interesting Loompanics publications like "How To Kill Tanks" (US Army handbook on guerilla warfare).

And what happened to commies? They shifted from communism vs. nationalism to nationalism vs. nationalism in the country's ideology (operated by the country's leading intellectuals), thus helping Communist Party members to keep their ugly heads on their thick piggy necks just by the ritual of changing their religion from anti-nationalist to nationalist. How much belief they had in Communism is easily seen by the large numbers of converts immediately after the eve of the elections.

However, disregarding my lack of sympathy for rednecks, Yugoslavia should cease to exist. Why? Because Yugoslavia is an example of the "Pax Romana" or "Pax Germanica" type of imperialist "unity" where the stability of the commonwealth is guaranteed by the strong army and the powerful, untouchable leader that can be emperor, king, president or general secretary. Such unity is "out of time" today when most commonwealths are based on economic interdependence and legal agreements, what is known as "Pax Oeconomica." The Yugoslavian type of unity also had a problem of survival after the death of its charismatic leader and creator, Tito. After the defeat of the Yugoslav Army in Slovenia there are no more pillars to support the roof

of Yugoslav "Pax Romana." The West will have to accept that Yugoslavia will now become only history, at least for a while. The West should not encourage (nor should the East) the Terminator Army to interfere in this history — preserving something that nobody really wants, and that nobody really has a use for.

Then why is the Yugoslav Army still supported by the superpowers? Because any grocery-owner will give some credit to an excellent customer — even if the customer is a drug addict, or beats his spouse and kids. I witness this in New York's East Village. I mean there is no reason for Uncle Sam to be angry at the Yugoslav Army's practice of sending western weaponry to Iran, Iraq, Libya, the Sudan, and Algeria — when Uncle Sam exports weapons to these places too. It seems that Terminators all over the world understand each other excellently. Then, there is the question of the feasibility of the beloved capitalist tool to force weaker countries to comply with the requests of the stronger: economic sanctions. If the request is to stop violence — they are useless. It is unwise to expect any civilized development to result from famine and desperation. It seems that the State Department recognized that. However, giving most favorable trading status to China after the Tien An Mien massacre and without Deng Xiaoping's removal from power makes us ask ourselves: will Iraq be eligible in a few months, even with Saddam Hussein still in power? That makes us ask ourselves, does the US government care about human rights at all? It seems that any dictatorship which will guarantee any trading concessions will be always more eligible than "pioneer" democracies. The policy is then obviously to ignore the crushing of human rights as long as the local strongman is able to maintain the stability of his dictatorship and thus secure American investments. Does that mean that the US will vehemently oppose the dictatorship's opponents, calling them terrorists until they do win their struggle against the

dictatorship all by themselves? However, at least following the same logic, the winners won't be called terrorists anymore — they might be called freedom fighters.

Yugoslavia made the front page of the *New York Times* and the first report on the CNN Headline News for a whole week: we haven't seen as much bloodshed in Europe since WWII was over. Then the shooting stopped. The lack of spurring blood made Yugoslavia again a boring appendix of Europe. Like the big media are suggesting: let's start all over again. And I believe that the bloodspill in Yugoslavia hardly came to its end by this shaky cease-fire.

A CHRONOLOGY OF DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLE IN YUGOSLAV EIGHTIES

(given as tennis scores)

Game One: 1980-1988
In Slovenia/Croatia/Serbia
the alternatives vs the Bolsheviks
the Bolsheviks won

Game Two (Canadian Doubles): 1988
In Serbia
the alternatives vs the Bolsheviks + the nationalists
the Bolsheviks won

Game Three (Canadian Doubles revisited): 1990
In Slovenia/Croatia
the alternatives + the nationalists vs the Bolsheviks
the nationalists won

Game Four (Mixed Doubles): 1991
In all of Yugoslavia
Slovenian/Croatian nationalists vs Serb Bolsheviks + Terminator Army
(to be continued...)

Autonomija
Vesna Terselic
ADSH
Gajeva 45
41 000 Zagreb

AMOR Y RABIA

una publicación mensual anarquista revolucionaria \$1

Año 2 Número 7

Agosto de 1991

PANAMA

MISERIA,
DESEMPLEO Y
REPRESION



POR GUSTAVO RODRIGUEZ.

Hace un año y ocho meses de la invasión y la ocupación militar yanqui a Panamá, desde el sangriento 20 de diciembre de 1989 y veintisiete años y siete meses, del anterior sarpazo imperialista contra el pueblo panameño, en defensa del estatus de enclave colonial del canal, mediante aquella criminal agresión del 9 de enero de 1964.

DIECIOCHO MESES DE OCUPACION YANQUI Y....

Han transcurrido 20 meses de la implantación del gobierno títere de Endara, Arias Calderón y Ford, como resultado de la agresión yanqui contra el pueblo de Panamá, con un saldo de más de 2000 muertos y alrededor de 20 mil personas sin hogar. A lo largo de este fatídico período han ido saliendo a flote los verdaderos objetivos de esta nefasta invasión, por desgracia para las mayorías humildes del pueblo panameño. Se ha hecho palpable el contenido oligárquico del gobierno títere, mediante las medidas antipopulares que éste a puesto en práctica a favor de la empresa privada y de la clase capitalista (representada solamente por el 3% de la población). También se hace patente el servilismo obediente

al F.M.I. (Fondo Monetario Internacional) y a los grandes capitales transnacionales con el pago de la deuda externa y la transnacionalización de la economía, materializando la imposición de los planes económicos fondomonetaristas, que la clase obrera en particular y el pueblo panameño en general habían dificultado a los gobiernos títeres de Arditio Barla, Del Valle y Noriega. Todo esto, se suma a la garantía de la continuidad de las bases militares en el istmo y el control de la "zona del canal."

Esto concluye en la prolongación del proyecto económico-político norteamericano avalado por el militarismo panameño, que junto a los gobiernos de turno son culpables de todos los males que sufren los sectores populares del país itsmeño. Hagamos un análisis, de manera resumida, de los hechos ocurridos desde el 20 de diciembre de 1989 a la fecha, exponiendo de forma paralela, las acciones represivas contra los sectores populares y la estrategia económica, (diseñada conjuntamente por el imperialismo yanqui, la oligarquía criolla y el militarismo panameño) y de como en este período de ocupación yanqui y de control de la

oligarquía, el pueblo ha luchado incansablemente por la retirada de las tropas de ocupación y contra las imposiciones políticas, económicas y sociales. La agresión combinada del imperialismo norteamericano junto a los sectores más reaccionarios panameños, dejó como consecuencias directas del ataque militar: totalmente destruido el populoso barrio de El Chorrillo, más de 20 mil refugiados de guerra sin hogar y pérdida total de todos sus artículos personales, la destrucción de pequeños comercios y la escalofriante cifra de más de 2000 muertos.

Como era de espera, una vez implantado el gobierno títere de la Alianza "Democrática" de Oposición, tiene que responder a los intereses de quienes lo impulsaron, quedando las promesas de "justicia, democracia, libertad y paz", tan solo en promesas, enfrentando las expectativas del pueblo con discursos demagógicos. Mientras se ha materializado la institucionalización de la represión y la violencia contra ese mismo pueblo, decretando de inmediato leyes y medidas en contra de los sectores populares, traducidos en: 1) despidos masivos de los empleados públicos (miles); 2) de-

spido de miles de trabajadores del sector privado "so pretexto del saqueo, la crisis económica y la pretendida no rentabilidad de las empresas"; 3) la quema de ranchos en Veracruz y el desalojo de los habitantes; 4) el desalojo de los habitantes de Lomo Cová; 5) la expulsión de inquilinos de áreas populares como Santa Ana; 6) Corte de agua potable a los moradores de San Joaquín y de Arraiján; 7) la represión contra el movimiento estudiantil (Instituto Nacional) y la expulsión de estudiantes de colegios secundarios (a quienes han reprimido con perigones); 8) la represión, detención y ultraje a periodistas; 9) la represión criminal de las manifestaciones populares por parte de los nuevos antidisturbios en combinación con los oficiales del Comando Sur, utilizando novedades de gases tóxicos y grandes cantidades de perdigones (a consecuencia de la brutal represión de las manifestaciones del día 13 y 14 de diciembre del 90 en los alrededores del Palacio Legislativo, Luis Cisneros, un humilde trabajador manual de la Universidad de Panamá, aún ésta en

peligro de perder la vista, por un disparo de perdigón.

Paralelamente a la represión se ha venido llevando a cabo una estrategia económica cuyos objetivos son: 1) destruir los sectores productivos del país; 2) destruir las organizaciones sindicales; 3) empeorar las condiciones de trabajo y echar abajo y los logros obtenidos mediante las luchas sindicales (Proyecto de Ley para modificar la ley de la Caja de Seguro Social, aumentando los años para la jubilación. No han pagado el décimo tercer mes. Reformas en el Código de Trabajo. No han pagado los sobresueldos que en el sector educativose adeudan, etc.); 4) aumentar los impuestos sobre los servicios básicos.

LA RESPUESTA DEL PUEBLO ANTE EL REGIMEN DE OCUPACION

Ante esta situación, el movimiento popular, inicialmente débil y desarticulado, realiza un sin número de movilizaciones y acciones desde los primeros días de enero de 1990, a esto le siguió una larga lista de manifestaciones: la movilización del Primero de Mayo, donde se repudió la presencia yanqui y se quemaron

(Continúa a página 4)

Una Introducción al Anarcha-Feminismo

POR LAURA LIB

Que es el Anarcha-feminismo? Esta pregunta nos podría conducir por muchos senderos, casi siempre históricos o biográficos, pero por ahora tomaremos el más vial de los caminos: el del anarcofeminismo hoy.

Amor y Rabia es realizado por la Red Amor y Rabia, un grupo de gente lo cuales están de acuerdo en línea general con la Declaración Política de Amor y Rabia y contribuyen con su tiempo, dinero y energía a Amor y Rabia. Las decisiones mayores y la política general se determinan cuando los simpatizantes se reúnan para una Conferencia una vez al año aproximadamente. Las decisiones internas, menos importantes (de acuerdo con la decisión de la Conferencia) las toma un Concejo de la Red de gente de varias regiones que se reúnan por lo menos una vez mediate las conferencias. Cualquier grupo con interés verdadero en el proyecto pueden mandar dos delegados a las reuniones del Concejo del Red. Decisiones que faltan acción más rápido (de acuerdo con las decisiones de la conferencia y el Concejo de la Red) las toma un Grupo de Coordinación electado. El Grupo de Coordinación consultan por telefono, por correo y pueden reunirse. Decisiones cotidianas las hace el residente del Grupo de Producción en la ciudad de Nueva York, donde se publica el periódico. En algunas ciudades y regiones, simpatizantes de Amor y Rabia se han organizado para cooperar en el apoyo al periódico a nivel local y algunas veces participan en la red a través de su grupo o colectivo. Otros simpatizantes militan solos. La mayoría de de los colaboradoras de Amor y Rabia están activos en esfuerzos por cambiar el mundo, además de publicar Amor y Rabia. Los simpatizantes están involucrados en un amplio rango de grupos locales, en varios tipos de publicaciones, en redes que atienden asunto específicos y en organizaciones que militan nacional y internacionalmente y muchas veces inscriban sobre sus actividades en Amor y Rabia. La Red Amor y Rabia no es un círculo cerrado de amigos. Si estás de acuerdo en general con la Declaración Política y estás conforme a comprometer tu tiempo, energía o dinero en nuestro esfuerzo común, puedes convertirte en parte de la red y participar ampliamente en el proceso de tomar las decisiones. Pídele más información a la persona que te vendió o te obsequió tu copia del periódico; o escribe a:

Amor y Rabia
Box 3, Prince Street Station
New York, NY 10012
(212) 925 7966

Grupo de Coordinación
Audrey, Minneapolis, MN
Brent, Dayton, OH
Brian, Wilmamstown, MA
Dan, New York, NY
Gustavo, Miami, FL
Jacynthe, Hull, Québec
Johnnie, Atlanta, GA
Kieran, Minneapolis, MN
Laurie, Chicago, IL
Liz, Boston, MA
Matt, Facilitator, New York, NY
Ito, Co-facilitator, Brooklyn, NY

Grupo de Producción
Wendy, Rachel, Matt, Lisa, Gwendolin, Gene, Demo,
Erica, Dan, Dave, Ito, Jane, Chris, Christopher, Chris,
Bob, Ashley, Keri, Ed

Traductores

Alvaro, Gustavo, Nina, Eugenio

Tratamos de publicar para la segunda semana de cada mes, así que pidemos que suscripciones estén en la oficina para la primera semana de cada mes. Tratamos de mandar por correo los periódicos para la tercera fin de semana de cada mes aunque no es siempre posible porque no tenemos el dinero. Si encuentras dificultades recibiendo el periódico por favor llama la oficina.

Aviso Abierto

Escucha. Artículos, cartas, Notas de Revolución, y otras cosas publicadas en Amor y Rabia no necesariamente representan las opiniones o los puntos de vista del Grupo de Producción, Grupo de Coordinación, Concejo de la Red, Conferencia o cualquier persona que toma parte en la Red Amor y Rabia. Impresamos una variedad de artículos por una variedad de razones, incluyendo artículos que no estamos de acuerdo con, porque creemos que son interesantes o provocativos. ¿O.K.?

Al igual que yo, las anarcofeministas, en su mayoría, se radicalizaron principalmente a través del lente de su propia experiencia como mujeres en una sociedad sexista.

A través del feminismo comprendimos uno de los sistemas de dominación - el patriarcado - y su funcionamiento en las instituciones sociales, si bien públicas (el Estado) o privadas (el capitalismo). Entonces, se empezó a reconocer el entrelazamiento de toda forma de dominación y a aceptar la idea de que la supresión del patriarcado significaba el fin de toda relación de poder. Muchas feministas han llegado a la misma conclusión. Las anarcofeministas, sin embargo, de alguna forma encontraron el anarquismo en la confusión o vaguedad de la mentira, los falsos conceptos y las distorsiones que a éste lo rodean y que con-

cientemente nos identifica como parte de una misma tradición. La conciente y clara perspectiva anarcofeminista que de ahí se ha obtenido le es indispensable a los movimientos tanto feminista como anarquista, para asegurar que cada uno de estos alcance algún día sus comunes metas revolucionarias. En su artículo titulado: 'Anarquismo: La Conexión Feminista' (publicado en la antología inglesa 'Quiet Rumors' (Discretos Rumores), la autora Peggy Kornegger denomina a las feministas radicales de los años sesenta y setenta 'las anarquistas del inconciente' y a sus perspectivas las describe como 'anarquismo quasi puro'.

Esto puede verse en la percepción sobre la institución familiar como núcleo (componente integral tanto del capitalismo como del estado), por las anarquistas radicales, como la base para los sistemas autoritarios.

El feminismo radical además desafió la jerarquía por exponer la forma patriarcal que guía nuestro proceso mental. Esta modalidad divide la realidad en dualismos tales como: hombre/mujer, heterosexual/homosexual, blanco/negro, cultura/naturaleza, mente/cuerpo, re-inando una condición sobre la "otra".

En la práctica el feminismo radical reformó la rueda

prever metas de largo plazo y la manera de alcanzarlas. Por ejemplo, muchos experimentos de grupos feministas con formas ajerarquicas no supieron balancear la organización con espontaneidad, resultando en una tiranía por la falta de estructura, expresada tanto por la tendencia a tratar exclusivamente problemas personales, como por la dominación (de facto) de los miembros del grupo con mayor experiencia y carisma. En consecuencia y en reacción a esto, algunas mujeres regresaron para derrumbar las formas de organización. Las formas de organización anarquistas exponen específicamente este problema y demuestran que la espontaneidad y la organización, tanto individual como colectiva, no son mutuamente exclusivas. El compartir conocimientos y aptitudes, la rotación de labores y responsabilidades y la dedicación de tiempo para las discusiones durante dinámicas de grupo, pueden usarse para vigilar concienzudamente que, ala vez que se fomenta el potencial individual, no se repliquen los patrones de la jerarquía. Más aún, mientras que afirma la necesidad de acción opositora, la historia anarquista atestiga la necesidad de una preparación a largo plazo del terreno para la revolución.

Kornegger observa que la impaciencia creada por la



anarquista en su reacción espontánea a formas patriarcales de organización que muchos de ellos habían experimentado en la nueva izquierda. La actividad feminista radical tomó formas no-jerárquicas, anti-autoritarias y descentralizadas. Los pequeños grupos sin líder permitieron que las mujeres superaran su experiencia subjetiva de opresión y al igual que el grupo de afinidad de los anarquistas españoles, formaron las bases para la organización.

Estos grupos trabajaban colectivamente, casi siempre en directa acción creativa, apuntalando a aquellas costumbres sexistas, para frecuentemente crear contra-instituciones, tales como centros de alternativa para la salud de la mujer o centros para las víctimas de violación o publicaciones periódicas. Siguiendo el argumento de Kornegger, los elementos de conciencia y comprensión del anarquismo hubiesen podido ayudarel movimiento feminista proporcionándole ejemplos históricos de organización ajerarquica y de un marco o estructura en el cual el movimiento podría

'Revolución Ahora' y el consiguiente descorazonamiento del movimiento feminista de los setenta llevó, en parte, a un escapismo, en vez de guiar hacia el constante enfoque sobre la educación, el compartir de ideas y la creación de instituciones de alternativa y de oposición, así como la transformación personal. El año 1973 ha quedado atrás y sin embargo no se percibe movimiento anarcofeminista alguno que encuentre por florecer. Las tendencias más fuerte del feminismo hoy son, por un lado, del tipo "NOW" (Organización Nacional de Mujeres) de clase media, liberal y de la raza blanca, y quienes no logran ver la naturaleza sistemática del sexismo y abogan por la igualdad de participación de la mujer en un mundo desigual; y por el otro, las escapistas quienes se consuelan con la transformación individual de sus conciencias y en el peligroso 'regreso al principio feminista de la diosa'.

El anarcofeminismo, pues, no está en la posición de ayudar a concretar las esparcidas tendencias anarquistas sino mas bien debe abrigar el 'regreso de la

reprimida conciencia anarquista' expresada en el feminismo radical. Esto conlleva a expresar el anarcofeminismo en formas de organización interna, desafiando las tendencias liberales y escapistas por su perpetuación de las relaciones de poder, así como también a funcionar activamente en la resistencia de toda relación que se le asemeje.

Puedo señalar un par de ejemplos aunque limitados, de anarcofeminismo en acción. Aquí en Minneapolis, las anarcofeministas, activas en diferentes grupos, se juntaron para conmemorar el aniversario de la masacre a 14 mujeres en la Universidad de Montreal. El aniversario sirvió para demistificar lo que había sido visto como el 'aberrante acto de un sicópata' y para exponer las formas menos espectaculares de violencia cotidiana contra la mujer.

Utilizamos la táctica educativa del teatro de guerrilla para mostrar la forma en que los numerosos sistemas de opresión que encaran a la mujer, la construyen, en diferentes formas, como blanco de la violencia masculina. A través de personajes como el de la mujer de negocios y el de la novela, implicamos el capitalismo y el Estado, respectivamente, para obtener la atención sobre la naturaleza sintomática de la violencia contra la mujer.

Esto pone en desafío la perspectiva liberal que niega la naturaleza violenta y necesaria de nuestra sociedad, a la vez que persigue curar sus síntomas a través de legislaciones, incrementando así el control del Estado sobre nuestras vidas.

El ecofeminismo, surgido a partir las premisas ecoanarquistas sobre la ecología social, ofrece otro ejemplo de la tendencia anarcofeminista en acción. El ecofeminismo reconoce la conexión histórica a y ideológica entre la degradación de la mujer y la explotación de la naturaleza; persigue una nueva y más libertaria comprensión de la relación de la mujer hacia la naturaleza y desafia la réplica de posturas patriarcales tanto hacia la naturaleza humana como hacia la no-humana en el pensamiento feminista. El ecofeminismo se empeña en ir más allá del debate esencialista dentro del feminismo que reproduce el dualismo naturaleza/cultura.

Por una parte, el ecofeminismo desafía la aserción de una feminidad establecida por la condición natural o biológica. Las ecofeministas condenan aquel tipo de esencialismo que rinde culto a una deidad del momento y que ostenta ser ecofeminista. Esta moda de conveniencia adopta las conexiones históricas opresivas entre la mujer y la naturaleza, alegando que la feminidad natural siendo incorporada por la diosa tierra es nuestra real salvación, sin involucrarse ni preocuparse a sí misma en las condiciones sociales que continúan militando contra la autodeterminación de la mujer. Por otra parte, el ecofeminismo rechaza la idea de que el género lo determina simple y llanamente la cultura y la tendencia correspondiente de ver la biología femenina como un reino limitante que debe ser superado; es decir, que toda mujer debe abstenerse de tener hijos para poder competir o estar en la misma base de partida que el hombre.

Por el contrario, las ecofeministas afirman que el género se va desarrollando en la interrelación biología/sociedad, naturaleza/cultura.

Tanto la biología como la naturaleza son vistas como el reino potencial del género y la libertad como distinción, cuya forma en una sociedad libre no podemos predecir.

El ecofeminismo intenta reafirmar la diferencia, sin apuntalar la dominación basada en la diferencia, reiterar todo potencial propio de la mujer y funcionar dentro de un mundo en el que ésta pueda realizarse.

En la persecución de nuestra meta a largo plazo por lograr una sociedad libre de dominación, algunas anarcofeministas han hallado apropiado el trabajar entre grupos mixtos (de mujeres y hombres). Resulta crucial una perspectiva feminista definida dentro del movimiento anarquista y ésta no se puede simplemente subsistir (incluir en una clase o categoría).

Como eficazmente lo señala Maura Dillon en su artículo 'Anarchism, Feminism - Building a Movement' (Anarquismo, Feminismo - Contruyendo un Movimiento) (Left Green Notes #5 Nov/Dec 1990) 'El anarquismo necesita la experiencia y el involucro de la mujer para que ésta entienda los aspectos particulares de la opresión hacia la mujer, si éste ha de lograr sus ideales'.

Muchos hombres anarquistas se resisten a entablar discusiones de 'proceso' que examinan la dinámica interna de grupo, adhiriéndose al argumento de que éstas nos desaceleran demasiado. Derrumbemos el Estado y luego preocupémonos del proceso, saben resumir. Un comportamiento tan instrumental no puede partir del anarquismo, sino más bien de una visión marxista, la cual afirma que una vez que una estructura egalitaria y económica es colocada en su lugar, toda forma de dominación caerá por su propio peso. La aplicabilidad del anarquismo consiste ampliamente en su reconocimiento de que, bajo ningún concepto, la opresión en su pleno, se reduce a asuntos de economía, sino que opera a un nivel más sutil y subjetivo, en patrones internalizados de dominación y por lo tanto deben citarse a ese nivel.

Sin embargo, esto no significa que el anarquismo es inherentemente antisexistista, sino que está abierto a la crítica feminista. El puro reconocimiento de las diferentes formas de dominación ésta lejos de la comprensión de sus dinámicas sociales y aún más lejano de la comprensión de su inevitable 'modus operandi' dentro de nuestras mentes.

Por lo tanto, el anarquismo necesita al feminismo, no solo para combatir el sexismo al más alto nivel en la sociedad, sino para combatir sus patrones dentro del movimiento anarquista. Muchos de estos patrones nos son ya familiares y pueden fácilmente detectarse bajo el falso disfraz de anarquismo. El romantizar la vigilancia callejera es una de las costumbres machistas que se disfrazan de radicalismo. Esta fijación en tácticas de violencia por lo general presionan a la mujer (y al hombre) a adoptar posturas en las que no se siente protegida, como la de todo machismo.

La militancia es de suma importancia, siempre que no nos propasemos ya que esto conduce a procrear relaciones sexistas de poder.

Nunca dejemos de reflexionar en la forma que toma la militancia y su importancia sobre una situación dada. La militancia es más que un mero quebrar de vidrios; es el camino a la revolución. Esto puede tomar diferentes formas, muchas de las cuales pueden resultar más efectivas que luchar contra la policía. Como dice un amigo, cuando se rompe una vitrina, ésta simplemente es reemplazada, a la vez que las ganancias continúan registrándose. Mientras que si se convence a otros de las atrocidades del capitalismo, puede que inicien la revolución social, dejando atrás el dilema de la vitrina comercial.

Otra estrategia es de crear contra-instituciones tales como 'jardines comunitarios' que, idealmente, ofrecen una alternativa al mercado capitalista, a la vez que establecen las bases de una cooperativa social. La militancia 'callejera' puede jugar un papel vital y creativo en la política anarquista, pero si no se hace en conjunto con otros esfuerzos diversos y se sostienen esto puede fácilmente conllevar a un movimiento no

solo sexista sino inefectivo.

Una perspectiva anarcofeminista debe también 'prestar atención' a la naturaleza sexista del anarquismo puramente individualista y a la tendencia de esquivar cualquier tipo de organización.

Esta idea de 'cada cual lo suyo' de nuevo atiende al ideal americano de aspero individualismo que se observa en las mentalidades fronterizas. Esta visión de libertad consiste en el aislado ego masculino enardeciente batalla con los elementos. Tal actitud o postura va en contra de los principios anarquistas y solo perpetúa al burges individualismo patriarcal que nos fragmenta y mantiene oprimidos.

La singularidad del anarquismo, de acuerdo a Emma Goldman, es su enseñanza sobre la vida: No existe mayor conflicto entre el individual y los instintos sociales, que aquel que existe entre el corazón y los pulmones; siendo un, el receptáculo de una valiosa esencia vital; el otro, el recipiente del elemento que mantiene esa esencia fuerte y pura (Anarchism and Other Essays -[Sobre El Anarquismo y Otros Ensayos] página 52).

No hace falta ser feminista para darse cuenta que las personalidades más prominentes y de mayor voz dentro del movimiento anarquista son hombres. Hagamos incapie en otorgarle poder a aquellas mujeres con quienes desenvolvemos, a través del intercambio y el compartir de habilidades y conocimientos, como también a través de la rotación de responsabilidades, dando así la oportunidad a la mujer de orar y escribir para el público. No es un hecho accidental el que la mujer no se sienta segura en estas funciones. Hemos de reconocer los patrones de socialización de los cuales ninguno de nosotros ha podido/ni podrá enteramente escapar. Estas observaciones son tan sólo meras sugerencias de lo que necesita ser una continua crítica anarcofeminista, que además debe exponer posiciones homofóbicas frecuentemente experimentadas en nuestros grupos.

Más importante aún, la perspectiva feminista sobre el anarquismo no puede solamente apoyarse en el hombro de las anarcofeministas.

Esta responsabilidad no debe tornarse en que la mujer enseñe al hombre acerca de su naturaleza.

La creación de una nueva sociedad requiere primero la creación de nuevos individuos. Todo anarquista debe entonces seriamente adherirse al proverbio "todo lo personal es también político" y mirar interiormente.

Las discusiones sobre la dinámica de géneros no debe tomar la forma de un juego de culpabilidad. Si el sexismo permanece como un asunto de mujer nunca nos desahaceremos de él. El hombre debe llegar a entender que el feminismo no trata sólo sobre la liberación de la mujer, sino sobre la liberación de la mujer, sino sobre la lucha, por separado, pero integral, del hombre por liberarse a sí mismo de un dañino proceso de socialización. Aunque estos proyectos son quizás por igual importantes también debemos darnos cuenta de sus diferencias. A pesar de que el hombre este dañado por su construcción de opresor, históricamente también se ha beneficiado del patriarcado. Cuando el antisexismo se vuelve difícil de manejar, el hombre puede refugiarse en el privilegiado reino de la masculinidad. La mujer, sin embargo, la debe sudar. El hombre anarquista debe empezar a tomar el feminismo seriamente informándose acerca de su avance y examinado su propio condicionamiento patriarcal, además de mantenerse activo en la lucha contra el sexismo en nuestra sociedad. Solo así podremos empezar a obtener una percepción del individuo como tal, y de esta perspectiva lograr desarrollar una mejor comprensión de como este ser humano se identifica con otros y con un mundo natural en una sociedad libre.

Nuestra Declaración Política ha sido corregida y enmendada en la última Conferencia de Amor y Rabia. En Nuestro próximo número apareceda la Declaración Política actualizada. Gracias, El Grupo de Producción

¡SOCORRO!

Si tu estás leyendo esto necesitamos tu ayuda. Para mantener y extender la sección en español nos falta traductores y traductoras, correctores de pruebas, artículos y noticias de la comunidad hispano (o artículos en español en general) y tu comentario y participación en este proyecto. Por favor escríbenos para que sabemos lo que estas pensando o por lo menos para que sabemos que estas leyendo *Amor y Rabia*. Gracias.

Eugenio

Subscríbete a Amor y Rabia

y recibirás cada número de este periódico mensual anarquista revolucionario entregado por un agente uniformado del Estado.

Indica tu preferencia y envía este cupón al:
P.O. Box 3, Prince Street Station
New York, NY 10012 USA



___ Envío \$9 para una suscripción de correo de tercera clase (lento).
___ Envío \$13 para una suscripción de correo de primera clase (rápido, en sobre).
___ Envío \$13 para una suscripción de ultramar por un año.
___ ¿Soldado? ¿PCS? ¿Preso?
Indícalo aquí para una suscripción gratis.
___ Yo quiero ser un simpatizante de Amor y Rabia.
Enviaré cada mes: ___ \$10 ___ \$20 ___ \$50 ___ \$100

Nombre _____
Dirección _____
Ciudad _____ Estado _____ Zip _____ País _____

Panama

(Continúa de pagina 1)

banderas estadounidenses, la manifestación de los refugiados de guerra del barrio de El Chorillo, frente a la embajada norteamericana el 20 de mayo, exigiendo indemnización por sus casas y pertenencias. También se han venido realizando movilizaciones todos los días 20 de cada mes, en repudio a la ocupación yanqui. El mayor desarrollo del movimiento popular contra la ocupación y el gobierno títere, se ha logrado a partir del 16 de octubre de 1990, alcanzando dimensiones masivas en la gran manifestación de protesta del 4 de diciembre y el paro general del día siguiente (5 de diciembre).

Los sindicatos y asociaciones de trabajadores (tanto del sector privado como estatal) se han dado a la tarea de denunciar a los gremios amarillos y a los funcionarios traidores al movimiento de los trabajadores, que se han prestado para estos fines, promoviendo cínicamente la formación de comités pro-rescate, de los gremios. Vale la pena señalar, que estos funcionarios, son las mismas alimañas que se prestaron para desarrollar estas mismas actividades contra el movimiento popular durante el gobierno de Noriega.

En el marco de un plan de acciones contra las medidas antipopulares del gobierno, ha surgido la Coordinadora por el Derecho a la Vida, integrada por diferentes individuos, sindicatos y asociaciones, que han logrado trascender las fronteras de la lucha por el derecho a la vida, en busca de la solidaridad internacional por parte de otros gremios y asociaciones de trabajadores, logrando presentar en el Comité de Libertad Sindical de la Organización Internacional de Trabajo (organismo de cual conocemos sus compromisos y limitaciones) consede en

Ginebra, Suiza, las denuncias contra el gobierno títere de la Alianza (ADO-CIVILISTA).

En esta incansable lucha del movimiento de los trabajadores por sus derechos elementales, no se puede pasar por alto la labor tesonera de muchos gremios, que hoy luchan para reconquistar sus derechos frente al gobierno títere de Endara, el intervencionismo yanqui y la oligarquía nacional, con el mismo tesón que se enfretaron ayer al dictador

igualmente había sido censurado su local, primero por Concepción, después por el Coronel Motta y más tarde por el Coronel Mirones. En el caso de SITIRHE, vuelvan a ser destituidos, como lo fueron antes por el régimen de Noriega, quien los despidiera por 15 meses y les obligara al exilio; sin embargo, aun exiliados no cesaron en sus luchas sindicales igual que las continúan hoy.

Hoy, frente al nuevo gobierno

porque luchan con total convencimiento por la dignidad del pueblo trabajador y por un futuro mejor. Ejemplo de esto, son las constantes movilizaciones, la huelga de hambre del pasado diciembre y las incontables acciones directas donde la clase trabajadora panameña exige incansablemente sus derechos.

De la misma manera, la lucha social contra los mesquinos intereses que hoy ocupan el Poder en Panamá, se está

organizado en el campo. Los campesinos e indígenas panameños han asumido su rol y han comenzado a organizarse autogestionariamente en gremios y federaciones que luchan por sus propios intereses básicos. En la provincia de Veraguas se ha organizado con este fin la Federación de Organizaciones Campesinas e Indígenas de Veraguas, con la intención de ser una fuerza social con plena capacidad de enfrentar los problemas del sector campesino y indígena de la zona y como tal, asume la responsabilidad de impulsar una lucha permanente, constante y clasista que tenga como objetivo la consecución de mejores días para los campesinos e indígenas de Veraguas. La Federación intenta ser un vehículo más, que incorpore a los campesinos y indígenas a las luchas sociales (obreros, desempleados, mujeres, estudiantes, etc.) sin sectarismo ni ambiciones políticas

partidistas.

En el sector estudiantil también se han realizado un conjunto de actividades: movilizaciones, asambleas, etc. Se han creado diferentes agrupaciones y frentes estudiantiles que manifiestan su solidaridad con el resto de los sectores que integran el pueblo panameño, así como su repudio a la intervención yanqui y al actual gobierno títere. Estos grupos estudiantiles se han originado en diferentes niveles, presentándose tanto a nivel secundario, pre-universitario, todos comprendidos en la lucha por echar a las tropas de ocupación yanqui y contra sus imposiciones políticas, económicas y sociales en complicidad con el gobierno títere de la Alianza (ADO-CIVILISTA) y la oligarquía criolla.

El descontento de la población es generalizado frente a la política criminal de miseria, hambre, represión y desempleo que se le ha impuesto al pueblo mediante los tanques yanquis ya través del gobierno títere nacional. Hoy, un año y ocho meses de la invasión, la respuesta populares es creciente; la lucha, lejos de debilitarse se incrementa siendo cada vez más participativos los diferentes sectores en la misma, lo que no les ha permitido a los intervencionistas yanquis, y a la oligarquía ni la consolidación de un gobierno estable, ni la creación de un cuerpo represivo perfecto que les garantice sus intereses.



Noriega y a los gobiernos anteriores. Gremios como el SITIRHE, la ANEAP, el INTEL y otros, han vivido la represión constante en todos los mandatos, han sido destituidos, perseguidos, encarcelados, exiliados, etc. Ahora, sus locales han sido cerrados nuevamente; en el caso específico de la ANEAP, durante los últimos años,

títere, frente al intervencionismo yanqui y la oligarquía nacional, los gremios y las asociaciones de trabajadores al igual que en luchas pasadas, han dicho presente, y ni la represión, la persecución, los despidos y los encarcelamientos podran disminuir la intensidad de esta lucha reivindicadora, porque tienen plena confianza en la clase trabajadora y

Cartas de México: 1er Encuentro Nacional de Anarquistas

Las dos cartas siguientes contienen más sobre el Primer Encuentro Nacional de Anarquistas. La segunda carta fue publicada en inglés en Amor y Rabia número 6, junio-julio de 1991. La primera carta llegó al último momento y refiere a la publicación anterior de la segunda y a otra carta que publicamos en Amor y Rabia. Todavía estamos confundidos sobre algunas cosas pero estamos contentos que el Encuentro va suceder y esperamos que todo va bien.

México, D.F., julio de 1991
Al colectivo editorial de Amor y Rabia. A través de este conducto nos dirigimos a ustedes para hacer ciertas aclaraciones con respecto a las cartas publicadas en su periódico del número 4, abril de 1991 firmadas por Braulio Alfaro del fancine Motín, y el número 6, junio-julio de 1991 con relación a la convocatoria al Primer Encuentro Nacional de Anarquistas, a celebrarse en Ocotepéc, Morelos, México

Con el respecto a las cartas, las declaraciones son las siguientes: Primeramente, respecto a una cantidad de dinero (\$1500) que fueron donados por el colectivo Bound Together y otros grupos, que estaba autorizado para la realización del Encuentro Nacional, hacemos notar que la persona responsable de este dinero (Braulio Alfaro), utilizó esta cantidad, con fines ajenos al Encuentro, y siendo imposible recuperarlo para gastos de este, por lo tanto, la comisión organizadora del Encuentro no se hace responsable de la utilización de ese dinero.

Tomando en cuenta que la organización y realización del Encuentro se ha basado en el esfuerzo

conjunto de grupos y personas, queremos afirmar que no existe persona que represente individualmente este trabajo, siendo la comisión de comunicación la única autorizada para dar información.

Respecto a la información que se refiere a la organización del Encuentro que citan las cartas, aclaramos que esta no corresponde a la organización del Encuentro y por las confusiones que estas ha producido recalamos que es un Encuentro Nacional ya que no tenemos la capacidad organizativa para un evento más amplio.

La convocatoria publicada en su periódico, no corresponde a la redacción final, por lo que desconocemos quien se autotitula para enviar dicha información que cuenta con varios errores.

Atentamente:
Comisión de Comunicación para el
Primer Encuentro Nacional de
Anarquistas.

via:
Regeneración
Apdo Postal 9090
México 1 D.F.

Compañeros.

Saludos fraternos.

Por medio de la presente los invitamos al 1er. Encuentro Nacional de Anarquistas del cual anexamos la convocatoria, de la cual resaltamos que el Encuentro es Nacional (aunque para nosotros los anarquistas no existen fronteras), pero debido a que no contamos con la capacidad organizativa que requiere un Encuentro internacional, sólo tenemos cupo para 30 extranjeros los cuales tendran que ser representa-

tes de algún gupo.

Si desea inscribirse, puede hacerlo en giro telegráfico con:

José Antonio Dorantes
Monte Alvan #604
Col. Valle Alameda
C.P. 76040

Querétaro, Querétaro.
MÉXICO

Sin más por el momento nos despedimos de ustedes.

ATT.

Comisión de Comunicación para el
1er Encuentro Nacional de
Anarquistas

A pesar de que las formas organizativas originadas por las maneras autoritarias de relación, como la producción basada en la explotación, desigualdad, ignorancia, etc. han limitado al ser humano en su libre desarrollo, siempre habremos quienes busquemos llegar a un tipo de sociedad diferente, donde se conserven los aspectos que hacen al hombre un ser realizado a través del trabajo y las ideas (igualdad, libertad, apoyo mutuo, acción directa, responsabilidad, etc.) por lo tanto, nosotros, una parte de la comunidad anarquista, convocamos al: Primer Encuentro Nacional de Anarquistas

A realizarse los días 14, 15, y 16 de septiembre de 1991 en el local del Centro de Investigación Acción Comunitaria A.C. ubicado en Ocotepéc, Morelos, bajo las siguientes formas de trabajo:

Se formarán mesas de trabajo. Cada una de estas decidirá como organizarse (talleres, conferencias, ponencias, discusión, etc) y comunicarán lo tratado y/o conclusiones de su trabajo para

enlazar cada mesa con la totalidad del Encuentro.

Los temas propuestos a tratar son: Al anarquismo ayer, hoy, ¿y mañana?; Los grupos anarquistas y su vinculación con la sociedad; El trabajo; La vida cotidiana; La cultura; La educación; La salud; La ecología; La mujer; Los jóvenes, etc.

El Encuentro tiene como objetivos: La interrelación de los diferentes grupos y personas de las diversas corrientes del anarquismo, conocer el trabajo que cada uno realiza en la sociedad así como plantear la coordinación de trabajo, nombrando una coordinación si se considera necesario.

Para la mejor organización del evento se pide que las personas interesadas confirmen su asistencia, así como su preferencia por el tema determinado y su forma de participación, 15 días antes de realizarse el Encuentro a la siguiente dirección: Apdo.Post. Regeneración, 9090 México 1, D.F. México, o a Morelos 45-206, Colonia Centro, Tel.: 5 12 08 86 de 8:00 a 10:00 am de lunes a sábado. Dado que no contamos con el dinero suficiente para subsidiar el evento, se solicita una cuota de 50,000 pesos para cubrir los gastos de alimentación y hospedaje. Esperamos tener el gusto de contar con su permanencia los tres días que dura el Encuentro. La recepción será desde la tarde del día 13, hasta las 9:00 am del día 14 de septiembre.

El local cuenta con dormitorio, cocina y espacio suficiente para acampar, por lo cual se les sugiere llevar cobijas, sleepings, tienda de campaña etc., así como lo necesario para la temporada de lluvias. Se contará con asistencia médica y espacio de convivencia infantil.