

# LOVE AND RAGE

a revolutionary anarchist newsmonthly

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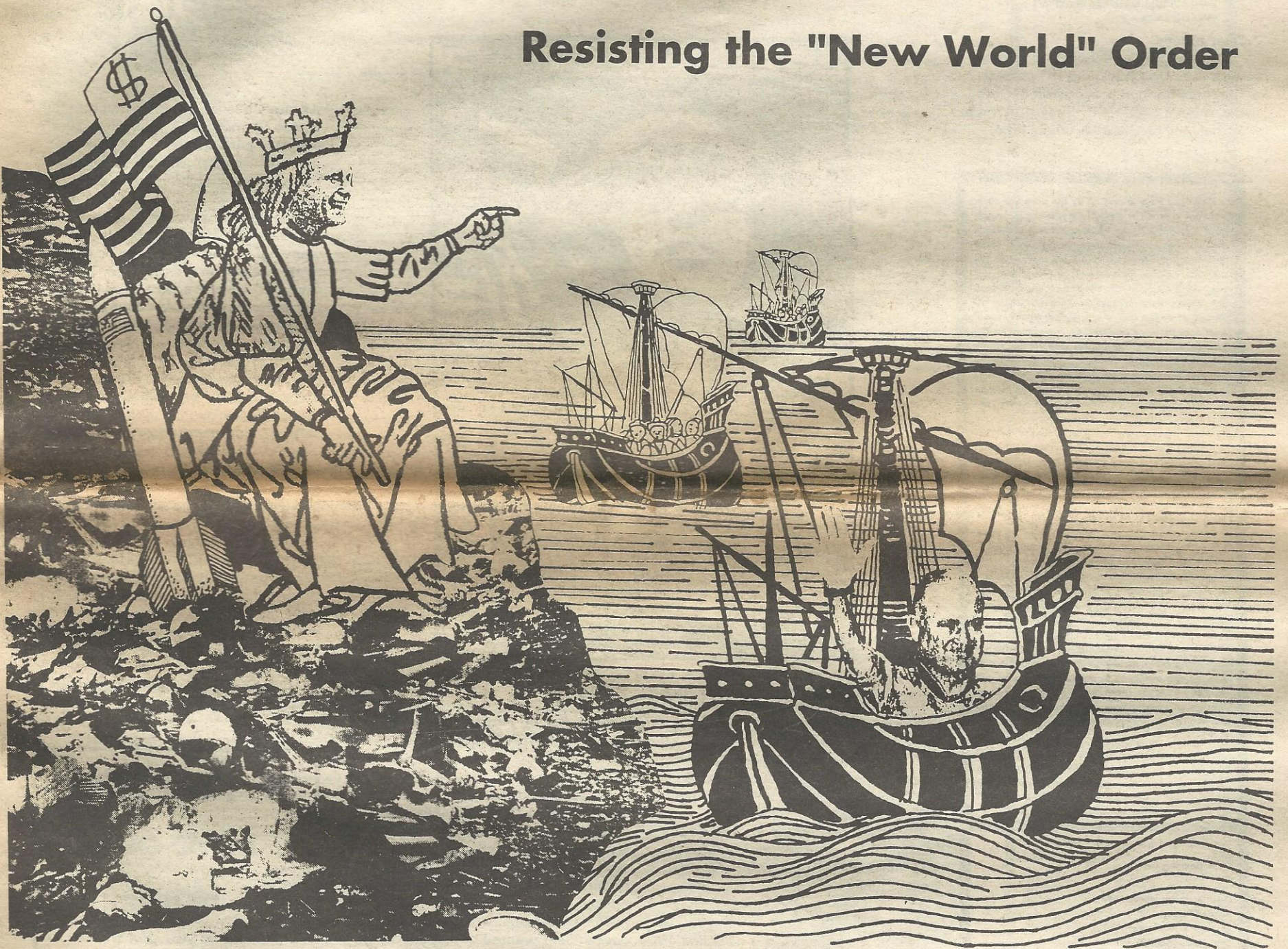
Vol.2 No.8

sección en español

October 1991

## FIGHTING THE CELEBRATION

Resisting the "New World" Order



BY JEFF NYGAARD

"They brought us parrots, and balls of cotton, and spears, and many other things which they exchanged for glass beads and hawks' bells. They willingly traded everything they owned...They have no iron, their spears are made of cane. They would make fine servants. With fifty men we could subjugate them all and make them do whatever we want."

From Columbus' Diary, about the Arawak People

IN 1492, A GREAT MAN WITH A BOLD VISION persuaded a stubborn queen to sell her jewels to pay for a crazy trip that everyone thought would carry him and his brave crew off the edge of the earth to certain death. But instead of sailing off the edge of the earth, Christopher Columbus discovered a "New World" and proceeded to bring civilization to the savages that he found there. That's how the story goes, right?

No? Well how about this version: in 1492, a greedy adventurer, Christopher Columbus, convinced the king and queen of Spain to use some of their immense wealth to fund a trip to Asia via a direct Western route. In exchange for opening up this western route, they would agree to give Columbus a 10% cut of all the wealth that would ever be shipped back to Spain, and to make him an "admiral of the open sea." After getting hopelessly lost, he and his men were taken in by the indigenous people of the western hemisphere, whom they proceeded to enslave and slaughter in huge numbers. The forcible transfer of wealth from poor country to rich that was thus begun continues to this day.

Well you guessed it: The second version is much more historically accurate than the first, even though the first version is the one that most schoolchildren in the US have been taught for many decades.

### SO WHAT?

So next year, 1992, will be the 500th anniversary of the landing of Columbus in this hemisphere, and the ruling classes in this country and throughout the hemisphere want to celebrate in a big way. I mean a *really* big way. Here are some of the things we'll be seeing (whether we want to or not): ad campaigns; re-enactments of Columbus' voyage; TV shows; parades; a commemorative postage stamp; the re-naming of roads, bridges and highways; even the launching of a huge flotilla of spaceships to Mars and the "marriage" of a huge statue of Columbus to...the Statue of Liberty! (I'm not making this up.)

Now, necessary to this big celebration, obviously, is the perpetuation of the national illusion of Columbus as the romantic adventurer who "found" the new world. The whole idea of the celebration, as our pseudo-leaders would

(Continued on page 5)

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# Letters

## Fuck Shit Up Fan Mail

To Love and Rage,

Hi folks! Really like *Love and Rage*. Nearly pissed my pants reading about the people in Washington who passed out leaflets offering money for yellow ribbons! Your paper really gives people some good ideas about being a pain in the ass to the corporate assholes who run (over) the country.

I'm a Wobbly myself. We organized an IWW group in this area and are having lots of fun with it.

Also, we organized an IWW marching bloc in the AFL-CIO parade on Aug. 31. We're showing people that militant unionism is still alive and well.

Solidarity,  
J. Kelly

## Up Chuck and Di

Dear friends,

Sorry about not keeping up to date with the "Up Chuck and Di" protest that may happen in Kingston in October. I have been really busy, and not a lot has gotten done. A whole lot of

*Love and Rage* is created by the Love and Rage Network, a group of supporters who are in general 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 Network Council) are made by an elected Coordinating Group which consults with 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 or 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

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

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### Translations:

Alvaro, Gustavo, Nina, Eugenio

We try to go to press by the second weekend 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 weekend 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 opinions or views 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 we believe that they are interesting or provocative. So there.

other projects are under way in Kingston, so there isn't much time.

However, I still hope that something will go ahead. My original letter calling for an action was written on a day when the cops were harassing me, so I apologize for the slightly violent perhaps pseudo-macho undertones. I am very well aware that the royal couple will be well protected, and we have no illusions about what would happen if things got out of hand. Having said this however, I still hope that some sort of small gathering and action would happen...maybe with some people from Southern Ontario and a handful of people from the States. With 30-50 anarchists things could be fun, and still give a clear message. In a crowd of 300-400 liberal Kingstonians we would be a visible, but somewhat

need the paper since I'm currently suffering post-student, suburbia inaction, working at a bookstore.

I'm helping publish *Left Green Notes*; I've also had plans to publish my own 'zine, which is called *LIVID*, but am waiting indefinitely.

I was previously involved with a democratic socialist group and found no answers to recurring problems there.

I strongly support the presidential boycott and hope to get more involved - turn apathy into action. No vote = No State.

I'm also excited at the bi-lingual aspect of the paper, since I begin Spanish in a few weeks. I look forward to my first issue, and to getting more involved.

Britt P



safer group. Allowing us to leave the mob for any direct action.

So anyway, write for more info, because something is going to happen on October 16, even if nothing super big.

It was great seeing people at Youth Lib, too bad I couldn't stay for Monday and all the networking stuff. Oh well, best of luck.

John Smythe  
PO Box 461  
Kingston, Ontario  
K7L 4W5

## Almost Livid

Love and Rage,

Finally, I'm subscribing after picking up *Love and Rage* at the summer gathering of Left Greens. I desperately

## What Really Happened In Greece This Summer

Dear Comrades,

We were informed that the American press and TV present the 18 of July riot as a "riot over the nationalist issue of Cyprus" and also that the rioters were "the leftist minority of the National Student Union." This is nothing but bullshit.

This's what really happened: The government wanted to present an image of "social peace" during the "visit" of George Bush. The whole police force of Athens (11,000 pigs) was on alert. All demonstrations during

## Correction:

Aside from all the typographical and layout errors which keep the PG up at night, we:

- left out a byline for "Laws and Outlaws," which was written by Holly and Isa.
  - discovered that there were editing errors in our interview with Sendero Verde. Their translator added several comments and clarified several of Orlando's and Mercedes's answers, and his words were occasionally represented as theirs. As far as we can tell, this didn't make a significant impact on the content.
  - and all sorts of other small things
- Also, just so you know, this issue is late in part because of computer problems which took a while to fix.

the 18th and 19th of July were forbidden. Athens was a city under police occupation. A meeting was held on the 16th of July attended by all anarchist groups and squatted houses of Athens. It was decided that our aim was to destroy the image of "social peace," our only way was violent direct action. We decided 1) not to par-



ticipate in leftist protests and bureaucratic "games" (only one group decided to participate in the leftist demonstrations); 2) Occupy Polytechnic and use it as information and action center.

For the next two days—using the Polytechnic's Xerox machine thousands of communiques and posters were printed and distributed. More than 100 molotovs were prepared and stones were gathered. Tons of passing busses were stopped and they "carried" our graffiti all over Athens.

18th of July: The day of Bush's arrival. The demonstration organized by leftist students was attacked by the cops and—as usual—leftists didn't fight back. Only the few anarchist participants reacted and set on fire the American Express Bank.

When the anarchists gathered around Polytechnic (600-700) were informed about the police attack, the "usual party" began: barricades, fires, CS gas, molotovs, burning banks, buses, and luxury cars. The area around Polytechnic became a battlefield. Later that night, hundreds of Nazis and right wing bastards tried to invade Polytechnic. They were smashed.

All the arrested comrades are now free. That's all.

"@"

## If You Like Love and Rage

(or if you don't)

and would like to contribute to the paper, you can do so in many ways. We are always looking for articles, poetry, photos, graphics, short fiction, letters, tirades, rantings, etc. If you think that we wouldn't publish your work, think again! We really try to publish a diversity of stuff from a diversity of sources, so send it to us. The paper is produced by a volunteer group in New York, who are always looking for more help. A Discussion Bulletin for people in the Love and Rage Network is produced by a group in Minneapolis. We are looking for groups or individuals to do all sorts of things, including: promoting the paper, researching radical bookstores and distributors, making sure that the paper is distributed and reviewed everywhere it can be, etc. If you are interested in participating, please call or write us at the office:

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

## Discussion Bulletin

The monthly internal organ of the Love and Rage Network. Read and write about intrigues, imbroglios, vacations, vacancies, debates, debacles, politics, policies, looks, lacks, and revolution.

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# The Attack on Public Space

## Tompkins Square

## People's Park

BY DAVE LAWRENCE

THE SHOUTS OF "NO POLICE STATE" that echo through the streets of New York's Lower East Side have never had more relevance. Using the May 27 riot as a pretext, hundreds of police entered the Lower East Side, closed Tompkins Square Park, and began an occupation of the neighborhood. The May 27 clash resulted from the beating of a black squatter by police (see June/July *Love and Rage*). On Friday, May 31, 500 people marched through the neighborhood to protest police brutality and build support for keeping the park open. The following Monday, June 3, Mayor Dinkins' Office acted unilaterally to close the park for "renovations." The massive contingent of police who entered the area in the early morning overwhelmed the 150 demonstrators present. The park's homeless community was driven out. Some formed new encampments with names like Dinkinsville, in the vacant lots to the east. Others moved into squats. The rest have been "disappeared"—many into the out of sight, out of mind, shelter system where violence and disease run rampant. Demolition of the park's paths and benches began as a chainlink fence was put up around the perimeter of the 10.5 acre park.

The city's decision to close the park was purely a political move. The Parks Department has no contract for the renovation of Tompkins Square Park, only for demolition. By closing Tompkins Square for a period of a few years the city is instituting a policy they call "park usage alteration." The city government is attempting to suppress the counter-culture and radical political movement

protest, petitions, and legal actions. Demonstrations have included street theater with performances by the Living Theater—an anarchist theater collective, as well as arts festivals. Resistance to the police occupation and park closing has included direct action against police vehicles, demolition equipment, and the fence.

It is very possible that the May 27 riot was consciously provoked by police. Tensions at the park had been building. For months police harassed people in and around the park enforcing petty regulations while the Democratic Action Club, a local group of real estate developers and politicians, waged a propaganda campaign against squatters, anarchists, peddlers, and homeless people. This campaign continues. Leaflets and information tables help to counter the anti-squatter disinformation spread by right wing politicians and their cadre.

### Tompkins Square: Political Prisoner

The situation around the fenced off park remained tense all summer. During the city's worst budget crisis millions of dollars are spent to maintain a massive contingent of police in the neighborhood to guard the empty park. People were arrested not only at demonstrations but were sometimes picked off the street and charged for earlier activities. Police routinely "clear off" Avenue A, a popular hang-out which borders the park. A mobile police communications center was positioned near the northwest corner of the park for most of the summer. The Park has been monitored using closed circuit video cameras wired to the communications

BY PAUL DALTON

BERKELEY, CA —IN DEFILANCE of the largest, and most violent police deployment in 20 years, hundreds of protesters took to the streets nightly to resist the University of California at Berkeley's attempts to build volleyball courts on the historic People's Park.

By August 5, the police were being forced to de-escalate their forces, due to mounting political opposition and skyrocketing costs. After four consecutive nights of police

of the arrests, several of the protesters were hurt by the police.

A spontaneous break-away march briefly took to the streets of Berkeley, and tore down the fences around several UC construction sites, before being scattered by charging riot police. One person was arrested on the march.

With the aid of hundreds of riot cops the out-of-town, non-union (of course) construction company was able to begin bulldozing the sight. It was

after we started marching, and break the group into smaller groups once again. Cops started driving around and randomly attacking small groups of people walking on the street. All in all 20 more people were arrested, and many, many more were injured.

As the previous night's news spread, more and more people began coming by the park during the day on Thursday. They were met by hundreds and hundreds of riot cops, lining the 5 blocks of Telegraph Avenue,



People's Park (Photo by J.J. Warsaw)

violence—which included the use of tear gas, and rubber and wooden bullets—400 people held an energetic march through the streets of Berkeley. It was the first night since construction started at the park that peaceful protests were not met with police violence.

Early morning on Tuesday, July 30 the city of Berkeley removed all of the trash cans from the Telegraph Avenue area of Berkeley—a tactic that they use when they expect riot. Our fears that construction was to begin sometime the next morning were confirmed when we learned that the University was calling their employees and warning them that there would be trouble the next day, because construction at the Park was going to begin.

Despite stepped-up patrols, and harassment, around 100 people held an all night vigil at the Park. A call was put out for people to come to the park at 5 am, to resist the construction. At 7:30 am, with several hundred protesters at the park, the police invasion began. In order to barricade off a section of the park, hundreds of riot police moved in and began to strike protesters with their batons. At this point we noticed that many of the police who were wearing UC Police uniforms were from other campuses. UCB had called in cops from throughout the system, even as far away as Los Angeles, in order to build these volleyball courts.

Being outnumbered by the police, and somewhat disorganized, we weren't able to put up much resistance initially. Thirty-six people were arrested for traditional non-violent civil disobedience, by sitting in front of the barricades. In the course

quite a depressing sight to see these scabs destroying our park, protected by the good little soldiers of the UCPD.

We called an emergency meeting for 5 pm that evening at the park to discuss strategy and tactics to take back the park. In the course of the meeting, a dump truck full of dirt from the Park tried to drive by. Spontaneously people began to blockade the truck, and chant "Put the Dirt Back!" and "Who's Fuckin' Dirt? Our Fuckin' Dirt!" In order to secure the safe passage of the dirt, a couple of hundred riot cops charged through the crowd, beating protesters over the head, and knocking one man out of his wheel chair. After 15 minutes of running battles with the cops, the truck screamed out of the area at 40mph, very nearly running over a homeless man. Over the course of the march we easily doubled the size of the crowd, as many spectators saw the brutality the police were using and joined us.

As night fell, the number of protesters and cops continued to swell. Sometime around 8:30 pm police attempted to clear the park. Some demonstrators responded with rocks and bottles. The police swept many of the protesters on to Telegraph Avenue, where some people began smashing storefronts and building bonfires. The crowd was urged onto the Campus where more windows were broken, and bonfires set.

At 10 pm, the crowd, which had been divided into a bunch of smaller groups regrouped at Ho-Chi-Minh park. An impromptu meeting was held, and it was decided to try to march to the park, and take the site if possible. Unfortunately, the police were able to surround us

and stacked three and four deep around the park. Despite this show of force, the planning meeting went ahead. A peaceful march through downtown Berkeley, and to the Chancellor's house and office went off well, even though hundreds of cops, most with gas masks, and many with shotguns, followed. The police waited until nightfall to try to clear the park. Again they were met with militant resistance. People faced off against lines and lines of cops chanting "Bad Cop. No Donut," and "No Blood for Volleyball." The police responded by firing rubber and wooden bullets into the crowd. This is a tactic that none of us had ever experienced, nor heard about being used in this country. The crowd scattered, and cops again roamed around in cars and beat small groups of demonstrators and spectators. I was walking down the street with 6 friends, trying to find the larger group, when we were chased, and my lover and I were tackled and beaten.

Although police claimed that the bullets they used were only fired at the ground to scatter unruly demonstrators, many people, including several of my friends were hit in the back, and even on the head. (The canisters the rounds come in carry a warning that warns not to shoot them directly at people, as they can cause serious injury or death). Needless to say we were all shocked and enraged by this tactic. It is important to note that there was no provocation at all on the part of the demonstrators. The shooting followed a peaceful march, and gathering at the park.

(Continued on Page 5)



(Graphic by Seth Tobocman)

around the park that has been fighting the gentrification of the Lower East Side.

Activists have engaged a diverse array of tactics to try to force the re-opening of Tompkins Square including civil disobedience, direct action,

center.

The struggle to re-open Tompkins Square continues. A week of protest was centered around the August 6 anniversary of the 1988 police riot. Dur-

(Continued on Page 5)



# Notes of Revolt

## Anarchy in the Matrix

THE MATRIX RESOURCE CENTER in Portland, Oregon does all sorts of interesting stuff, including: Sunday Videos, hosting Earth First! meetings, and a Friday Night Anti-Authoritarian Coffeehouse. The coffeehouse (8pm to 11pm) is hosted by anarchists anonymous and has different formats from week to week: some have presentations, some are open. They are recommended for "anarchists, rabid greens, direct actionists, fighting feminists, anarcho-punks, queer nation citizens, animal liberationists, situationists, republicans of the Irish sort, class warriors, earth first!ers, anti-fascists, libertarian marxists and our friends...children, animals and adults welcome." If you are one of these, or are comfortable being seen with them, then maybe you should check it out:

**Matrix Resource Center**  
333 SE 3 Ave.  
Portland, OR 97214  
(503) 238 1927

## Strike!

THE HOUSEWIVES TRADE UNION — a 4,000 member organization in Germany — called a housewives' strike for the week of June 14. Striking women refused to cook, shop, or clean house for the week. The union is calling for a state-paid wage and full social security for housework. "We must take to the streets to show that housewives are treated like slaves," said Sabine Niegel

from Mannheim. Not surprisingly, most publications which covered the strike spent a lot of time speculating about whether the strike "extended to the bedroom..."

from off our backs

## SEAC and Ye Shall Find

THE STUDENT ENVIRONMENTAL ACTION COALITION (SEAC) will be holding COMMON GROUND, its third annual conference, from October 4 through October 6 at the University of Colorado at Boulder. Last year's conference, CATALYST, drew 7,600 students from 50 states and 11 nations (see "Environmental Conference" in November 1990 *Love and Rage*). Since it was founded in 1988, SEAC has grown to 30,000 members, making it the largest student group in the country. The politics of the group as a group have remained essentially reform oriented, but the membership is very diverse and includes plenty of eco-radicals, too. For information about workshops and registration:

**COMMON GROUND 862 17th Street**  
Boulder, CO 80302 Tel (303) 440 5290

## Arizona Five Update

FOR THOSE WHO ARE UNFAMILIAR with the Arizona trial, 5 activists (2 of

whom are affiliated with Earth First!) were set up by the FBI and are facing charges of conspiracy, damaging electrical power lines serving a uranium mine and a pumping station for a massive water project, as well as conspiring to down power lines to three nuclear facilities. This was done through the use of an informer from within the activist community and an infiltrator, a veteran FBI agent.

On September 6th, Mark Davis was sentenced to 6 years in prison plus \$19,821.27 in restitution for his part in an act of property damage done at Flagstaff Arizona's Snow Bowl Ski resort. The owners of the resort, the Fairfield Corporation, planned to expand and build condominiums in a wilderness area over the objections of local Native people, the Hopi and Dine. He pled guilty to malicious destruction of property as part of a plea bargain. The fact that the Feds were willing to drop the more serious charges showed how weak their case was, yet it is stunning that Davis, a first offender, received the maximum sentence under the plea bargain.

Davis, a 41 year old father of three, has worked with disadvantaged youth, counselling juvenile delinquents and children with drug problems. He helped start and raise money for Terros, a drug treatment program in Phoenix, AZ. He is a cabinetmaker and has worked on housing construction in Mexico for the community Project Share.

Three of the remaining defendants will be sentenced on September 20th. Peg Millet is charged with aiding and abetting property destruction; Ilse Asplund and Marc Baker are charged with failure to report a felony; Dave Forman is charged with conspiracy to commit property damage. Foreman's sentencing is deferred to a five year probationary term at which time he may be allowed to plead to a lesser charge, a misdemeanor property destruction charge.

Letters of support and donations can be sent to:

**Legal Offense**  
1385 Iron Springs Rd. #104  
Prescott, AZ 86301

## Support for Native Sovereignty

SUPPORT FOR NATIVE SOVEREIGNTY (SNS) is a Seattle, WA based group working "to support Native American sovereignty and land rights." They plan to offer direct aid to Native land and rights struggles throughout North America. They also plan to publish a regular newsletter about sovereignty and rights issues. They are looking for people interested in working with SNS, material aid (tools, building supplies, clothing, etc.) and money. If you're interested:

**Support for Native Sovereignty**  
PO Box 2104 Seattle, WA 98101  
(206) 547 3983

## Regional Conference Part I

ATTENTION ANARCHISTS IN ARKANSAS, Louisiana, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Texas! A bunch of folks are talking about having a regional conference for your area in late December or early January. If you aren't already one of those talking about it, and would like to know more and/or help plan it, write:

**Rob Los Ricos**  
504 West 24th #81  
Austin, TX 78705

## Fallen Comrade

SEUNG-JOON AHN, A STUDENT in New York City, died in August in a swimming accident in Vermont. Seung-Joon was involved in the student struggle in South Korea, and was working to make the connection between western anarchist ideas and traditional Korean political and folk organizing. He studied at the Institute for Social Ecology during the summer of 1989, where many of us met him. He was a vital and thoughtful person, an important part of the anti-authoritarian movement, and he will be missed by his friends in New York, California, and Vermont.

## Regional Conference Part II

ATTENTION ANARCHISTS IN THE SOUTHEAST! A bunch of folks are planning a regional gathering for your region. They've already had a couple of meetings, but the planning process is open to more people. The plan is to confer in early-to-mid 1992. They are producing a newsletter to keep everyone up to date. Undoubtedly they would like to hear from you:

**Eric/ AAN**  
Suite 147  
3325 Lorna Rd #2  
PO Box 360999  
Birmingham, AL 35236

## War Tax Resisters

THE FIFTH ANNUAL GATHERING OF New England War Tax Resisters will take place from Friday, October 9 through Sunday, October 11 in Voluntown, Connecticut. In addition to presentations by long-time resisters Marion Bromley, Ernest Bromley, Juanita and Wally Nelson, and Maurice McCrackin, there will be discussions about: lifestyle and resistance; communities and support; the history of the war tax refusal movement. A major topic of debate for the weekend will be: Is a widespread WTR movement possible considering new IRS collection methods? Suggested cost for the weekend is \$45 — which includes meals, lodging and childcare — but everyone is welcome regardless of ability to pay. For more information:

**Rick Gaumer WRL-NE**  
Box 1093  
Norwich, CT 06360 (203) 889 5337

## Squat!

THE AUGUST 1991 ISSUE OF *LOVE AND RAGE* reported on the Seattle Displacement Coalition's Operation Homestead's taking of a building for the city's homeless ("Squat the Land Part II"). At the time of our report the squatters had been evicted by the city, and private security guards had been hired to keep them out. Since then the group has retaken the building, and, as far as we know, still has control of it.

## Equal Opportunity?

TRUTH IS MUCH, MUCH STRANGER than fiction. At this July's national conference of the National Organization of Women (NOW) in New York City, there were many exhibition booths, rented by all sorts of empowering organizations — like the FBI. To add insult to injury, the FBI also ran an ad (see accompanying

graphic) in the conference program book!

Several groups including NY Radical Women (associated with Freedom Socialist Party), NOW members from Florida and others protested at the booth, leafletted, and introduced resolutions to throw the bastards out. Then they took the booth apart.

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36 1991 National NOW Conference

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# 500 Years of Resistance: Against the Quincentennary

(Continued from page cover)

have it, is to create a gigantic, surrealistic, capitalist campaign slogan of "500 MORE YEARS! 500 MORE YEARS!" and get the entire hemisphere to start chanting along in unison. And, if enough people buy it, the whole thing stands to reinforce and lock into place the "New World Order" that we're always hearing about. As activists, though, we have to understand that the "New World Order" is simply the latest chapter in the "New World" order that Columbus set in motion five hundred years ago.

There are, however, lots of people who won't be celebrating this anniversary.

Indigenous people won't be celebrating. Stewards of the land for thousands of years before the Europeans arrived, they have a profound understanding of imperialism and racism.

Contrary to what the textbooks say, their cultures are not gone, they have not been "conquered," and they continue to resist as they have for five hundred years.

Despite being victims of the most incredible genocide that the world has ever known, and despite having been robbed of incalculable wealth over hundreds of years continuing until today, and despite seeing virtually every promise ever made to them by European States broken with an almost superhuman viciousness, still they resist. Indeed, the 20th century has seen a resurgence of Indigenous cultures throughout the hemisphere. Native people are organizing, forging international alliances, and compelling white America to look at the history that has been so long suppressed.

No, indigenous people won't be celebrating, they'll be organizing.

African-Americans won't be celebrating. Within 30 years of Columbus' arrival on these shores, the first African slaves were brought to America. African slave labor was used to plunder the wealth of the "New World" to enrich the ruling class in the Old. Up to 100 million Africans were taken from their native lands, not only depopulating the continent of Africa, but devastating its economy as well. While the living standards of Africa and Europe were roughly equal in 1492, by 1792 the discrepancy was roughly 200 to 1.

Who knows how many Africans died building capitalism in the Americas? And who, besides the African-American people, can understand the depth of the still-festering wound that is the legacy of slavery? Five hundred years ago the wealth of Africa was taken out in the holds of sailing ships; today it goes out as interest to the International Monetary Fund.

African Americans won't be celebrating; they'll be organizing.

Jewish people won't be celebrating. A good share of the money that financed the building of the Spanish Empire in the 15th and 16th centuries, including the money used to finance the voyages of Columbus, was stolen from the Jews of Spain. Besides being forcibly expelled from Spain during 1492, the Spanish Jews also had much of their wealth taken away by the Spanish state for use in expanding its empire.

With anti-Jewish hate crimes on the rise in this country, and the ongoing attack on any expression of Sephardic culture throughout the world, Jewish people know that the distance from Columbus to Bush is about the same as the distance from the Inquisition to the Holocaust.

Jewish people won't be celebrating; they'll be organizing.

Asian-Americans won't be celebrating. When Columbus showed his sword to the Taino people in 1492, they reached to touch it and cut themselves; they didn't know weapons like this. When Vietnamese farmers plow their fields 500 years later, they sometimes detonate left-over American mines and lose a leg; they have been forced to know weapons like these.

The 500th anniversary of Columbus' arrival is also the 50th anniversary of the imprisonment of Japanese-Americans in the concentration camps of World War II. One hundred years ago, Chinese immigrants were working as virtual slave labor building the railroads of the United States.

Asian-American people won't be celebrating; they'll be organizing.

Environmentalists won't be celebrating. They understand the legacy of Columbus for the environment: Columbus and his men saw the rivers of Haiti as nothing more than sources of gold. The capitalists of today see the rainforests, rivers, lakes, and even oceans as nothing more than sources of profit or as dumps for the refuse of profit-making.

Environmentalists won't be celebrating; they'll be organizing.

No, anyone who is conscious of race and class will decline the invitation to celebrate. But a lot of people will the bait and celebrate the quincentennial. There will be a lot of sound and fury signifying...what?

Signifying, I think, a desperate attempt on the part of a declining world capitalist, consumer culture to feel good about itself. During this time of the quincentennial, given the power that the corporate/government elites still have over people's minds, many will be thinking about the legacy of Columbus. But what will they be thinking? That's up to us.

This is a prime time to forge alliances that cut across barriers of race and gender, and unite us around the issue of class in North American society. It's like incest: As long as incest is not talked about, no healing can take place in a family. And as long as the myth of a classless society lives on, no healing can take place in our culture. So, if Columbus is the "father" of the "civilization" that currently dominates our hemisphere, then it's high time for us to talk about his Christian, capitalist, European legacy and how it lives on today. Five hundred more years?

Counter-quincentennial work is taking the form of street theatre, video work, demonstrations, books, films, direct actions, collaborative performance works, and who-knows-what-else, by a broad and diverse coalition all over the hemisphere. Work is originating in the peace and justice community, in education, in the arts - in any area you can imagine. Find out who's doing quincentennial work in your area, and join them.

The broad coalition of groups working to counter the official Columbus hoopla has already had an impact: By forcing the media to check out the options of the original inhabitants of this hemisphere, we've changed the celebratory tone of early quincentennial pieces in the media to the current tone of "You know, this quincentennial is a controversial thing. Not everybody's into it."

Yeah, it's prime time. An agitating opportunity like this doesn't come along that often. Let's use it.

For more information on counter quincentennial efforts, see the attached contact list (sidebar), and write for a free issue of *huracán*, a quarterly newspaper devoted to the quincentennial:

**huracán**  
PO Box 7591  
Minneapolis, MN 55407

For more information about opposing the quincentennial, check out the following resources:

## Groups

**Alliance for Cultural Democracy**  
PO Box 7159  
Minneapolis, MN 55407

**American Indian Movement**  
1308 E. Franklin Avenue  
Minneapolis, MN 55404  
(612) 872-7812

**Campaign of Self Discovery**  
Sans Garde  
82 Willow Avenue #46  
Toronto, ONTARIO  
Canada M4E 3K2

**1992 Alliance**  
Suzan Shown Harjo  
American Indian Institute  
Box 1388  
Bozeman, MT 59715  
(406) 587-1002

**500 Years of Resistance Coalition**  
PO Box 8901  
Denver, CO 80201

**Indigenous Women's Network**  
Winona LaDuke  
White Earth Land Recovery Project  
PO Box 327  
White Earth, MN 56591

## A Few Books

**Jennings, Francis, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest*. WW Norton, 1975.**

**Lunenfeld, Marvin, *1492: Discovery/Invasion/Encounter*. Newberry Library, 1989.**

**Sale, Kirkpatrick, *The Conquest of Paradise: Christopher Columbus and the Columbian Legacy*. Knopf, 1990.**

**Zinn, Howard, *A People's History of The United States*. Harper & Row, 1980.**

## Tompkins Square People's Park

(Continued from page 3)

ing the August 6 rally police made numerous arrests. One protestor was hospitalized and treated for a neck injury and contusions. Another was dragged into the hallway of an apartment building and beaten while helmeted police blocked the entrance. Solidarity demonstrations were held as far away as Minneapolis and London (thanks).

A rally had been organized for August 31, to save the park's bandshell. Early in the morning of August 27, a call went out to activists saying that demolition of the bandshell had begun. Heavy equipment was brought in around 7 AM. By evening only a pile of rubble remained. The small crowd that gathered outside the fenced off park were not able to stop the destruction. Police protected the demolition crew and arrested many of those who tried to stop them.

Any hopes for a quick reopening of the park have faded but we keep fighting. As we continue to struggle for the park we are also building for the defense of the new homeless encampments and the squats. From Tompkins Square to Peoples Park, as long as there is oppression and poverty there will be resistance.

(Continued from page 3)

Friday and Saturday saw much more of the same, with police firing into peaceful crowds, and clubbing demonstrators and bystanders alike. Arrests remained minimal, but injuries continued to mount. On Saturday during the day, at least two people were sent to the hospital with serious injuries, one with kidney damage. The Berkeley Free Clinic had sent medics into the field, but they had been kept from providing care to injured people by the cops. Medics have been beaten, shot at, and even hit with wooden bullets while trying to help downed demonstrators.

The violence seems to have backfired however. Several city council members have denounced the use of wooden bullets, and called for cease fire and a halt to construction. The Telegraph Avenue Merchants are preparing a law suit against the University for lost business. Even the Chief of the Alameda Sheriff's department has come out and denounced the University for causing this conflict over some volleyball courts.

The fight for the Park has just begun. Even though we were not able to halt the construction, we have not lost. Plans are in the works to make sure that these volleyball courts are never used as such. Clearly, for the fences to remain intact the University will need to have

at least a hundred riot cops on duty at all times. They can't do that.

This fight was never over the volleyball courts anyway. The building of the courts is merely the University's way of getting control over the park. The Park is the center of the homeless community in Berkeley. The Park is where the homeless have created their own culture and institutions. They have built a free speech stage, a free box for clothes, and a homeless issues bulletin board. It has also been the focus of radical political movements for 22 years. It is one of the only pieces of land that the people have ever taken back from the ruling class. In short it has been a nasty thorn in the side of the mighty University.

The University's plans for the Park do not end at volleyball courts. In the short term, they plan to build several more volleyball courts, some basketball courts, and a soccer field. They also plan to tear down the stage and put in a generator large enough to power several full dormitories.

The Park is one of the last places that the University does not fully control in this increasingly yupified town. Already people regularly refer to the entire southside of Berkeley as "campus." The University's long-range development plan envisions that becoming a solid reality.

That, along with the simple fact that the Park is a home to many people, is one of the main reasons why the struggle for the park is so important. We

cannot allow the already powerful University - which is the largest defense contractor, and runs the country's largest weapons lab - to destroy one of the most important, and last vestiges of freedom and power for the poor. (It is also interesting to note that the volleyball courts that are being built at the Park are replacing ones that were destroyed to make room for a new student hospital, which is replacing one being torn down to build the new business school). It is both a fight for land, and a fight for self-determination.

In the next few weeks around 30,000 students will converge on UCB. Needless to say we will not be encouraging them to play volleyball. To the contrary, we will be organizing as many of them as we can to take back the Park. The struggle for the Park is a long term struggle. Clearly they cannot keep a hundred riot cops guarding these volleyball courts forever. When they leave, we will tear down the fence, and claim back the Park.

In the mean time we will keep our resistance up. Actions, both confrontational and not, are in the works. Diversity and creativity in actions is being emphasized. The usual divisions between liberals, and radicals, and violence vs. non-violence exist, but are being minimized in the name of unity, and mutual respect.

The Park is a free, and open space. We will fight to keep it that way. From Tompkins Square, to People's Park, the homeless will fight back for the right to live.

## Soviet Punx In Jail

ALEXY RODIONOV and Alexadre Kautznetsov were jumped and arrested by the KGB on March 12 in Moscow.

The Moscow Union of Anarchists is calling on anarchists to demonstrate in solidarity and to send letters in support. Please send reports of solidarity actions, and protest letters to:

**Eugenia Tikhomirova**  
Moscow 125195  
Belomorskaya St  
Dom 22, Korp 1, KU 123

## Sendero Verde Can't Go Home

IN THE AUGUST, 1991 *Love and Rage* we published an interview with Mercedes Paez and Orlando Polo, in New York, of the Cuban opposition group *Sendero Verde* (Green Path). When they prepared to return to Cuba, they were told that they would not be allowed to re-enter.

Neither East Nor West is launching a letter writing campaign to the Cuban Interest Section in Washington. Send your letters to:

**NENW**  
528 5th Avenue  
Brooklyn, NY 11215



# James Bay Destruction Temporarily Halted

A CANADIAN FEDERAL COURT decision on August 8, 1991, has halted construction on the Great Whale Hydro Project at James Bay in northern Québec. The dam project, which would flood an area the size of France, displace 16,000 Native Americans who have lived there for countless generations, and disrupt several major eco-systems and migration routes (see "Damn James Bay II" in *Love and Rage*, February 1991), can not be worked on further until Hydro Québec, the developer, has completed an Environmental Impact Survey (EIS).

This decision represents an embarrassment for Québec Premier Robert Bourassa, who has asserted that the Federal government in Ottawa has no authority over the project,

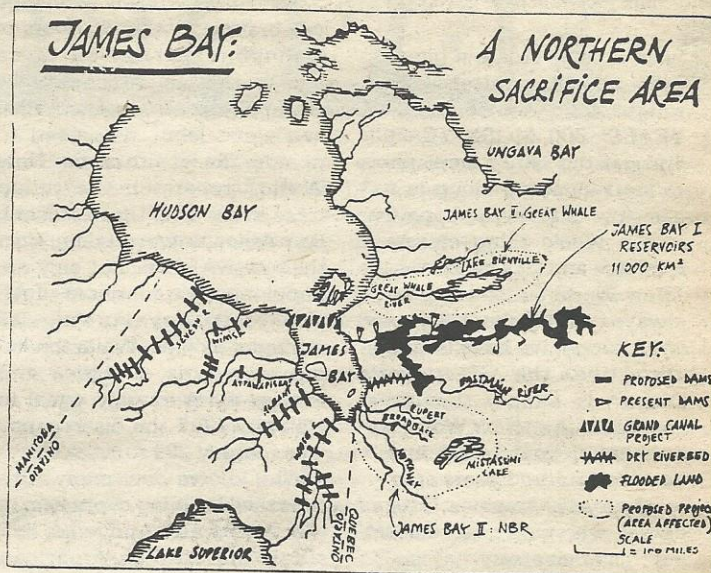
which is controlled by Hydro Québec, a provincial Power conglomerate. Judge Paul Rouleau not only over-ruled Bourassa's assertion of provincial provenance over this issue, he also upheld the rights of the Cree, who filed the suit, writing: "I conclude that the Cree's right to an independent parallel federal review...must be honored."

While Native groups opposing the dam project are viewing this decision as a victory, it is still clear that the fight is far from over. Another recent development was the extension, by New York State, of the date for the finalization of its contract with Hydro Québec to purchase a large portion of the power that will be produced by the dams. While this represents some doubts within the

New York State government about the project, it also represents a hope by the supporters of the project that the vocal and active opposition will lose strength over the next year. The Canadian court decision can be seen in the same way. The EIS will be performed, but the year or two between now and then will give Hydro Québec more time to propagandize about the project.

The recent developments are encouraging, but the fight against the Great Whale dams will only be won when the plans are scrapped for good. Save James Bay!

Neotest Alliance to Save James Bay  
139 Antrim St  
Cambridge, MA 02139



## General Strike Rocks Tahiti



Clouds of teargas at the barricades on the main highway

BY BILL MEYERS  
ON JULY 11, 1991, TAHITI, the largest island and administrative center of French Polynesia, had its first General Strike. Syndicate members failed to appear at work and instead gathered at the main highway leading into Papeete, Tahiti's only city. The road was barricaded with trucks, cars, and construction machinery. Police attempts to open the highway were repulsed with showers of stones. Attempts to disperse the crowd with teargas also failed. On July 12 the barricades were re-established by the workers.

Even re-enforced by police from New Caledonia, the authorities were unable to re-open the road. By the end of the day, the government capitulated.

The cause of the General Strike was the institution of new taxes by the government. Tahiti is a tax haven for the rich. There is no property tax and no income tax. There are a value-added tax and heavy import duties, which inflate the costs of goods for consumers. Rich retirees, plantation owners, and resorts pay no taxes. The French government, which, like the US government, is deeply in

debt and running a deficit, wants to stop subsidizing its Tahitian colony. Hence the local government had to institute new taxes, and decided to add to the workers' burden rather than causing the rich to suffer any discomfort.

The General Strike was called by the Intersyndicate, a working committee of the various syndicates (unions) that exist in Tahiti. The government revoked the new taxes, but has not yet indicated how it will collect the money needed to cover its expenses.

## Resurgence of Anarchism in Colombia

THE COLOMBIAN ANARCHIST movement, at the heart of the workers' struggle at the beginning of the century, has re-organized itself under the blows of state repression. The formation of an anarchist group in the important city of Medellin is a significant event. Anarchist action was non-existent for many years due to the development of the Marxist parties.

The young group in Medellin has published, with meager material resources, a monthly bulletin, *Caminos*, since February 1991. It is necessary to support this project because *Caminos* is the only instrument for spreading libertarian ideas in Colombia. *Solidarite Ameri-*

*que Latine*, a South America support group based in Grenoble, encourages such projects in various ways:

- sending books and magazines (in English and Spanish)
- sending money to acquire printing equipment and
- selling t-shirts to raise money.

For further information, contact:

X. Walter Alonso  
AA 54839  
Medellin, Colombia  
or  
Solidarite Amerique Latine  
c/o CDESI  
102 rue D'Alembert  
38000 Grenoble, France  
from Umanita Nova (translated by Mary Shelley)



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- ☐ "I Hate..." (yellow and white on black)

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Minneapolis, MN 55458-3854



# An American Anarchist in Leningrad

BY FELIX HAVOC

I SPENT THE MONTH OF AUGUST 1991 as a student in Leningrad, USSR. I went to Moscow the weekend of August 17-18 and returned to Leningrad about midnight on the 18th. Little did I know that conservative elements in the military, communist party and KGB were in the process of deposing Soviet President Gorbachev and installing themselves as a Junta in order to turn back the clock on reform and return the USSR to the days of stagnation and repression.

On the morning of Monday, August 19, I went to a friend's office, and he told me that the military had seized power. I was shocked at first: Would this mean civil war? Martial law? Would the people revolt or would this mean a return to Stalinism and the Cold War?

The media was mostly under the control of the Junta. The TV and radio stations all broadcast the same old movies and classical music. However, Leningrad TV was not taken over, and soon began broadcasting its own news programs in opposition to the coup. I learned from shortwave that tanks were surrounding the Kremlin and were reportedly heading towards Leningrad. I heard that Russian President Boris Yeltsin was challenging the Junta for control of the government, meaning a possible civil war.

There was a huge spontaneous demonstration that night at St. Isaac's Square outside the *Lensoviet* (City Hall). There were numerous Russian flags and banners denouncing the communists as fascists, dictators, and murderers. Various political parties, as well as the anarchists, clustered around banners and flags as crowds gathered around to hear what they had to say. Barricades went up around the square and around the city's TV station, which we all feared might soon be stormed by troops loyal to the Junta. Decrees appeared posted on the street and in the subway stations from Yeltsin and Leningrad's reformist "democrat" mayor Anatoly Sobchak. They urged a general strike and mass resistance to the coup. Despite the number of people at the demonstration, there was a notable feeling of apathy and desire to take a "wait and see" attitude to-

wards the coup. I wondered if enough people would strike and take to the streets, or if an apathetic populace would allow martial law and a return to the old ways.

I awoke the morning of the 20th and tuned in the news. A standoff had developed in Moscow between the Junta and the supporters of Yeltsin. The nation seemed perched on the brink of a wave of repression or civil war. Sobchak had called for everyone to attend a giant demonstration at the Palace Square in the center of the city. On the

ested. There was still a feeling of nervous tension that at any moment we might find ourselves in a rerun of Tien-an-men Square. I climbed onto the Alexander Column in the center of the square and listened to several speakers, notably mayor Sobchak. He said that for the time being everything was under control and that the army had halted outside the city. He assured us that the KGB and police in the city supported him and not the coup. He closed the rally by telling everyone to go back to work, but be ready to

might affect Soviet oil production and world markets.

On Wednesday the 21st I left for the center of town as usual. *Smena* and *Chas Pik*, the two local independent newspapers, were being sold on the streets because the state run kiosks only carried the "official" newspapers. People congregated around the newspaper sellers and the and the decrees posted on the streets. Everyone seemed to be carrying on life as usual, but were avidly reading and discussing the papers and the decrees. However, many people still seemed to exhibit the upsetting sense of apathy I mentioned earlier.

That afternoon I learned that Junta had tried to flee to the Crimea. The coup was crumbling. That evening the troops pulled out from the outskirts of Leningrad and left Moscow. Gorbachev was found and the Junta jailed.

Everyone lived happily ever after right?

Wrong! Despite legal actions against the Communist party since the coup, power still remains in the hands of the communist bureaucratic elite, the military-industrial complex, and the internal security forces (KGB etc.). The short duration of the coup allowed a great majority of the people in the government to sit on the fence without committing themselves to either side in the coup. The thousands of *Nomenklatura* who have climbed into positions of power through their connections in the Party bureaucracy will continue to wield the real power live a life of luxury at the expense of the soviet citizen. Many will simply follow the new political current in the country and suddenly become "democrats" and use a different rhetoric. However, the end result will remain the same, continued exploitation of the Soviet people for the benefit of a small ruling elite. As in the rest of Eastern Europe, yesterdays communists will become tomorrows capitalists, using their influence in the current system to ensure a dominant position in the new "democratic-capitalist" system.

While most Soviets are now more optimistic, and the people of the oppressed republics will soon gain their freedom, real change cannot proceed until

the universally despised communists are swept out of power completely, and the authoritarian structures which dominate Soviet life are eradicated. Revolution, not reform is the only solution to Russia's troubles.

Endnote: The Communist parties of the West were almost universal in their support of the coup. For a few days they rejoiced that the reformist trends had been reversed and the good old days of Stalinist orthodoxy had returned. If this isn't a clear case of mass insanity I don't know what is.

## Soviet Coup

BY BOB MCGLYNN

Official Communism, no matter how archaic, dysfunctional, battered, and hated, is alive and functioning. It is irrelevant that the Soviet coup failed. The coup was a bloody signal flare illuminating just how intact and powerful old-line Communists still are, and it must also be noted how resilient Communists of any stripe remain. (Remember that reformers Gorbachev and Yeltsin were both unquestioning Party loyalists under the Brezhnev dictatorship.) That's whether it's the "Communist-Communists" of the Soviet coup; the Polish "Communist-capitalists" taking over industries as individual owners; the "Communist-nationalists" of Serbia imposing imperial rule on Slovenia and Croatia; the "Communist anti-Communist nationalism" of Croatia, whose leader, Franjo Tudjman, was a former Communist general, and now heads the Croatian Democratic Union that has a platform of which one Croatian anarchist remarked "This looks like Mein Kampf!"; the "Communist-nazism" of leading Rumanian Communists calling for the expulsion of Jews and Gypsies; or the "reform-Communists" and "ex-Communists" throughout the east doing the west's bidding by using their Communist skills to impose austerity and social control.

These, variations of these, and more, are the many oppor-

(Continued on page 12)



subway headed downtown the passengers looked unusually grim, even nervous. All the military officers I saw seemed unusually happy and were wearing their pistols, which was rather unsettling. I squeezed off the train into a packed Nevsky Prospekt station. Already banners and flags were being unfurled inside the cavernous station. The crowd poured out of the station and into the street, completely blocking it to traffic. Many people seemed nervous, always looking over their shoulders for a column of tanks or riot police which we all feared might appear at any moment.

We reached Palace Square, which was filled with tens of thousands, facing a stage in front of the old Winter Palace. Police ringed the square, but they looked pretty dis-inter-

strike and take to the streets if the army moved in.

The demonstration began breaking up so I headed towards a group of anarchists clustered under a few black flags. They were engaged in arguing with a small crowd of fellow demonstrators who had gathered around them. I spoke with them briefly but they were leaving so I took off for the barricades at the *Lensoviet*.

I heard a "financial commentator" on the BBC that night confirm my suspicions of the attitude the West would take towards the coup. He said something to the effect that the west would enact some temporary sanctions and issue some condemnations, but as was the case with China would prefer the "stability" of a crackdown and repression rather than the uncertainty of change which

# 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 peoples 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-statist.

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 inherent 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 un-threatened 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 of 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 structures

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 wimmin. This includes unquestionable reproductive freedom and accessible wimmin-centered health care for all wimmin (And all means all!) We recognize that sexual violence and objectification of wimmin are necessary to the continued functioning of the state. The state will not solve our problems. We celebrate wimmin'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 the 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.



# LEFT GREEN CONFERENCE

BY LAURA LIB AND PAUL O'BANION

Midnight July 1st, barely five minutes after the end of the last plenary at the Love and Rage Network conference, it was into a comrade's car and off to Chicago for the second leg of an illustrious conference tour. On to the third continental conference of the Left Green Network, our allies in the anti-authoritarian movement.

The centerpiece of this conference was the debate of a proposed program for the Left Greens. Contrary to the headline of Wayne Price's June/July *Love and Rage* article "A Look at the New Left Green Program," the proposed program was only a draft and a hotly debated one at that. At the conference at least five different perspectives were voiced. Howie Hawkins' draft (a later version, and quadruple the size, of the program reviewed by Price) was the most well-developed proposal. The 27-page draft, especially the analysis and strategy sections, is a thorough articulation of Left Green politics—a must-read for revolutionary anarchists. It lays out an immediate, revolutionary

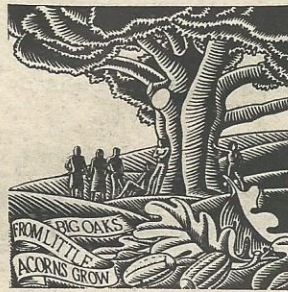
and full program starting with certain reforms that relate to the situation that we face now, building on the contradictions these demands raise and presenting a utopian vision for the future.

The Northern Vermont Greens of Burlington offered a critique and proposed amendments to the Hawkins program, objecting to its "economistic bias," and demands which they felt defined not a new politics but continued dependence on the state and the market. Instead, Northern Vermont Greens advocated a movement of fundamental opposition to the state and market on the municipal level. AWOL, a Minneapolis Youth Green local and eco-anarchist collective, although without a written position, raised basic questions about the Left Greens' relationship to other social movements and oppressed communities.

The opening panel on feminism and ecology addressed issues that recurred throughout the gathering. A student and activist from Toronto, Kate Sandilands, trashed the Left Greens' feminist principle entitled "Social Ecofeminism." In it,

Sandilands found not a positive statement for women's liberation, but a private and obscure conversation, refuting the claims of a certain brand of ecofeminism and letting them set the terms of debate. Her brilliant talk led to the drafting of a Women's Liberation principle by members of the women's caucus which was later adopted to replace "Social Ecofeminism."

Though the panel was well-received, the Left Greens didn't shake their history of male dominance as seen in frequent



male-dominated discussions, the scheduling of the panel itself (Wednesday night before the conference really started) and a couple of unbelievable comments from some middle-aged "new leftists" who still don't seem to get it. One Canadian Green protested it wasn't his responsibility that women weren't speaking—he thought this problem was solved five years ago! Carl Davidson, former national officer of SDS, apparently not wanting anyone

evaluating his personal conduct, proclaimed that in fact the personal was not political, rather this idea was responsible for an assault on privacy akin to outlawing abortion.

Anti-racism was a strong current of discussion throughout the weekend. It was both the subject of an evening panel and large-group workshop, as well as integral to Left Greens' consideration of endorsement of a call for reparations from the US government to African-Americans for the genocidal history of slavery. The call for reparations and a related call for the cede of the so-called Sherman's Trust territory promised to "freed" enslaved Africans was raised by former Black Panther and Green activist Sulaiman Mahdi. Mahdi's proposal, along with his advocacy of Ron Daniels' 1992 Presidential Campaign, raised complex questions for anti-statists. Madhi was very thoughtful and articulate, but his specific proposals were unclear. Although Madhi left without an official endorsement for his proposal, his presence resulted in increased solidarity by Left Greens with his "Green Justice" movement. A newly strengthened Multi-Cultural Alliance Building Working Group will remain in touch with Madhi and further investigate and debate the many issues he raised.

Left Greens will continue debating revolutionary strategy

through a series of mailings leading up to next year's continental conference. No doubt the debate will also continue in their own newsletter and journal, as well as in these pages and that of publications like Biehl and Bookchin's *Green Perspectives*. In addition to program discussions and ongoing local work, as well as projects like support for the Dine (Navajo) in the Southwest, Left Greens took on two new projects.

The first was endorsement of the RABL proposal, also endorsed by Love and Rage Network, to organize a boycott of the 1992 Presidential elections. The second project involves working with the Student Environmental Action Coalition (SEAC) in California on a speaking/organizing tour of University of California schools, encouraging resistance to the corporate forestry practices targeted by last year's Redwood Summer such as clear-cutting and worker exploitation. The campaign will be centered around getting the U of C system to divest its holdings in one of the main perpetrating companies, Georgia Pacific.

If you're interested in the debates around revolutionary strategy and/or the Left Green Program contact:

Left Green Clearinghouse  
P.O. Box 366  
Iowa City, IA 52244 USA

# YOUTH GREEN CONFERENCE

BY ANNE SIEGAL

The Youth Greens (YG), a continental eco-anarchist organization, had its fifth continental conference the 14th-18th of August in Dexter, Oregon. This was a new kind of conference for us. We focused primarily on education for the first time. The first two and a half days were spent solely on workshops and fun, but the short amount of time spent on decision making was jam packed. I'll get to that later.

## A LITTLE BACKGROUND

The YG started as a youth caucus in the Green Committees on Correspondence (the GCOC is now just called the Greens, thankfully). These people, distressed by the small numbers of explicitly radical people and the lack of young people's participation in the GCOC, got together and drafted a statement that was later used to organize the first YG conference in May of 1989. Since that conference we've established ourselves as an in-

dividual organization, autonomous from the GCOC. In the past two years we've developed our ecological anarchist politics into written principles and adopted bylaws, and we've organized/taken part in local and national direct actions (most notably the many Radicalize Earth Day actions of 1990).

## A NEW DIRECTION

A lot of people at this past conference were not very excited about the direction in which the YG were going. Up until now we've been a continental organization made up of local groups and individuals. To be a member, you had to be in basic agreement with the principles and, if possible, pay dues. But many people have found this structure to be too confining. The principles, many feel, are somewhat problematic. Although democratically written at past conferences, the language is often inaccessible, the concepts are sometimes ab-

stract—not lent easily to concrete organizing, and they don't cohesively articulate our politics. We've also found that people who hold eco-anarchist ideas, and who may agree with our principles, don't necessarily want to organize specifically as Youth Greens (and let's be honest, who would with a hokey name like Youth Greens).

After much debate about our problems, the name itself being

## SMASH THE STATE



one of them, we decided to work, over the course of the next year, towards the creation of a new eco-anarchist network. We recognize that there are other anarchists and radical ecologists with whom we have a lot in common. We hope that you are interested in coming together next August to create a network that is culturally and philosophically diverse.

The formation of this new body is going to take a lot of organizing. We committed to in-

itiating this process. We will be putting out a call to any groups or individuals who may be interested, encouraging interested people to have regional meetings in March, and possibly working together on Radicalize Earth Day Actions. A lot of space in our newsletter will be devoted to envisioning what this network might look like, and debating the direction it should go in. We welcome anyone who is interested to take part in this process. Hopefully, all this communicating and organizing can culminate into a really vibrant conference in August of 1992.

## ENDORSEMENTS

We endorsed some things particularly pertinent to people involved with *Love and Rage*. After much debate, similar to what was spoken to at the Love and Rage Network and Left Green Network conferences, we endorsed the Presidential Boycott. The Wimmin's Health Tour was also endorsed, people were very excited by this and it was decided that we would do what we could in support of this project.

## NEW PROJECTS

The YG are making a call to interested people and groups to

hold decentralized local and/or regional Radicalize Earth Day actions. We hope these actions can be coordinated with educational activities (study groups, leaflets, teach-ins, etc.) that take on the questions and connections between ecological destruction and other forms of domination such as sexism, heterosexism, racism, economic oppression, and state control of our lives.

AWOL, the Minneapolis YG local, has taken on the responsibility of the newsletter. This will come out at least quarterly. So far the tentative dates are November 1, February 1, May 1, and August 1. The women's caucus has decided to include a feminist insert into the newsletter. These four pages will be autonomous from the editorial control of the newsletter production group in Minneapolis. This is a space for women to express ourselves in any number of ways, be it theory or poetry. If you are interested in submitting to (submissions due on October 10) or receiving the newsletter and/or the feminist insert, contact the clearinghouse.

For more information about the YG:

YG Clearing House  
P.O. Box 7293  
Mpls, MN 55407

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  
PO Box 7293  
Minneapolis, MN 55407

Revolutionary Group X  
PO Box 6022  
Chicago, IL 60680

Revolutionary Anarchist  
Bowling League  
PO Box 10854  
Minneapolis, MN 55459-3854

Love and Rage  
Supporters in Atlanta  
PO Box 2234  
Decatur, GA 30031-2234

Liberate the Obsessed  
PO Box 1916  
Belle Fourche, SD 57717

Collective Action  
PO Box 44563  
Detroit, MI 48244

Circle A Collective  
1126 Marais  
New Orleans, LA 70116

Bay Area Anti-Racist Action  
PO Box 3501  
Oakland, CA 94609

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

Autonomous Anarchist Action  
PO Box 3 Prince St Station  
New York, NY 10012

Autonome Forum  
PO Box 366  
Williamstown, MA 01267

Art Decco  
PO Box 12504  
Raleigh, NC 27605

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

Amor y Rabia  
PO Box 45-2001  
Miami, FL 33245

Atlatl Collective  
PO Box 7962  
Austin, TX 78713-7962

Cincinnati Autonomous  
Anarchist Collective  
PO Box 19589  
Cincinnati, OH 45219

United Anarchist Front  
PO Box 1115  
Whittier, CA 90609

Bayou La Rose  
PO Box 5464  
Tacoma, WA 98405-0464

Anarchist Action Network  
Suite 147, 3325 Lorna Rd #2  
PO Box 360999  
Birmingham, AL 35236

## CANADA

Outaouais Outrage  
PO Box 4051, Station E  
Ottawa, ONT K1F 5B1

Ecomedia Toronto  
PO Box 915, Station F  
Toronto, ONT M4Y 2N9

Community Charge  
PO Box 57069  
Jackson Station  
Hamilton, ONT L8P 4W9

Arm The Spirit  
c/o Wild Seed Press  
PO Box 57584  
Jackson Station  
Hamilton, ONT L8P 4X3

## MEXICO

Amor y Rabia  
Apartado Postal 11-351  
C.P. 06101 Mexico, D.F. Mexico

Colectivo Cambio Radical  
Apdo. Postal 13-441  
C.P. 03501 Mexico, D.F. Mexico



# Earth First! Goes East — 1991 Vermont Round River Rendezvous

BY URSULA AVES

**M**ANY PEOPLE OUTSIDE THE Earth First! movement (and the FBI) don't know much about what goes on at the annual Round River Rendezvous. It's a chance to network, sharpen skills, improve knowledge about issues and contribute to an Earth based culture. Because it's held in a different location each year we get a chance to hike and make a connection with different besieged regions which are being fought for. Mostly it's a chance to cut loose with people we don't get to see often enough and strengthen our resolve and purpose.

Held during the week August 5th through 11th in the Green Mountains, on the land originally inhabited by the Abenaki people (known in colonial terms as Vermont), the RRR left us with a renewed sense of common purpose and a stronger east coast segment of the movement. This year's RRR was the first one held east of the Rockies, and, because a majority of EF! activists live in the west, it was a small gathering, consisting of 200 or so people from across the continent.

The RRR is not an official decision-making body for an organization. It is a movement gathering. We are decentralized in our structure and try to organize bio-regionally. All meetings are run by consensus process with a facilitator. Ren-

dezvous are always held in a National Forest, to call attention to the destruction of these eco-systems by the US Forest Service. We have a specific agenda that brings us together and our goals are clear: No compromise in the defense of Earth!

Much of the animosity that has surfaced at some recent RRRs was not evident. In the past unresolved arguments revolving around issues of nationalism, racism, and freedom of speech as well as appropriate strategy caused deep divisions. You might say there was friction between the flag wavers and the flag burners. The departure of many of the right wing elements within Earth First! and the realization of the extremes to which the FBI went to destroy this movement contributed to this renewed sense of common purpose. The absence of overt police presence was a bit of a relief after past years' more visible presence. We never thought for a moment that we were alone but the only uniforms we saw were one friendly Freddy (Forest Service employee) and of course the local sheriff taking down license plate numbers.

Recent years have seen many attacks on EF! from within and from without. These attacks include FBI infiltration, harassment & "legal" action (the Arizona 5 trial \*), the bombing of Judi Bari & Darryl Cherney, and the endless internal de-

bates, divisions and departures. Many things have happened which could have distracted us from our fight but instead have shown more clearly who we are fighting and who is profiting by the contin-

nouncements and dealt with problems. Workshops included Apache Scout skills (how to move through the forest without being seen or heard), Hunt Sabotage, FBI, Wild Women's Caucus, Men's Caucus, Mixed

a demonstration in support of the Ban the Dam bike tour, organized to oppose the gargantuan James Bay hydro complex in the wilderness of northern Québec.

On Monday, August 12th a herd of caribou descended upon the State Capitol in Albany, NY where they drowned in a fountain pool "created" by a mock Hydro Québec Dam. This was to remind Governor Cuomo that 10,000 caribou drowned after James Bay I was built and that he should cancel the New York State contract with Hydro Quebec so that James Bay II will not be built. The caribou were then resurrected and enacted *The Revenge of The Dead Bloated Caribou*. The herd attacked the "dam" and ripped it to shreds. We then paid a visit to the offices of the New York Power Authority who surprisingly did not seem to be expecting us even though the Sunday Boston Globe and Middlebury Vermont paper had announced our action, including a false statement that we had considered but decided against taking down power lines.

On Tuesday, August 20th a group of EF!ers, still inspired by the RRR, stopped the poisoning of Little Green Pond near Saranac Lake by the NYS Department of Environmental Conservation. The DEC is dumping Rotenone in the pond.

(Continued on page 12)

## EARTH FIRST!



ued destruction of this biosphere and what we stand to lose. The corporations, the individuals that run them and the socio/political system which exists to protect them (and their profits) are continuing to destroy biological diversity on this planet. If we don't stop them now there may be nothing left to fight for.

Days began with morning circles where we dealt with the day's business, made an-

Caucus (a chance to communicate the issues that had come up in the separate caucuses), The Arizona 5 Trial, various EF! regional campaign updates, and many more. For those who'd had enough of talking and needed to recharge there were trails that started at the site, including a connection to the Long Trail and a pond a short distance away. On Tuesday many folks headed into Middlebury to join

# Anarchist Black Cross

## Anti-Racist Jailed

ONE THING THAT GOES ALONG WITH increased racist and neo-fascist — and therefore anti-racist and anti-fascist — activity is the possibility of legal problems. Our friend Grover, from Cincinnati Autonomous Anarchist Collective, was recently convicted of aggravated assault against a neo-Nazi, and is currently serving a year in jail for it. Jodi from CAAC writes:

"After his charges were dropped from felonious assault to aggravated assault, Grover was sentenced to one year in jail on July 29. Scott, the Nazi who pressed the charges is one of the most visible organizers in his Cincinnati suburb. This scum was organizing at his high school and had participated in jumping several anti-racists. He was jumped in the hopes that it would deter other slimy racists from doing similar things.

Scott was so low as to tell the court that injuries he received from being hit by a car were caused by the anti-racists. He also said his mother was harassed outside the court, which was a blatant lie. The judge used these lies against Grover and the other accused anti-racist. He talked as if the Nazi shit was a

poor innocent kid on his way to school when he was "brutalized." He called the anti-racists "Nazis" and "Fascists" and then, pointing his finger at the courtroom, he threatened us not to hassle Scott, or anyone else, or we would have to "deal with him."

While I do not necessarily condone these anti-racists' actions, I think that it is important to try a variety of tactics to see which one best keeps Nazi scum from organizing, recruiting, and doing actions against minorities or anti-racists. The sentence the judge handed down was the result of a fucked system and a racist judge. If they see that they can get away with locking up political people, they will continue to do it while the racists get away scott free. We have to let them know we object to their fucked legal system and their judges locking up political people, including people who fight fascism, and WE WILL PROTEST!!! In this specific case, however, Grover has specifically requested that we do nothing like protests or letters to the judge since this might ruin his chance of getting "Shock Parole" after serving a month. He would like mail."

It's crucial that we support Grover. One of the purposes of jailing people is to isolate them from their friends, families and comrades. If we forget about those who are imprisoned — and it isn't likely to be fewer of us anytime soon — the state might be able to break their spirits. This is unacceptable.

Grover can only receive books which are shipped by the publisher and your letters to him are likely to be read and possibly censored by prison officials. For books, you can order books from most publishers using a credit card and have them ship the books anywhere in the world. It's not clear whether he'll be able to accept care-packages or what, so perhaps your best bet is to write to him and ask what he wants and will be able to receive — use your imagination. The difference between being in jail alone and being in jail and receiving supportive letters from 1,000 anarchists is pretty great, so please write.

Greg Smith #247037  
CRC  
PO Box 300  
Orient, OH 43146

## More Anti-Racists Acquitted

TWO MEMBERS OF CANADIAN ANTI-RACIST ORGANIZATIONS, André Querry, of ACEF-Laval, and Martin Thériault, of the Canadian Centre on Racism and Prejudice, have recently been found not guilty in a trial in which they were accused of robbing Michel Larocque, the organizer in chief of the KKK in Montreal. The two were accused of stealing film from M. Larocque's camera, his hat, and his umbrella, at an anti-racist demonstration in Montreal in September 1990. Larocque admitted that he was at the demo to take pictures of anti-racists to build files on them. After losing his case, Larocque made death threats against one of the defendants, with police nearby. The cops refused to press charges, saying that M. Larocque was "tired" and "upset." For more information:

Support Committee  
POB 505 Station Desjardins  
Montreal, PQ H5B 1B6  
(514) 663 3470 or (514) 727 2936

## 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  
PO Box 6326 Station A  
Toronto, ONT M5W 1P7  
CANADA

Friends of Liberty  
Box 95686  
Seattle, WA 98145-2686

Anarchist Black Cross Vancouver  
PO Box 2881  
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X4  
CANADA

Anarchist Black Cross New York  
PO Box 20521  
Tompkins Square Station  
New York, NY 10009

Anarchist Black Cross  
San Lorenzo PO Box 215  
San Lorenzo, CA 94580

Anarchist Black Cross  
Latino Americana  
PO Box 451208  
Miami, FL 33245

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

Prisoner's Legal News  
PO Box 1684  
Lake Worth, FL 33460

Through The Walls  
472 Albert St  
Kingston, ONT K7L 3W3  
CANADA

Bulldozer  
PO Box 5052 Station A  
Toronto, ONT M5W 1W4  
CANADA

Leonard Peltier  
Defense Committee  
PO Box 583  
Lawrence, KS 66044

Committee to the The Mrion  
Lockdown  
343 S. Dearborn, Suite 1607  
Chicago, IL 60604

Project 1313  
PO Box 1313  
Lawrence, KS 66044

Wimmin Prisoner  
Support Network  
PO Box 770, Station P  
Toronto, ONT M5S 2Z1  
CANADA



# Black Liberation an

BY FUTURA DEMIBOLD

**L**eonard Jeffries, chairman of the African-American Studies program at New York's City College, is at the center of a storm over charges that he made anti-Semitic comments in a speech in July. Several politicians, including Governor Cuomo, have called for him to be fired or disciplined.

Jeffries has received a lot of passionate support (and some opposition) in the Black community, including several large rallies and a mass meeting in Brooklyn August 15, at which a videotape of his speech was played and received with calls of "Yes, yes," and "It's the truth," and applause for some of his digs at Jewish opponents.

Jeffries' supporters charge that the controversy is a smokescreen for attacking multicultural education, which Jeffries backs, but the charges against Jews in Jeffries' speech are important and need discussion.

A couple of things become clear from Jeffries' speech and the debate around it:

- Jeffries' right to speak has to be defended. He shouldn't be dismissed or disciplined.
- Jeffries' views are anti-Semitic and have to be attacked.
- The controversy has tapped into a real vein of anger and frustration in the Black community, some of which is anti-Semitic, and this has to be discussed openly, and fought.

## JEFFRIES' SPEECH

Jeffries made his speech at a statewide Black Arts and Cultural Festival on July 20. Most of it was a defense of his version of multiculturalism — the idea that high school and college social science programs should give more emphasis to the roles of Blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans, and Asians in history. Jeffries, who had earlier been a consultant for a state commission studying the question, also lambasted liberal and neo-conservative critics of the commission and himself.

His whole speech wasn't an attack on Jews, but neither did it contain just a couple of incidental remarks about Jews — he kept coming back to what he sees as the negative role of Jews in history and today. For example:

- "Many people, such as the Ravitches, who happen to be Jewish, have blinded us to the attack coming from the Jewish community — systematic, unrelenting."
- "There's an orchestrated attack by the Schlesingers and the Shankers, working with the white conservatives." (Historian Arthur Schles-

inger, Assistant U.S. Commissioner of Education Diane Ravitch, and teachers' union president Albert Shanker are critics of the commission, and Jews. Ravitch, in fact, is "A sophisticated Texas Jew."

- Jeffries describes growing up and watching movies where Black people were "completely denigrated. That was a conspiracy, planned and programed out of Hollywood, where people called Greenberg and Weisberg and Trigiani and whatnot — it's not anti-Semitic to mention who developed Hollywood. Their names are there — MGM: Metro-Goldwyn-

ing, talking about rich Jews, and we specifically make that distinction."

Jeffries' ideas about Jews have to be discussed seriously, because of the positive response they are getting from some Black audiences. His comments on Jewish opposition to multiculturalism, Hollywood racism, and the slave trade have one thing in common: they focus on the ethnic identity of bad people. Jeffries never blames the system, in fact he never indicates that there is a social system in which people commit crimes because of the roles they fill, not who they are.



Professor Leonard Jeffries

Mayer, Adolph Zukor, Fox. Russian Jewry had a particular control over the movies, and their financial partners, the Mafia, put together a system of destruction of Black people... It was by design. It was calculated."

- Jeffries devotes a long section to the role of European Jewish capitalists in financing the slave trade.
- He also qualifies, "We're not talking about most Jews. Most Jews were being beat — up and down Europe — persecuted for being Jewish. We're

Ravitch and Schlesinger, along with many white gentiles and some Blacks, are critics of multicultural education. There are real intellectual problems with some aspects of multicultural education, but they are being debated by educators who are in favor of the basic concept. Ravitch, Schlesinger, and intellectuals like them, on the other hand, believe strongly in standard (and racist) "American values," which they trace to supposedly universal European cultural traditions. They see ethnic-oriented education as divisive and politically radical (potentially at least). So the reasons

for their position are *political*. Ravitch opposes multiculturalism because she is a neo-conservative, not because she's a Jew.

Similarly, Hollywood movies are racist, not because the studio heads are Jews, but because US culture is racist. Movies have always been ideological. They support fantasies about escape from daily life. (Almost no movies from major studios deal with work.) They support racist fantasies about US history (Westerns). And they were vilely, blatantly anti-Black up to about 1970, and more subtly anti-Black today. But the reason isn't that the studio heads are Jews, but that movies either play to (white) majority taste and values, or they support "socially responsible" values, which still show subtly racist images of Blacks.

(Black-made movies don't escape from the trap of movies-as-ideology. Spike Lee's movies have come in for a lot of criticism from some Black radicals for, among other things, not offering "positive" enough images of Black people. One assumption behind these criticisms is that movies should have a positive propaganda effect; Black-made movies should replace negative images with positive images rather than telling the truth as the movie-maker sees it — which in Lee's case is sometimes uncomfortable for Blacks as well as whites.)

As to slavery, Jewish merchant capitalists did help finance the slave trade. In the European middle ages, the slave trade as well as the conquest of the "new" world required large amounts of capital. Some could be raised by methods like pushing farmers off their land to use the land commercially, but much had to be borrowed. Jews were prominent moneylenders, although they were not the only moneylenders, so Jewish capital helped finance the slave trade.

What's objectionable is focusing on the Jewishness of the capitalists, as if they were drawn to the slave trade because they were Jewish.

True, Jeffries does distinguish rich Jews from poor Jews. But when he discusses Jewish capitalists, it's their Jewishness that he faults. (For example when he mentions that "even when they converted to Christianity, they maintained links with their Jewish community brothers who had not converted; and that's why they had a network around the world".)

Aside from Jeffries' specific ideas, when you read his whole speech you are struck by his constant emphasis on the issue of Jewishness. Jeffries' interest in who among the critics of multiculturalism is and isn't Jewish, a reference to "the head Jew at City College, Dr. Ber-

## Focus on Crown Heights

BY FUTURA DEMIBOLD

**T**HE LARGEST BLACK PROTEST in New York for many years broke out in Brooklyn's Crown Heights section Monday night, August 19, after a 7-year-old Black child was killed and his 10-year-old cousin critically injured by a runaway car driven by a member of the Hasidic Jewish Lubavitcher movement.

People in the neighborhood reacted with outrage to the way the car's unhurt driver was whisked off in a private Jewish ambulance by police order even before the injured child, Gavin Cato, got medical attention. By 10 o'clock, an hour and a half after the accident, a full-scale riot was under way. Crowds of teenagers overturned and torched cop cars. Two nights later, nine cops were injured by a shotgun blast from a rooftop.

The protest, which continued all week, quickly turned anti-Jewish. Later Monday night a Jewish graduate student, Yan-

kel Rosenbaum, 29, was stabbed to death on a nearby street, amid calls of "kill the Jew!" Crowds stoned Jewish-owned houses and marched on the headquarters of the Lubavitcher movement, in one case with chants of "Heil Hitler!" "Go back to Israel!"

Some of the background to this lies in the history of the Crown Heights area. It was a middle-class Jewish neighborhood until the 1950s. Lubavitchers moved in after the Orthodox group's world headquarters were moved there. Simultaneously, Blacks and some Hispanics began moving in and non-Lubavitcher whites moved out. Today about 80 percent of the residents are Black, both U.S. and Caribbean, and about 10 percent are white, almost all Lubavitchers.

Blacks have always seen the Lubavitchers as privileged and particularly, as getting plenty of police protection when Blacks

get none. The police guards provided for the Lubavitchers' leader are particularly resented. "One of the primary things is for years he had a police car in front of his house 24 hours a day," said one resident. "There could be a mugging on the corner, and they would not move."

Another grievance is the Lubavitcher anti-crime squads formed in the 1980s. These basically acted as strong-arm vigilante squads that harassed Blacks because of their color.

Other causes of resentment include unequal allocation of public housing to Lubavitchers, better schooling for Lubavitchers, and racist attitudes — "It's the way Black people are looked at, the assumptions about Black people. That black people are no good, stupid, gross. That we are different — whatever they mean by different," said the director of a Haitian community health service.

For their part Jewish residents are afraid, bitter, and indignant. "They came screaming 'Heil Hitler,' cursed me, and punched me in the head," said Sholom Horowitz, 38, a Lubavitcher. "Do we live in America? This is Lebanon." But he added that "they" — Blacks — "have their mayor, they have their governors, they have their Chief of Staff. Now they want our houses" — as if Blacks were the ruling class in the US.

Two points need to be made about the Crown Heights protests. First, the uprising against discrimination, police favoritism toward the Lubavitchers, and the pervasive racism that protects whites and neglects Blacks is completely justified. It's good that Black residents responded with rage to the blatant indifference to the death of a little boy.

The second point is that anti-Semitism is wrong, no matter where it comes from. Not only

because Jews as a people are not responsible for Gavin Cato's death, although that is true and worth repeating. But for a second reason as well.

There is an ongoing, long-term fight for racial justice in the US, and Black people obviously are going to be leaders of it. That struggle will only be compromised by any hint of anti-Semitism.

The struggle for racial justice can only be fought honestly under the banner of brotherhood, not of hate for another race or religion. That word, brotherhood, is so stained by now that you feel like a fool saying it, and the racial situation in the US — meaning 99 percent white racism — is so bitter and horrible that to talk of brotherhood instead of retribution seems naive. But justice is brotherhood, and it's in order to lead the struggle for it that anti-Semitism has to be fought.



# nd Anti-Semitism

nard Somer," another mention of making "an agreement with my Jews at City College," his suggestion that there's something treacherous about converted Jews maintaining links with other Jews and that Jews had a "network around the world" (a standard anti-Semitic stereotype, and one that I doubt could be documented for the middle ages), his concern with the Jewishness of Hollywood capitalists—all this is the mark of someone who thinks that someone's being a Jew explains who he is and what he does; someone who thinks there's something special about Jews—their Jewishness—that makes them enemies of Black people.

This idea that racial identity explains a person's acts and views is a racist idea. That idea is the most basic form of anti-Semitism in Jeffries' speech.

## ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Jeffries' ideas about Jews are wrong and should be attacked intellectually and politically. But Jeffries' right to speak has to be defended. Demands to fire or discipline him are attacks on academic freedom. There's a strong element of hypocrisy in the attacks: Michael Levin, a philosophy professor also at City College, has become notorious in the last two years for arguing that Blacks are intellectually inferior to whites, but criticisms of Levin have not been nearly as hysterical as those on Jeffries. But even if the reaction to both had been equal, the real issue would be the right of teachers and professors to free speech without fear for their jobs.

This right is important and extends to everyone, no matter what their views, as long as they are doing a competent job teaching.

On August 23, the executive committee of the City College Senate announced it would propose to the full Senate that no action be taken against Jeffries, but that it would criticize "Dr. Jeffries' choice of words." This is a welcome defense of the principle of academic freedom, but it's in fact too soft on Jeffries. His speech shows not just some unfortunate word choices, but a consistent argument that Jews as such are enemies of Black people. Jeffries' ideas on Jews are poison and have to be fought—intellectually and politically, not by denying him a job.

## THE POLITICS OF DESPAIR

Near the end of his speech, Jeffries goes into his own education and his con-

cept of education. He talks, for example, about how fraternities worked to get their members through exams when he was a student, and goes on: "People, other people have a system. We have to put a system in place. We are not playing the game of politics and education the way they should be." He also says the multi-culturalism debate is part of the overall Black struggle, which he defines as "a political struggle; it's not just an economic struggle; it's not just economic-cultural struggle; it's not just an educational struggle."

The concept of Black struggle here is the one sometimes called "empowerment." It assumes that US politics is

sharing in a multi-ethnic political system. This idea has alternated with more radical versions of nationalism, and both have coexisted with another tradition in the Black movement, of transforming the US as a whole into a multi-racial brotherhood.

The relevant point now is that regression, lack of progress, on every level has been so enormous in the last fifteen years—whether we're talking about the economic crushing of the Black community, the lack of any real political power, the turning of schools into concentration camps, even the lowered life expectancy of Black males—that the idea of winning brotherhood in the US as a whole has all

instead of blaming the system. First, because the whole way of thinking is ethnic-group-oriented and not system-oriented. Nobody can see the system when no one is fighting the system; you only see other groups. Second, because many members of that group (Jews) have become conservative and racist, although Jews are still more liberal on racial issues than other whites. And third, because everybody, Black and white and Hispanic, is lashing out at one another in a society that's in-crisis but so divided that struggle against the whole system seems impossible.

This is as close as I can come to figuring why anti-Semitic ideas have taken hold in some parts of the Black community, as shown in Jeffries' speech, many responses to it, and events like the anti-Jewish hatred in the Crown Heights rebellion (see accompanying article).

## ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE BLACK MOVEMENT

Jews have every right to be furious at Jeffries' remarks. Nobody should accuse us of racism or obscuring the issue. The "real issue" may be multiculturalism, but Jeffries brought in a false issue, anti-Semitism. If I lecture you for two hours about some kind of culturalism and halfway through I say "Oh, by the way, I don't like your Black face," I shouldn't be surprised if you focus on that and forget the BS.

But it is equally important for Blacks and anybody else who cares for racial justice to condemn Jeffries' anti-Semitism. Black people shouldn't become infected by the poison of race hate. I'm not talking here about Black "checking" of whites, but hate for Jews.

The reality of life—as demonstrated in Crown Heights for example—is that nearly all Jews in the US (not everywhere else) are white, and a large proportion are middle class. It's plain that Jews do receive preferential treatment in employment, from the cops, etc.—the list is endless. And many Jews are racists. But this is because they are white and middle class, not because they are Jews. (Is it really necessary to say this? Apparently.) Racist ideas and racist structures go very deep into the history and culture of the US, they don't result from the bad motives of certain people called Jews.

It's easy to understand why many Black people end up resenting Jews. That is all the more reason why intellectuals like Jeffries, who should be clear on the difference between the system and individuals, should not help popularize anti-Semitic poison in the Black movement.



Protestors in Crown Heights (see accompanying article)

ethnic politics, every ethnic group except Blacks has organized for empowerment, Blacks have to do the same, and the educational issues are part of this overall political struggle. This idea is a particular version of Black nationalism which defines nation-building as power-

but disappeared, while the idea of ethnic power-sharing has become very defensive, almost despairing. Today it looks as if damn near everybody is against Blacks, and nobody for.

At this point the tendency is to blame another ethnic group that has "made it,"

## Anarchist Organization

Christopher Day has finished his series on anarchist organizing. The complete series, including the first four parts (printed in *Love and Rage*) and a final fifth section, all newly revised and edited, will be available soon. The fifth section appears in this month's *Love and Rage* discussion bulletin as a preview of the revised and finished pamphlet, which will be available from *Love and Rage* as soon as Christopher finishes editing it. Please write or call the *Love and Rage* office for more information, or to let us know that you want a copy.

Love and Rage  
PO Box 3  
Prince Street Station  
NY, NY 10012  
(212) 925 7966

## Laws And Outlaws

You may be wondering where part two of "Laws and Outlaws," last month's center-spread, is. The authors were working on the conclusion of the series, but, unfortunately, all of their notes mysteriously disappeared. As soon as they have the time to reconstruct the article, we'll print it.

## Where's September?

We regret to note that this October issue, at 20 pages, is a combination of September and October. We wanted to print two separate issues, but a combination of almost unbelievable technical problems and a profound lack of \$\$\$ meant that we couldn't.

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## Review

BY RACHEL RINALDO  
IF YOU WALK DOWN ANY overcrowded street with your ears open, you will hear some very odd fragments of conversation. Combined, all of these out-of-context scraps create some pretty bizarre conversations, which should make you realize that people are much stranger than we think. Director Ric Linklater came to this conclusion a few years ago and collected conversations he heard, as well as descriptions of the characters he noticed in bars, cafes, and on the streets of Austin, Texas. He then made a movie out of these conversations, and called it *Slacker*.

*Slacker* isn't exactly about anything at all. It lacks a plot, action, or main characters, yet it's not a documentary either. It is a series of episodes involving various people, mainly college students and eccentric drop-outs, and yes, anarchists. The characters discuss their philosophies of life, their views about why things are the way they are, and contribute plenty of off-the-wall conspiracy theories. Listening to these people talk and getting small glimpses of their lives isn't boring at all; in fact, it's hilarious and fascinating.

The film begins with a studentish guy stepping off a bus and into a taxi. He talks non-stop to the driver for the entire ride, expounding on his view that every time you make a decision, the alternatives you consider become realities themselves. "The road not taken" is also real. So, this guy considered walking instead of taking a cab, and if he'd walked, maybe he would have met a beautiful woman and gone home with her, and lived happily ever after. And now, if he dreams about being with a beautiful woman, it's really his other life intruding into this

# SLACKER

BY BOB E. AND SUSANNAH

The following are excerpts from an interview with Ric Linklater, maker of the film *Slacker*. The interview was conducted in an Austin Texas parking lot on April 21, 1991.

**Bob: There was one reviewer who said [that *Slacker* is] "representative of our times." You were saying these are just characters of our times...that this is the way people are, only more openly.**

Ric: [It] isn't necessarily this [generation]. This sort of subculture, on the most superficial level, has always existed and it's just whether they want to pay attention to it or not.

**Bob: What is going on?**

Ric: I sense something in the air...making the movie it really came out....There's this incredible kind — of what? Dissatisfaction, or this kind of total non-belief in everything...I know a good sign was in the early eighties when they had mass non-compliance with the first conscription...I mean, everybody thought "oh sure this generation...they'll all sign up like sheep to slaughter," but I mean...no one signed up.

**Bob: You're sort of suggesting that there's a political element in your vision.**

Ric: Yeah, I think so, but it's not an organized political thing. ...I mean if you look at [the] American political system there's nothing to feel aligned with, you're not represented. I think that's become more and more clear to more and more people.

**Bob: Well, one of your characters is saying that the real winners in the election are the non-voters.**

one, and he decides that after all, he should have walked. *Slacker* is full of such street corner philosophers.

In another classic scene, a woman tries to sell her friends a sample of Madonna's pap smear. It's much closer to the real Madonna than a poster or a record, she explains.



One of the most memorable highlights, however, is definitely the elderly anarchist who finds a robber with a gun in his house, and of course, tells him to take whatever he wants. He then points out all his pictures of old anarchists and takes the criminal for a stroll, all the while telling him about his adventures in the Spanish Civil War (all of which are made up). At the end of the walk he even returns the gun to the would-be robber, who isn't sure what to think about the whole thing. This is a better portrayal of anarchists than you'll find most places. Quite a few characters throughout the film hold anarchistic views about work and government. This, together with the spontaneity and random quality of many scenes give *Slacker* a truly anarchist feeling. *Slacker* proves that ordinary life is very strange.

## EF! RRR

(Continued from page 9)

Rotenone is a chemical which suffocates fish. The Government's brilliant plan is to kill off all the Yellow Perch in this pond — because they are too small to attract recreational fisherpeople — and then re-stock the lake with bigger and better (size isn't everything folks) trout and salmon from local hatcheries. The activists stopped the poi-



soning by floating onto the lake on an inflatable whale, shark and alligator. State Troopers (10) and DEC officials (more than 30) watched on. DEC would not dump their poison while humans were in the water. Thursday was the next scheduled dumping day so in the early morning two activists floated out on their rubber marine creatures. This time they were arrested and taken to nearby Santa Clara for a trial in the Town Hall and Garage. They pled guilty and were fined \$125 each for not complying with DEC signs.

The Earth First! movement is alive and well in spite of it all. It has come out in court that the FBI infiltration in Arizona was

focused on setting up one person who they perceived to be the leader. It has more than disrupted the lives of some dedicated activists, their families and community, but it hasn't stopped the movement. The bombing of Judi Bari's car was designed to stop the campaign for which she and Darryl Cherney were visible spokespeople, but it didn't. The work for the ancient redwoods continues, including the work within the logger community. The forces of domination cannot successfully undermine decentralized movements. If EF! was a hierarchical organization perhaps it would have fallen apart by now. But, though shaken and a bit wiser (if not more paranoid), we are continuing. We have no choice. There is so much to lose and so little time. There are EF! actions happening worldwide now and radical Earth activists everywhere are digging in and fighting on.

Next summer's RRR will be in the San Juan mountains of Colorado. In the meantime there will be more organizing, agitating and successes in the name of bio-diversity, and with any luck we will all be around (and out of jail) to continue the fight and see the Earth thrive.

For more info and a free copy of the "new" Earth First! Journal which includes a list of local contacts:

Earth First! Journal  
P.O. Box 5176  
Missoula, MT 59806  
406-728-8114

## Coup

(Continued from page 7)

tunistic incarnations of today's "post-Communists." Communist old-boy networks continue to abound in the USSR and East Europe, as do circles of everything from Party industrialists to intelligence agents, and Party bureaucrats remain entrenched in positions of influence and power in all social structures.

Add to this the Chinese (controlling a third of the world's people), North Korean, and Cuban stalinists; strong stalinist guerilla movements in Cambodia (Pol Pot), Peru (Shining Path), and the Philippines (New People's Army); the hundreds of leninist parties throughout the west and "third world," and there is still much to contend with on the Communist front.

No matter whether it's a Communist spouting state-centralization, or the market, or nationalism, or whatever, they all have one thing in common: authoritarianism.

It's important to be clear that the state despotism of Communism is a distinct social system. It isn't capitalism, and it certainly isn't communism/socialism as originally defined. It is a particular form of state/economic control and must be noted as such by anarchists outside of the east, if we wish to have any relevancy to the east. It is a continuing disservice — one that stinks of western chauvinism — for some western anarchists to rail against capitalism and assume that that covers all oppressions. It doesn't.

There's a certain parochial dismissal going on when the east is summed up as "Just a variation of our system" when the glaring totalitarian particularities of Communism demand a critique unto itself. And ditto for "imperialism" used only in reference to the west.

To sum it up: It ain't over till it's over — and it ain't over. Anarchists correctly remain vigilant to the still marginal presence of nazism. We must do the same regarding Communism, a by far more prevalent phenomenon. (Uh-huh, that's a swipe at anarchists who think that working with leninists is



okay since somehow the latter are "left.")

Anarchists should be the best allies of oppositionists in the east struggling not only with western dominance, encroaching capitalism, and the conservatism and creeping authoritarianism of their new regimes (restrictions on the press, abortions...) but also the threat of resurgent Communism, with Party cadres in place to take advantage of worsening economic conditions.

## Interview

**Bob: I've been thinking — if you have these note books with these incidents that you saw and used in *Slacker*, if you've got more notebooks?**

Ric: Oh yeah, oh absolutely. There's tons of material. Yeah, I kind of toss that off and just say "yeah it's things that really happened," but a lot of it are my own thoughts and to distance myself from that I say yeah a lot of it I overheard or you know...I have some pretty fun ones. On paper anyway. Yeah one about a group of — I guess I was always...fascinated by terrorism, it's the lack of terrorism in the United States, like official terrorism. It's kind of a different terrorism here that goes on all the time that just doesn't get called terrorism.

**Bob: Official terrorism?**

Ric: Well, you know, like terrorist groups that do things that are pointedly against the government and all that, you don't really see much of that in the United States where you did in Europe and still do, and certainly in the seventies.

**Bob: That sounds like an interesting movie.**

Ric: So I mean it's a group of would-be US terrorists...typical terrorist profile: middle class white kid who's pissed off at the world and has just enough...brains and stuff to kind of get it together, and knows how things work enough to kind of wedge in there and scare the shit out of some people for a while. I always thought that would be fun. Actually it's the whole...anarchist notion of the day of rage...day of action, day of rage...I think that would even be the title, Day of Rage.

## Dhoruba Threatened With Prison

THE NEW YORK STATE COURT of Appeals has granted the New York County District Attorney the opportunity to appeal an order vacating the conviction of former Black Panther Party leader Dhoruba Bin Wahad. Dhoruba was a target of the FBI's COINTELPRO program, and was imprisoned 20 years ago. In March, 1990 he was successful in showing that the state had withheld prior statements of their primary witness, which is illegal, and had the order against him vacated. Since he has been free, Dhoruba has toured to speak around North America, and has worked to publicize the existence of political prisoners within the US.

Now the District Attorney will be appealing the order to vacate, hoping to send Dhoruba back to jail to serve a life sentence. The appeal will be argued in Albany, NY on October 9, 1991.

For more information, write or call:

The Campaign to Free  
Black Political Prisoners  
c/o Law Offices  
294 Atlantic Ave.  
Brooklyn, NY 11201



## SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER 1991 • LOVE AND RAGE • PAGE 13



# In Defense of the Political Statement

BY KEDZIE THROOP

Hitching home to Québec from the Anarchist Gathering '89 in San Francisco, a pair of my wacky pals encountered an interesting fellow in a VW bus. He yarned at them about the great, rolling wave that had been the Sixties, at least until it had struck all the "uptight" people, and had broken and rolled back. "What a bummer," he lamented.

But he had survived all the harrowing years since. Oh, how, my friends asked, mostly to be polite. He had "liberated himself," he answered. Liberation, great, my friends agreed. Power to the people and all that.

Eh? Maybe not. In conversation it came out that the VW driver had once been married, or perhaps still was, and had fathered a child.

Oh ho! So, where's wife and kids now? my pals wondered aloud. They're back home, came the reply. Naturally, my friends wanted to know a little more about their driver's idea of liberation. He started to get a little huffy.

"Noo, noo, yew don't understand. Being at home, raising a child, that's her trip," he explained. "Being out on the road, that's my trip. See? We both have our own trips. See?"

Maybe the pair from Québec was too uptight to see. Anyway, they stopped being polite. It might be worth adding that they're both women.

## WARNING! THIS IS A PARABLE!

Ah, the Trippy Dude. For those of us who missed the 60s, he had Instant Archetype written all over him. For some of us, he's even a convincing stand-in for our parents. Or anyway our fathers. (Not mine; Mom and Dad voted for Nixon and drove an Oldsmobile.)

The Trippy Dude may seem cut from the same foolish cloth as those movie and TV 60s-characters that our leaders, in their wisdom, bombard is with.

Of course, anyone who bothers to revolt against convention these days knows that there's another history from those days that our leaders, with their survival-instinct, don't make into pop images.

During the 60s that the dude recalled so fondly, the contemporary women's movement began fighting for certain ideas, like that society was "male-supremacist." According to radical feminists, that means that men had power over women. This society gave privileges to men that it didn't give to women.

Earlier, the Black Power movement had begun arguing a similar notion. Under "white supremacy," they said, racism was more than just a bad attitude that people of different colors might have against each other. It was a social system. Whites benefitted. Blacks and other people of color were oppressed.

"Power," "privilege," and "oppression" also became buzzwords.

In movies and TV sitcoms, the ideas they represented were ripped off and made fun of. Preachy, strident women bitched about having to "find themselves." Brothers with foot-high 'fros brandished rifles and wanted to "off the pigs." And Dennis Hopper starred as the Trippy Dude.

So the battles wore on. Many things got better, and now, in 1991, a lot of things have gotten a hell of a lot worse. I'll tell you one thing that's so much more worse that it makes me want to cry.

The whole society seems to have acquired a gargantuan immunity to those old fashioned terms and the ideas they represent. Still represent. Try to talk seriously about them, and people yawn, change the channel, or give you one of those patronizing smiles.

Even the Trippy Dude is immune. He's not scabbing on the Little Lady and her kid. He's just liberating himself.

He's kidding himself. The notion that he can fuck and run and call it liberation didn't come from nowhere. It's an ideology. It's called male supremacy.

So, yesterday was a bad day. I read the August 1991 *Love and Rage*. In an otherwise great article about how ageism was challenged at the "Governments Don't Fall By Themselves" conference, Brent Blatant went off on the "sickening," "politically correct" political state-

ment of *Love and Rage*. Brent was right. The ageism at the conference was real. When older folks interrupted younger people, that really happened. It wasn't the young people's imagination. When activists with years of experience carried on windy discussion with each other, repeated themselves and each other, and threw around fancy language like dried elephant dung, plenty of people really were forced out of the discussion. As Brent points out, the youth didn't take it sitting down. In fact, they got up and walked out. They forced a confrontation and demanded changes. They got some. If anyone asks them (and anyone can by writing to the AYF address) they'll surely say that the fight against ageism in *Love and Rage* is far from through.



They organized. They wrote the youth portion of the political statement and presented it to the older folks: "This is what we think. Print it."

The idea that young people are ignored, insulted, shoved around, told what's best for them, and that it's wrong didn't come from nowhere. It's an ideology. It's called Youth Liberation. It's called get the fuck out of our face, we're smart enough to figure life out for ourselves.

These days, "ideology" implies stodgy, oppressive dogma. But don't be fooled by cheap imitations. That very notion itself is an ideology. Look close. It's easy enough to see.

Right wing academics are on a campaign against "PC" on campuses. A Left wing thought police is on the loose, they say. Watch what you say, they warn mockingly, because those militant feminists, or those militant gays, or those militant "minorities" will get you in trouble. We need academic freedom, they say. Sure, And the Trippy dude just needed to liberate himself. This is all the ideology of the oppressors, and it's all fucking poisonous. Anyone with a lick of common sense can see that there's plenty of freedom for those who have — here come the buzzwords — power and privilege. Those who have it want to hide it so they can keep it.

They develop an ideology to do that, and they want to melt your brains with it. The youth at the "Governments don't fall..." conference knew damn well what you do to oppression, and oppressors. You confront them head on. People who hold power don't give it up. They are overthrown.

## HERE COMES THE PARABLE

That's what the *Love and Rage* Political Statement tries to say. It tries to give specific names to the oppression we experience in this society. It says what we're going to do to them. We're going to overthrow them.

At the conference, some of those who opposed having a political statement at

all said they found the current one wordy, "lefty," and elitist. Brent calls the whole process "uptight."

That's why I started this screed with the tale of the Trippy Dude. He's no oppressed youth, and he'd probably find our political statement "uptight," too. So there was another demarcation that ran through the conference. It was not of age (that is privilege and oppression), but of ideology. There was a disagreement between people who think that it's important to name power and oppression specifically, and people who don't.

For readers who weren't there, it's worth pointing out that the exact age demarcation was unclear. I was one of the oldsters who needed their butts kicked. I'm 26.

Having the common sense to name

them took up writing sitcoms. Some of them hopped in their VWs and headed out for those Western skies.

And some of us with privilege to defend were two years old or not even born yet. We interrupt. We wear five-syllable words like masks. All of us get "uptight" when we're called out.

## A SHITLOAD OF WORDS...

That's why naming power and oppression specifically is so important. Oppressors don't get uptight over nothing. They get uptight when they feel threatened. They get uptight when a very bright flashlight is shined in the face of their invisible, taken-for-granted privileges. Such as "Shut up Kedzie, I'm talking, and I'm on the speakers list and you're not." The unmentioned but crucial follow-through sounds something like "*Love and Rage* is anti sexist. We reject the patriarchy and fight for the empowerment, liberation and self-determination of all wimmin. This includes unquestionable reproductive freedom and accessible wimmin-centered health care for all wimmin...."

Political statements are only words, and ultimately words don't change shit. If that's what Brent means by calling our little statement uptight, he's right again. We need action. Taking a casual look around, it's clear we need way more action than we've got.

But action doesn't come from nowhere. As the youth at the *Love and Rage* conference showed, action to overthrow oppressors comes from the people on the bottom, the ones being oppressed. So far, despite our rad posture and our best intentions, there aren't too many "people on the bottom" involved in the *Love and Rage* Network.

Right? Unless we're talking about us-oppressing-each-other, which happens, we're mostly not the people on the very bottom of this society. (I could be wrong about that. That conclusion comes from my ideology. If you disagree you've got a different ideology and we should debate this point in the newspaper.)

So action doesn't come from nowhere. It comes from awareness of oppression (ideology) and from awareness of who's on your side, and who's not. We need a political statement that tells which side we're on.

## ONE MORE THING ABOUT ACTION

What we're up against can't just be blown up. Our circle-A forebears have bombed tsars and shot presidents, and our planet is still dying, men are still raping women or leaving the childcare to them, and our oldsters are still lording it over our youth.

We anarchists used to leave the ideology to the stuffy communists and they made a religion out of it. Their cult is dead, but the capitalists who are claiming victory aren't a damn bit better. Their ideology is the very one communism told us it was invented to replace.

Is it our turn, or what? Are we going to stand up with some better ideas or what?

Fighting for better ideas is action. Showing up wearing helmets to defend a clinic (or whatever, less silly example) is action. It expresses an idea: Rumbling with anti-choice geeks is better than picketing across the street.

Saying *Love and Rage* is anti-racist, anti-sexist, and so on, and saying briefly what we mean by that, is action. It says that dedication to naming specific oppressions and fighting them is better than being trippy.

If we are "sickened" by our own efforts to do that, we have lost. If we buy the right-wing drivel that naming oppression is "P.C.," we admit to the marxists and their capitalist opposite-numbers that we have nothing to offer.

And when we do that, any "action" we take is worthless. They'll call us nihilists or something, and any "people on the bottom" we might otherwise have reached will have to agree. Our enemies will have the only ideology, because we won't have one.



# Revolutionary Anarchism: Part of The Left?

BY WAYNE PRICE

**S**HOULD REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHISTS consider ourselves to be part of the broad left? On this question there are probably as many views as there are anarchists. One view was expressed by the longtime anarchist and Wobbly, Sam Dolgoff, describing the strategy which kept him going over a lifetime: "You always need a left. And within the left, you need a left. And within the left of the left you need a left. And in that left you need a left. And that left is me!"

A more classical statement is by Peter Kropotkin, in his 1910 article "Anarchism": "As to their economical conceptions, the anarchists, in common with all socialists, of whom they constitute the left wing, [oppose] ... capitalist production for the sake of profits...[emphasis added.]" Anarchism, the left of the left, the left wing of socialism? Many good anarchists disagree strongly. The left, they point out, does not want what we want. It is authoritarian, statist, pro-capitalist, racist and sexist.

Which is mostly true.

## THE ORGANIZED LEFT

In the main, the organized left is divided into reformist and revolutionary wings. The reformists range from the openly pro-capitalist liberals to the social democrats (or "democratic socialists") to the moderate Communists. They want to use the existing bureaucratic-military state for improvements. They accept the capitalist economy but seek to moderate its worst effects by government regulation and government ownership of some industry.

The reformists offer no alternative to the system which threatens to destroy all humanity with its wars and ecological suicide. Once, the reformists said that they would gradually lead to a socialist society, but there is no major social democratic party which still makes this claim. Today the European social democrats (and even most Communists) are not much different from liberal Democrats in the US.

Alternately, the revolutionary left wants to smash the existing state. But most revolutionaries (Marxist-Leninist or nationalist) want to replace it with a new state a one-party dictatorship. They claim that this would be a good, benevolent dictatorship - the "dictatorship of the proletariat" or whatever. History says otherwise. Similarly, they intend to take away the wealth of the existing capitalists by nationalizing the whole economy. They call this "socialism" but it is only state capitalism. The bureaucracy becomes a new capitalist class and the whole system bogs down in an inefficient totalitarianism.

Right now Marxism-Leninism is being discredited as never before. And social democracy is dead as an idea, even if its European parties linger on. Therefore - many anarchists argue - why should we identify anarchism with the rotting corpse of the left? Why share in its deserved shame and disrepute?

## THE LEFT IS THE OPPOSITION

These are powerful arguments. I agree with the main point, that it is important for us to distinguish anarchism from liberalism and state socialism. But at the same time I believe that the success of the anarchist movement depends on our being the left of the left.

The left is the opposition. Before it is defined into parties and programs, the broad left is the sum of those who stand against the exploitation of workers, the oppression of women, of Blacks and Hispanics, of Gays, Lesbians and Bisexuals, and the waging of imperialist wars, the destruction of the environment, and the other evils this vile society creates. Unionists, feminists, Gay liberationists, Black liberationists, ecologists, etc., etc., are the left in the broad sense. By and large, they see themselves, in the US, as "liberal" or "progressive." In the rest of the world, they are most likely to describe themselves as "socialist."

These popular struggles raise the possibility of a different world, a world of freedom, peace, and equality. Unfortunately, but naturally, most of the rank

and file members of broad movements of opposition are not yet revolutionary anarchists. They have illusions in the system, based on the lies taught them by the media and the schools, as well as on the distorting effects of their conditions of life (the various privileges and narrowness of differing social roles).

The problem is not that people are "too leftist" but that they are not leftist enough - meaning that they are not oppositional enough, not *revolutionary*. The statist left organizations reflect the oppositional tendencies of the ranks but they also codify and concentrate the authoritarian illusions of the ranks into settled programs and specific leaderships.

The success or failure of the anarchist movement depends on our ability to be part of the broad left movement of opposition. Where there are ordinary people fighting for decent child care or to organize a union or to stop a neighborhood incinerator, there should be anarchists participating. It would be deadly if we stand off from popular struggles on the grounds that these are "leftist." (Of course this is a long-term goal; right now our numbers are few and people must choose among activities.)

At the same time, we must not dissolve ourselves into the movements, expecting others to automatically ("spontaneously") become anarchist revolutionaries. We have to fight for our point of view, in a non-sectarian fashion. Admitting that we do not have all the answers, we need to engage in open and honest dialogues, explaining where we disagree with statist programs, and seeking to learn from others. In particular, we need to work with the most militant people in the popular movements, those most dissatisfied with the status quo. We need to persuade them of anarchism and build an anarchist movement with them. The revolutionary-statist left groups will also be oriented toward the militants and will be in competition with us.

## THE ANARCHIST LEFT AND THE ANARCHIST RIGHT

Some anarchists do not want to call themselves "left" because they are right wing. They oppose the state but are not

(There is also fascist "anarchism." In the US, fascism feeds off a twisted anti-statism. The Posse Comitatus, for example, opposes all government above the level of the county. I do not know if it considers itself "anarchist," but others have.)

I want to use the terms "left" and "socialist" (anarchist-socialist, anti-authoritarian socialist, or whatever) because I think that it is vital for revolutionary anarchists to distinguish ourselves from pro-capitalist tendencies. From its modern beginnings, most of the anarchist movement has seen itself as socialist. The history of socialism cannot be written without an account of anarchist-socialists: Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin, the anarcho-communists, the anarcho-syndicalists, the Wobblies, and so on. They called themselves "libertarian socialists."

By *socialism*, the meant a *cooperative economy*, controlled socially, from the bottom-up, by the workers and consumers - and opposition to capitalism, production for profit, wage slavery, and the market, as well as opposition to state capitalism.

I do not see how there could be a non-hierarchical society without some sort of decentralized socialism (which does not rule out some use of the market, if local communities choose.) The old anarchists were right on this point (even though I do not think they have all the answers for today.)

## ANARCHIST THEORY

Some of the anti-left, anti socialist rhetoric of anarchists is based on an unwillingness to study the history of anarchism - more generally on a contempt for theory and a feeling that we already know everything we need to know.

But while the anarchist movement has had great successes and led mass movements, it has lost again and again. We lost in the Russian Revolution and the Mexican Revolution and in the Spanish Revolution. The Wobblies and Latin American syndicalists were destroyed. In the Sixties radicals began calling for "participatory democracy" and ended by calling for Mao and Ho Chi Minh.

Many people conclude that anarchism must lose to the statist left, because nice



in opposition to capitalism. This is clearly the case with the so-called libertarian right. Many people around the Libertarian party call themselves "anarchists." They oppose the state in order to have unregulated capitalism. No child labor laws, no anti-discrimination laws, no pollution laws. Private guards hired by those who can afford them. Such freedom (for the rich!) These "libertarians" are against the state but not against hierarchy and domination in all areas of life.

Many others who are not close to the "libertarian" right are still ambiguous about capitalism. They oppose the huge corporations and international semi-monopolies which dominate the economy, but they think that a society of small businesses, competing in an unregulated market, could remain decentralized. This view is held by significant sections of the mainstream Greens, for example. (This became apparent in vicious attacks on the Left Green Network.) They do not realize that it was exactly such a small-business capitalism which evolved into today's centralized semi-monopolies.

guys finish last." I refuse to believe this. But if this dismal history is not to be repeated, we will have to study theory, including the strengths and weaknesses of various schools of anarchism and of various Marxist theories (especially Marx's analysis of capitalism) along with other theories (feminism, ecology, etc.). How does our social system work? What kind of society do we want to build? What kind of strategy should we follow? This may be "leftist," but it is necessary if we are to win.

Some agree with me but would rather not call themselves socialists because socialism has become a bad word. Yet anarchism is also a "bad word" to most. And people will not be fooled; if they hear us advocate a cooperative, non-capitalist economy, they will say, "But isn't that socialism?" Better to start with the truth, and argue from there.

## THE ATTACK ON THE LEFT

The crisis of the authoritarian left is a great opportunity for anarchism. For the first time in over 50 years, Leninism

is discredited and anarchists have a real chance to be heard. That is the positive side of the crisis.

But there is a negative side. The right wing is in the saddle. They are using the collapse of Soviet Union to discredit all movements of opposition. Article after article in the media tells us the lesson of the Soviet Union: that the struggle for "utopia" leads only to totalitarianism; it is best to give up idealism and vision, they say; best to accept the "reality" of capitalism.

Make no mistake, they are using the collapse of the Russian empire as a stick to beat the whole left, that is, to attack any opposition, any radical program. We anarchists will not escape this attack by saying that it does not concern us, since we, after all, are not leftists. Any defeat of popular movements, any increase in political conservatism, hurts us - hurts us especially. But we are especially able to fight against the right.

For revolutionary anarchists are the most consistent, principled, thorough opponents of the state, of capitalism, and of all forms of dominations. We will stand with anyone who fights against oppression. Others may accept the ugly "reality" of an apparently triumphant capitalist state, but we do not. We are the extreme, revolutionary, left of the left.

## Coordinating Group Meeting! New York City The Weekend of November 9th and 10th

**T**HE COORDINATING GROUP is the body elected by the annual conference to make decisions between conferences. It works in conjunction with the Network Council - a group made up of delegates from local groups (any local group with a genuine interest in the project may attend in whatever numbers they want, but each group will be allotted only two voting delegates) - which meets at least once between conferences.

Frequently the Production Group in New York has to make decisions that are clearly political - whether to run an article or not, what to put on the cover, publishing the issue early or late to coincide with a particular political event, printing an extra-large issue, skipping an issue, etc. When these decisions have to get made, the PG calls the CG to get their advice and broaden the number of points of view and ideas that go into important decisions. In addition, the CG makes decisions about anything that needs fast action between conferences - endorsements, special focuses, campaigns, etc. The CG is made up of 10 people from all over the place, and the Facilitator and Co-Facilitator, for a total of 12 members.

So, everyone in the Love and Rage Network is welcome to come to CG meetings. Come and voice your opinion. Come and agree to take on responsibilities for moving the project forward. Come and find out what the CG does, and how.

**Call the office at (212) 925 7966 for more information.**

*Also, space and resources are very limited - if you are going to come, please, please call ahead or there might not be anywhere for you to sleep.*



# On Gogol Boulevard

## Bulgarian Anarchist Federation

### CALLING ALL ANARCHISTS!

The Bulgarian Anarchist Federation has developed a circle of translators to reproduce their texts into English, Italian, Spanish and French, and to translate foreign texts into Bulgarian. So get in touch and send your materials!

M Gantcho Lazarov Damianov  
Makariopolski No 7  
Kazanlak 61000  
BULGARIA

## NEWS FROM HUNGARY

A NON-VIOLENT MEETING AGAINST MILITARY enlistment and alternative service was held on February 22 together with the "Dawn Circle," a conscientious objectors' group. About 80-100 people were present. The meeting was broken up by police who arrested 5-10 people.

On February 1 a handful of members of the Budapest Anarchist Group demonstrated in front of the Soviet Embassy against the violence in the Baltic states.

The first issue of our anarchist newspaper came out in February and all 1,000 copies sold quickly.

On March 6 our open meeting was a great success, thanks to being announced in our newspaper. About 30 new people came, and there was a good debate and a lot of discussion. Some "guests" offered their solutions to specific current problems in Hungary, but our group insisted that these "recipes" come only from political parties and that people instead have to think about organizing their own lives.

We stressed the importance of self-organization, involvement and personal responsibility, and also the value of collective decision making for communities that live together. In the end we had the impression that quite a lot of people agreed, but others seemed a bit dissatisfied with this.

On March 6 our group announced a series of meetings principally to study and discuss different theoretical arguments that were emerging. On the whole 7-25 people participated in these meetings, which dealt with the following subjects: Group Organization; Work; Prejudice and Racism; Hierarchy; Order and Chaos; Anarchism and Feminism; Social Classes; Work and One's Right to Leisure Time; World Leaders; Multinational Corporations and Banks; Economics in a Self-Organized Society; The Ideas of Proudhon; and Subculture.

The second issue of our newspaper came out in March. There were 1,500 copies.

On April 5 we had a public meeting on the Kronstadt Rebellion on its 70th anniversary. [In the USSR in 1921 an anti-authoritarian uprising took place in Kronstadt. It was violently crushed by Trotsky]. About 50 people were present and there were 4 contacts made. The main point of the discussion was the role and the actual situation of @ in Hungarian society today.

The group was critical of the apparent contradiction between @ theory and everyday practice. In reality, one of our main problems seems to be our inability to apply theory to practice; our main disadvantage is the absence of local people at our meetings.

In Hungary today, people are understanding more and more that western democratic systems are hypocritical and consequently, after the fall of Communism, they are looking for new ideals, something substantially different. In this profoundly delicate moment, everyone knows that ideological and political systems seem to have become bankrupt in the public opinion.

For this reason, we maintain that it is extremely important that we publish our newspaper, spread @ ideas and participate in social debate. We would also like to sustain and help, if possible, all the new social initiatives which show signs of self-organization, in the sense of reinforcing the elements of @ thinking that are present in the minds of many people.

Agnes and Janos  
Budapest Anarchist Group  
1399 Budapest, Pf. 701/900  
Hungary

(translated from Umanita Nova by Mary from Black Cat Collective)

## Soviet Anarchism

REPORTING ON MODERN ANARCHISM IN THE USSR has mostly concentrated on either the "Systema" ("hippie"/Rainbow milieu) wing, represented for instance by Moscow's Free Initiative, or the syndicalist wing represented by the Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists (KAS). The KAS as of February '91 had 160 groups and its *Obshchina* (Community) publication a print run of tens of 1000's. KAS was the major anarchist player.

Now we find that there are many other anarchist groups in the USSR, groups that say they are dissatis-

fied with KAS because of its concentration on labor organizing, and also Moscow KAS's continued connection with the Komsomol Communist Party youth group. A few of KAS's founders are ex-Komsomol organizers and it's said that Komsomol has aided KAS with premises and so on.

OGB/NYC - Neither East nor West takes no sides in this factionalism - it's important to inform readers of Soviet anarchists concerns and we will continue to support all Soviet anarchist currents. We welcome KAS's response to criticisms of it.

The following materials are from Information Bulletin SMOT (Free Interprofessional Union of Working People - a Soviet labor group). The 1st selection is from issue #1, the rest issue #3. We strongly suggest getting #3 as it has a lot on USSR anarchism. (See "OGB Recommended Reading" this page)

### The Alliance of Anarchist Movements Formed

NOVEMBER 7 TO 9, 1990, RUSSIA:25 REPRESENTATIVES from 11 Soviet cities (including Moscow, Leningrad, Kharkov, Gorky, Saratov) met at the ADA Conference (Alliance of Anarchist Movements) in Kazan'. They discussed setting up a joint news agency and newspaper called *Pramoje Dejstviye* ("Direct Action"), and they analyzed the problems of anarchists today and their relations with the KAS, as well as fundamental theoretical topics such as violence, how to undermine State consciousness, Utopianism, mystic anarchism (i.e., anarchism in arts, an idea born at the beginning of the century). After the KAS refused to get involved in "Direct Action", 9 of its members (from different cities) left the Confederation. The conference then decided to set up "Direct Action" as a newspaper, and a news agency called ADA-inform; they issued a joint declaration addressing the KAS group in Moscow and calling it "a dead outgrowth in the party structure of totalitarianism", they recognized the government's "500-Day Programme" as a plan for establishing an economic dictatorship over the country; and they agreed to hold their next conference in Gorky (Nizhny Novgorod) in April 1991.

### Anarchism in the Soviet Union

ANARCHISTS IN THE SOVIET UNION TODAY ARE becoming more and more visible, not only because of the colour of their flags in demonstrations, but also because of one of their distinctive characteristics - confusion. This of course is the result of their complete separation from other anarchist movements in the rest of the world, thanks to the "iron curtain", and of their enormous difficulties in keeping direct contacts with the West. Although it is true that contacts abroad have recently become slightly easier to maintain, the perplexity of Western "leftists" is still just as great as it has always been.

Today, a variety of different anarchist groups are literally blossoming in the Soviet Union, organizing strike pickets, concerts and demonstrations. However, shortly after they have been set up, new-born groups all too often begin to split up, change their name, etc. which makes it difficult to understand what is happening and where all this is supposed to lead.

Anarchism in the Soviet Union is very different from anarchism in the rest of the world, not only because the Soviet Union is a vast, totalitarian country, but also because some Soviet anarchist groups clearly incorporate "marxist" elements in their declarations (such as participating in the elections to Parliament), thus trying to make the most convenient synthesis for themselves, but often forgetting about anarchist principles altogether.

Until 1988 there were no openly active anarchist groups in the Soviet Union. 1989...was...the year when, at last, the first anarchist groups appeared: KAS groups (Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists), ASSA groups (Free Anarcho-Trade Unionist Association), and AKRS groups (Anarcho-Communist Revolutionary Union). A few other small groups were also set up, but they did not openly declare any anarchist programme of their own, they often broke up and set themselves more "reasonable" goals, such as legal reforms etc. (for ex. the "Solidarnost" group in Kaliningrad (Konigsberg), the "Non-Philosophical Circle" in Kirov, the "Sozidanije" group in Alma-Ata).

### Letter From the Soviet Union

HELLO ALEXANDER! [CHUKAEV, EDITOR OF INFORMATION BULLETIN SMOT]

We were very much surprised by your letter. We thought that KAS-KOR (the KAS's information agency) provided the West with all the news available on the anarchist movement in the Soviet Union. Your letter seems to indicate that the West has but a poor insight into what is going on and where in the Soviet Union.

What really happened was this: until the second Congress of the KAS, almost all anarchist organizations were KAS members, except the AKRS (AKRS groups in Dnepropetrovsk, Petrograd and Bajkalsk were KAS members, but not the groups in Tula and Moscow). During the second Congress an amendment was brought to the Agreement, stipulating that only anar-

cho-trade unionist organizations could accede to the KAS. Subsequently representatives from 8 cities withdrew, and decided to set up a more general anarchist movement. They made a first attempt in Leningrad, but failed after several people were arrested during the meeting. They tried a second time in July 1990 in Bakalov, on the occasion of the anarchists' and Green party's demonstration against the nuclear plant in the Saratov district. That was when the establishment of the ADA [the Alliance of Anarchist Movements] movement was proclaimed. The ADA held its first congress on November 7-8, 1990.

...The KAS is also active: in July 1990 they tried (unsuccessfully) to set up a trade-union called *Soprotivlenije* ("Resistance"). *Obshchina* magazine is still being published, and has now reached an output of 10 thousand copies per issue. It is true, however, that it comes out fairly rarely, i.e. once in 2 or 3 months. KAS-KOR also publishes a weekly paper. Mr. R.A. Isajev and A. Shershtukov talk about the workers' movement every week on "Radio Russia" and "Voice of America".

There are also regional unions of anarchists: the Confederation of Ukrainian Anarchists (KAU), which unites both members and non-members of the KAS, and the Trans-Urals Confederation of Anarcho-Trade-Unionists. The KAU publishes a newspaper called *Chornaja Subbota* ("Black Saturday") in Zaporozhije. Unfortunately, the KAU group in Kharkov, the biggest in the Ukraine, is currently going through a crisis, and has stopped publishing its newspaper, *Nabat*. The KAU group in Kiev and the KAS have increased in numbers. The Trans-Urals organization publishes a very good newspaper called *Golos Truda* ("Voice of the Workers").

And finally, in Moscow, the now former AKRS has set up the Union of Moscow Anarchists. The AKRS broke up when its leader in Leningrad, Mr. Dmitriy Zhvanij, decided to become a Trotskyist and to organize the R.P.J. (Revolutionary Proletarian Units). [Ed.'s note: the AKRS is in fact still active, only it has a new leader, Mr. Shchepotov, in Leningrad.]

The Union of Moscow Anarchists is a member of the ADA and mainly does street actions.

—Apart from the Moscow Organization of the KAS and the Union of Moscow Anarchists, other groups in Moscow include:

—the AROM (the Union of Young Radical Anarchists) [now the Young Anarchists Front —Oleg (Kay) Kokotov, Moscow 123480, Ul. Gerojev Panfilovstev Dom 3 Korp 1 KV 59, Tel: 495 1340] which is neither a member of the KAS, nor of the ADA, and gathers young, anarchist-minded hippies and punks (Autonomists). Their actions are mainly direct and pacifistic (for example, resisting against enrolment in the army).

—And, finally, our own group, the Initiative of Revolutionary Anarchists (IREAN), which gathers former KAS members who left the organization because of their disagreement with the market-economy, libertarian model of society supported by the KAS, and because of the increasingly authoritarian and centralist bureaucratic tendencies of the Moscow Organization of the KAS. We are anti-marketists...

There is also the Black Front, which gathers the IREAN, the AROM, and the Anarcho-Socialist Revolutionary group. Since some AROM members declared that they were not radically leftist, and since the Anarcho-SRs did not like the black flag, we had to think of another name for the organization. The name of "League of Federalists" was finally agreed upon; this is the name of the organization in which Kropotkin tried to unite the Anarchists, the Maximalist-SRs and the Leftist SRs in 1918.

We consider ourselves to be further to the left than the KAS, and even more so from the ASSA group in Petrograd, as far as our choice of a model for society is concerned; on the spiritual scale, we place ourselves to the left of the religious tolstoyist anarchists and the bio-cosmists.

With anarchist regards, and all the best,

Dmitriy Kostenko  
IREAN Moscow 105215  
9 aya Parkovayant  
Korp 55 KV 60 USSR

## OGB Recommended Reading

### Information Bulletin SMOT #3

THIS IS A 31 PAGER PUBLISHED BY ALEXANDR CHUKAEV, the foreign representative of the Soviet Free Interprofessional Union of Working People (SMOT). It contains a chronology of major events in the USSR, SMOT and other labor documents, a lengthy section on anarchists in the USSR, a Green platform, and more.

In the US it's available from the Workers Solidarity Alliance for \$1.50 (postage and photocopying): WSA, 339 Lafayette St. #202, NYC 10012 US. Otherwise a 4 issue sub is 60ff(\$12) France, 70ff(\$14) Europe, 100ff(\$20) everywhere else, from Alexandr Chukaev, Librairie LML (SMOT), 145 rue Amelot, 75001 Paris, France.

### East European News #3

SIXTY PAGES FILLED WITH NEWS OF ANARCHIST and labor organizing in the east, eastern ecology problems, a Soviet Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists document condemning the Gulf War, plenty of Soviet strike news, and soviet labor and syndicalist bulletins, plus more. \$1 for a single issue, \$4 quarterly from Workers Solidarity Alliance (see address above).



# AMOR Y RABIA

una publicación mensual anarquista revolucionaria \$1

Año 2 Número 8

octubre de 1991

## 500 AÑOS DE SIFILIZACION, RACISMO, EXPLOTACIÓN Y REPRESION



POR GUSTAVO RODRIGUEZ

**E**ste 12 de octubre se cumplió un aniversario más del presunto "Descubrimiento de América." La celebración de tan fatídica fecha por parte de la Iglesia Católica y de las demás estructuras de Poder, era de esperarse. Esto, solo nos dió una medida de lo que planean para el próximo año con el cacareado V Centenario, Iglesia y Gobierno alrededor del mundo.

En medio del "Nuevo Orden Mundial," la reafirmación de la "superioridad de la raza blanca," del evangelio y de la historia escrita por lo triunfadores (ayer, con la espada y la cruz, hoy con la cruz y los "patriots") se hace muy saludable para los nuevos (?) amos y es por eso que la oportunidad del V Centenario se les presenta única.

Los eternos manipuladores de los medios de comunicación,

han asumido su rol desde temprano y han puesto en práctica un sin número de estrategias que intentan asegurar el éxito de esta nefasta celebración. Por su parte, la Iglesia Católica y su ejército de vagos y vividores con el Papa a la cabeza, pretenden presentar la "celebración" del V Centenario como la conmemoración de la llegada de "la luz del Evangelio a tierras americanas." El máximo líder vaticano, ha lanzado cínicamente, con tal motivo, el lema de: "América Latina, el continente de la esperanza." Por otro lado, el resto del "establishment," nos presenta el hecho dentro de una enorme gama de connotaciones que van desde la celebración del "descubrimiento," la celebración de la conquista, y la celebración de la "civilización," hasta el (un poco más recatado) denominado: "Encuentro entre dos culturas."

Pero, indiscutiblemente la realidad es otra. Si algo tenemos que celebrar, es la dignidad de los pueblos nativoamericanos a través de estos 500 años de resistencia. Si de algo debemos enorgullecernos es del coraje y de la rebeldía de nuestros pueblos durante estos 5 siglos de lucha contra la esclavitud, la explotación, la cristianización forzada, el racismo, el hambre y la miseria.

El 12 de octubre de 1992, debe quedar en la Historia de la humanidad, como el día que se reivindicó la historia. El 12 de octubre ha de ser declarado DÍA INTERNACIONAL DE LUTO. Las lacerantes consecuencias del susodicho "descubrimiento" y de la conquista fueron el genocidio en masas y el exterminio de las culturas americanas, el robo y el saqueo de sus recursos, la esclavitud y las enfermedades.

No podemos admitir que se distorcione la historia, ni que se nos acalle con discursos demagogos que nos tildan de resentidos rencorosos, tratando de hundir toda este barbarie y todo este horror en un pasado que fue y ya no es, intentando enterrarlo en el olvido, como si se tratara de perdonar los errores de ayer y no de la amarga realidad de la América de hoy.

Es indiscutible que el subdesarrollo y el atraso de América Latina son consecuencias directas del "descubrimiento" y de la colonización. La América Latina de hoy, la que carga sobre sus espaldas una deuda externa que sobre pasa los 400 mil millones de dólares (deuda contraída por sus gobernantes para disfrutar comodamente de sus mandatos) y con tasas de interés criminales que reducen a los pueblos deudores a la miseria, teniendo que pagarlas (sin

haberlas disfrutado) al precio de hambre, analfabetismo, enfermedades y mortalidad; la América Latina de hoy, la que día a día es inescrupulosamente saqueada por las grandes empresas transnacionales, como antaño por sus colonizadores, la América Latina de hoy, donde cada año muere un millón de niños víctimas del hambre o de enfermedades curables como la gastroenteritis o la tifoidea; la América Latina de hoy, donde son devastados los bosques de las selvas del Brasil, de Guatemala, de Uruguay y Paraguay, destruyendo el hábitat ecológico y la alimentación natural de los pueblos indígenas, está América Latina no tiene el menor de los motivos para celebrar estos 500 años de miseria, racismo, explotación, represión, hambre y barbarie.



# JUNTOS: HACIA UNA

POR CHRISTOPHER DAY

Este es el segundo de una serie de artículos en relación a la organización anarquista. En el primer artículo yo argumentaba algunos de los problemas políticos que involucran la cuestión de esta organización.

A la vez pienso que sería premature lanzar una organización nacional o continental en este momento. No creo que lo que

discutamos seriamente involucre un programa inmediato. Artículos futuros, hablarán sobre algunas cuestiones específicas y temas concretos que están involucrados en la construcción de políticas hacia los colectivos anarquistas, lo cual yo creo, que es necesario para la generación, y de las interrogantes que se planteen se forjara este nuevo intento anarquista.

## HACIA UNA ESTRATEGIA

Necesitamos una estrategia. Anarquistas, han ido articulando una magnífica crítica a varias de las instituciones autoritarias de nuestra sociedad. Pero no hemos hecho lo suficiente para articular una coher-



ente estrategia para derrotar esas instituciones y crear una auténtica sociedad libertaria.

El proyecto de construcción de una Red de activistas anarquistas que coordinaría mas altos niveles de actividad, es esencialmente una modesta estrategia. Una estrategia para atraer abastantes compañeros, quienes ya están comprometidos en las distintas acciones colectivas, esperanzados que a raíz de este proceso podamos generar una más global y coherente propuesta, basados en el desarrollo del análisis colectivo de esta sociedad queremos forjar.

Las actividades específicas que planteamos en este artículo resultarán bastante familiares: edición literaria, conferencias y reuniones. La organización de manifestaciones, el desarrollo de un programa de acción, etc. No hay nada particularmente "anarquista" en tales actividades, excepto por el hecho que estos producen las ideas y prácticas anarquistas. Todo relacionado, más las actividades similares constituyen la vida política de un movimiento. Naturalmente, eso no es suficiente. Un movimiento, particularmente que se proclame forjador de un trabajo hacia una auténtica y antiautoritaria comunidad humana debe tener mucho más que una "vida política". Este tiene que ofrecer una propuesta o alternativa social, espiritual y cultural.

Pero lo que esas comunes actividades van construyendo son; los cimientos para una estrategia. Una estrategia es una visión global de como podemos llegar desde donde estamos, a donde queremos. Es correcto y positivo decir "los trabajadores necesitan apoderarse de sus centros laborales y formar sus propias organizaciones de trabajadores" que "necesitan parar el fomento de la violencia contra la mujer en los Medios de Comunicación". Pero esto es realmente un discurso inútil, si tú no posees una propuesta de forma que unode nosotros (o los 500) logremos tal objetivo. Una estrategia es como una propuesta. Una estrategia plantea; "Debemos hacer esto si queremos lograr tal cosa". Una estrategia es un intento de unir la realidad del presente con la posibilidad del futuro. Una estrategia, toma en consideración

ambas realidades que nosotros podemos hacer que sucedan, y que si están en condiciones de hacerse correctamente ahora, se crearan una serie de pasos previos.

Una estrategia no es grabada en una piedra para siempre. El anarquismo, como un cuerpo vivo de teoría y práctica debe siempre revaluarse a sí mismo. Una estrategia anarquista también tiene que estar revaluándose a cada paso en el camino. Discutiendo las actividades prácticas envueltas en la construcción de una coalición. Es una forma de buscar lo que actualmente estamos dispuesto a hacer y lo que proyectamos en el futuro mas cercano.

El proceso de construir una red suscitara todo tipo de interrogantes acerca de la naturaleza de esta sociedad y que significará para una revolución anarquista. En la construcción de una red tendremos que relacionar prioridades. Somos un pequeño grupo de compañeros con recursos muy limitados. Escoger en destinar esos recursos en una dirección particular, hacia un movimiento social en particular o para apoyar un proyecto específico, donde no dirigirlos. ¿Donde estarán nuestros recursos mejor dirigidos? ¿Ala larga que grupos en la sociedad tienen mayores y menores potenciales revolucionarios? ¿Quién está en la dirección correcta? ¿Quiénes de nosotros está en condición para alcanzarlo? ¿Cuál es la composición (en terminos de raza, clase, género, edad, identidad sexual, etc) de



nuestros grupos? ¿De que manera les afectará lo que hagamos?

Construir una red nos permitirá discutir esas interrogantes en tanto como ellos se acoplen a nuestras actividades diarias, pero también nos permitirá continuar trabajando juntos cuando no llegemos a acuerdos. Un grupo de gente puede abogar por una orientación hacia el movimiento obrero, al mismo tiempo otro obgará por la construcción de un Movimiento Negro de liberación, como foco principal. Presumiblemente, tendrían que existir muchas mas posiciones.

Construir una red es una forma de reconocer la importancia de esas problemáticas, pero también reconocer que todavía no tenemos la claridad como movimiento para encaminarnos en una sola dirección.

Esto no quiere decir que muchos de los anarquistas, me incluyo a mí mismo, no tengamos opiniones sólidas acerca de cual sería la orientación que el movimiento debería tener, pero por lo mismo es preferible que si no hay suficiente unidad entre nosotros, ninguna ambiciosa estrategia en la práctica.

## PREPARACIÓN Y CONCIENCIA REVOLUCIONARIA

Para formar una coherente estrategia necesitamos también hablar acerca de nuestra visión de la Revolución. Que no es algo que en esta serie de artículos intentaría hacer de

ningun tipo de enfoque totalizante. Pero podemos hacer una revisión rapida de como los Movimientos sociales pueden converger en un alzamiento, en una situación revolucionaria.

Una situación revolucionaria existe cuando el orden establecido esta siendo despedazado por sus propias contradicciones y cuando las masas del pueblo poseen sus propias organizaciones que pueden potencialmente reemplazar el orden existente. Una revolución ocurrirá cuando la mayoría de la humanidad, tanto tiempo, objeto de las intrigas políticas, comiencen a ser autoquestionarios y tomen control de la sociedad.

Revoluciones y situaciones revolucionarias no caen simplemente desde el cielo. Ellas son producto de la conjunción de acontecimientos específicos. Estas requieren de una intervención consciente de aquellos quienes queremos una revolución en circunstancias que esten mas allá del control común del pueblo. El pueblo a la vez ha tenido que aguantar cada forma de agresión a lo largo de siglos. Donde existe agresión habrá de seguro alguna forma de resistencia. Pero resistencia no es revolución real sólo será posible cuando el pueblo pueda dar un salto desde esa resistencia a su agresión a entender su propia capacidad para rehacer esta sociedad. Si estar toda la gran mayoría del pueblo bajo condiciones normales de diaria opresión y explotación, la revolución tendría que haber sido hace mucho tiempo atrás. La mayoría del pueblo sólo se hace receptiva a la posibilidad de un cambio revolucionario bajo extraordinarias condiciones. Cuando, "Esten las cosas dadas".

Para muchos los dramáticos acontecimientos de esta reciente era (guerras, crisis económicas, desastres ecológicos, etc.) Parecen simplemente estar mas allá de su control. El pueblo siente su carencia de poder en la escena de estos acontecimientos. Cuando el pueblo pueda derrotar ese sentimiento de desprotección y generar su propia capacidad para actuar y cambiar el mundo, ellos estarán tomando los primeros pasos hacia la construcción de un auténtico Movimiento Revolucionario.

## MOVIMIENTOS SOCIALES Y REVOLUCIÓN

El recoger los acontecimientos del cataclismo a escala mundial para estremecer la consciencia de todo el mundo, no significa que tengamos que esperar por esos acontecimientos para construir un Movimiento Revolucionario. Cada día en cada comunidad existen hechos que estremecen la consciencia del pueblo, radica Lisandolas y haciendolas mas receptivas al análisis revolucionario.

En los tiempos en que no existen crisis revolucionaria. La principal orientación por la cual el pueblo forjará su poder colectivo, popular y su capacidad para tomar el control de sus propias vidas será a través de varios movimientos sociales: Movimientos ecologistas, movimientos de liberación de la Mujer, movimientos negros de liberación, etc. Lo importante es articular una crítica de las inherentes limitaciones de cada Movimiento de sus posibles desviaciones autoritarias. Pero es de vital importancia re-

conocer que significa en las vidas de muchos de los militantes; ellos están presentes en el instante en que el pueblo rompe con el Estado u orden y comienzan a formularse las formas para llevar a cabo los cambios.

Es cierto que la mayoría del pueblo no está envuelto directamente en nignun movimiento. Y hay mucha gente que desde afuera de esos movimientos jamás podrá llegar a conclusiones revolucionarias en torno al mundo en que ellos mismos viven. Pero somos un pequeño movimiento, nosotros sabemos el tipo de recursos para atraer tanta gente como nosotros queramos.

En los movimientos sociales encontramos la mas alta concentración de gente, quienes están abiertas a nuestros planteamientos, es allí donde necesitamos dirigir la mayor parte de recursos. Esto no significa que no le prestemos importancia a aquellos que no participan directamente en esos movimientos. Pero creo que deberíamos entender que tales esfuerzos son menos probables para ser llevados a la práctica en mucha gente nueva y que dada nuestra pequeña militancia, trayendo nuevos compañeros, el camino se nos facilitará y nos permitirá construir una fuerza anarquista revolucionaria en la sociedad que buscamos.

## LA AUTONOMIA DE LOS MOVIMIENTOS SOCIALES

Cuando me refiero a Movimientos sociales, estoy refiriendome a una muy amplia categoría. Estoy conscientemente evitando direccionarla a una específica inter-relación entre las luchas de clases, de las razas, nacionalidad, edad, identidad, etc. Yo principalmente me opongo a tratar de subordinar todas esas luchas a una sola, diciendo "Que toda dominación tiene su origen en el patriarcado". Creo que tales formulaciones son generalmente formas de evitar la compleja naturaleza de la



dominación en su concepto más general. Eso no quiere decir que todas las formas de opresión son iguales, o que algunas formas no sean dependientes de otras, completamente. Pero no podemos decir que reduciremos este concepto global de dominación a algún tipo de "contradicción fundamental".

Mientras el proyecto de atraer juntos al mayor contingente revolucionario y antiautoritario es esencial, nosotros también necesitamos estar conscientes de el valor de los movimientos sociales y sus propios derechos. Mientras varias organizaciones que pueden tener una poderosísima función dentro de la sociedad, lo importante es recordar que los movimientos sociales son también expresiones de resistencia y en particular con rasgos de la sociedad autoritaria. Cada movimiento social tiene sus propios y legítimos acuerdos que tratar, demandas que tienen que ser incluidas en

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 interinas, menos importantes (de acuerdo con la decisiones de la Conferencia) las toma un Concejo de la Red de gente de varias regiones que se reúnan por lo menos una vez medinte las conferencias. Cualquier grupo con interes verdadero en el proyecto pueden mandar dos delegados a los reuniones del Concejo del Red. Decisiones que faltan acción mas rapido (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, ademas 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. Fídelo más información a la persona que te vendió o te obsequió tu copia del periódico, o escribe a:

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**Grupo de Coordinación**  
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**Traductores:**  
Alvaro, Gustavo, Nina, Eugenio

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### Aviso Aburrido

Escucha. Artículos, cartas, Notas de Revolta, y otras cosas publicadas en Amor y Rabia no necesariamente representan los 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.?



# RED ANARQUISTA

cualquier programa anarquista, pero que son articulados fundamentalmente con claridad desde el interior del contexto de las luchas autónomas o locales.

Una auténtica revolución anti-autoritaria tiene que derrotar una muy extensa red de relaciones sociales autoritarias: el patriarcado, la supremacía blanca, el capitalismo, el poder del Estado, etc. Para cumplir con cada uno de los vastos programas, será necesario unir los diversos movimientos sociales, sin subordinar su autonomía a alguna visión elitista de esta "revolución".

Entendiendo la relación entre los diversos grupos sociales y el programa anarquista revolucionario y como también vemos muestras actividades. Existe una concepción popular de la organizatividad y agitación anarquista. Tal como "ir directamente a la gente", que yo creo que debe ser visto en forma muy crítica.

Si consideramos que en tiempos donde no existe crisis revolucionaria, solo una minoría del pueblo esta abierta a las ideas revolucionarias. Eso nos muestra un compromiso en desarrollar una práctica que este dirigida a las específicas inquietudes de esta minoría. En particular necesitamos con centrar la discusión hacia las diversas interrogantes que confrontan los movimientos sociales. Necesitamos estar conscientes de cuáles son los elementos que el debate se provee, y que necesitamos para articular las posiciones anarquistas sobre esas problemáticas. Necesitamos también tomar consciencia de los niveles de unidad que crearemos, como las diversas demandas a través de las diversas actividades.

## COMO CONSTRUIR UNA RED

Varios de los movimientos sociales en que participamos, tienen sus propias formas de organización. Algunas seran mejores que otras. Pero en ninguna de ellas esta probablemente definida la formación anarquista revolucionaria. A la vez que trabajaremos en esos movimientos donde necesitaremos estar construyendo nuestra propia organización. La red o Frente unirá activistas de diversos sectores. Esto nos provera de los sentidos para evaluar lo que estamos haciendo. Comparar nuestra actividad con la de otros compañeros. Aprender de otras experiencias y trazar conclusiones generales acerca las distintas dinámicas y de sus respectivas potencialidades.

La existencia de tal red es vital si esperamos atraer nueva gente al movimiento anarquista. La red es algo que tenemos que ofrecer. Aquello que no es común de adquirir en un movimiento social específico: las experiencias y planteamientos del pueblo; ese movimiento que simpatiza con sus aspiraciones. Pero que ve la necesidad al mismo tiempo de algo más amplio y radical. Construir tal red envuelve un número de actividades determinadas. Eso es lo que abarca el resto de este artículo.

## EL ROL DEL PERIÓDICO

"Amor y Rabia" fue creado para ser una herramienta organizativa, ayudar a los activistas anarquistas a construir grupos locales y mejorar la comunicación entre grupos exis-

tentes. El costo es demasiado caro.

Hay obviamente muchos puntos por mejorar. Pero la realidad radica; teniendo una fuente de información constante y puntual. Siendo esencial para construir cualquier tipo de organización, mas allá del nivel local de organización. Un periódico es un debate constante. Una reunión o marcha cuando no existe nada más, cuando estás aislado en una pequeña ciudad, cuando estás forzado a la inactividad. Ya sea por la escuela o el trabajo. cuando la situación política no es la mejor.

distinción entra el proyecto y aquellos anarquistas que por ejemplo no tienen como prioridad el tema de la discriminación racial; no pretenden hacer un analisis competo de lo que es la liberación de la raza negra haciendo foco en lograr lo que en definitivas es el final o la conclusión de nuestra lucha. Dicho analisis seria una parte esencial de una política anarquista y genuinamente revolucionaria de Norte America. Inclusive, seria adelantarse un poco a los hechos el hacer de este analisis un punto de unidad a sabiendas de que somos unos cuantos los que tenemos práctica en el

turas acciones y determinaciones conjuntas.

En determinadas circunstancias nos gustaria organizar nuestras propias acciones. Los Dias de Determinación durante los encuentros anarquistas realizados en Chicago, Minneapolis, Toronto y San Francisco (a pesar de que estuvieron repletos de errores que son de esperarse de un movimiento que recién esta resurgiendo) proveyeron a cientos de jóvenes anarquistas de experiencias valiosísimas durante las acciones de determinación militante llevadas a cabo en las calles.

Los grupos anarquistas que

condicionesbajolascualesnosotroesperamos.

## CONFERENCIAS, ENCUENTROS Y REUNIONES

Las manifestaciones en las calles son importantes para el desarrollo de nuestra capacidad de coordinar acciones. Sin embargo es mas importante que nosotros desarrollemos no solo nuestra política de analisis, sino también el entendimiento del mundo en que vivimos y la forma en que podemos actuar para poder transformarlo.

Esto significa tambien todo un proceso colectivo. Puede darse el caso de que cada uno de nosotros tenga su propio criterio o analisis para cualquier número de preguntas. Pero dicho criterio se convierte en una fuerza por sí solo, tan pronto como se vaya desarrollando en conjunto, mas personas se vayan uniendo, lo vayan corrigiendo, y lo vayan superando segun sea necesario. Un periódico es un valioso foro para diferentes puntos de vista, pero no sustituye lo que es la discusión a fondo, cara a cara.

Las conferencias, juntas y reuniones a menudo si se organizan con un proposito específico en mente. Cuando se tiene que hacer decisiones que involucran personas de un número diferente de localidades, se organiza una reunión para hacer estas dicisiones. Sin embargo, algo mas esta sucediendo durante el proceso de discusión en las reuniones y en los debates informales que se llevan a cabo en los descansos, en los pasillos, o afuera en el cespced, se esta discutiendo y desarrollando la política colectiva de la alianza.

Las reuniones por lo general tienen una agenda bien organizada (directa). Las conferencias pueden hacer una combinación de reuniones para la toma de decisiones, 'caucases', y talleres educativos. Casi no ha habido ninguna toma de decisiones durante los encuentros; mas bien ha habido 'socialización'. Todas estas formas diferentes son apropiadas en distintas circunstancias.

Actualmente, 'Amor y Rabia' esta planificando y organiz-



Un periódico es esencial en la construcción de una coalición. Si una sola persona puede llevar unos cuantos números y salir a repartirlos en un mitín, siendo ayudado por otros compañeros. Un grupo determinado puede reportar una acción y escribirlo para las páginas del periódico. Y generar contactos con grupos interesados alrededor del mundo. Una suscripción de un periódico anarquista es frecuentemente el primer paso hacia un compromiso mas serio. Un periódico que ponga en contacto a la gente con un más amplio espectro de actividades, como tarea siguiente. El periódico también juega un papel de vital importancia en el desarrollo de la conciencia política de una red. Lo que convierte en un foco entra las diferentes visiones que se contienen. Un espacio donde las complejas ideas pueden ser discutidas y publicadas ante la presencia de miles, entregando, y llevando este debate al seno de sus propias organizaciones. A través de este proceso el periódico comienza a articular una perspectiva revolucionaria anarquista sobre las importantes problemáticas del día.

## ALIANZA

La posición política del periódico "AMOR Y RABIA" se inclina hacia una amplia política de unidad, hacia un compromiso de principios esenciales tales como la eliminación del Estado del capitalismo, del racismo, de la discriminación del Estado del capitalismo, del racismo, de la discriminación sexual, etc. Todos estos factores son suficientes como para participar en el proyecto. La posición del periódico hace una

asunto. Las páginas del periódico son precisamente el lugar apropiado para que nosotros podamos empezar a exponer y discutir dicho tipo de analisis. Finalmente, el periódico es esencial para promover las diferentes actividades, tales como conferencias, presentaciones, etc, necesarias para desarrollar una alianza entre los diferentes grupos.

## PROCEDIMIENTOS, ACCIONES Y CONTINGENTES

Ademas de comunicarnos los unos con los otros, por escrito o en persona, necesitamos trabajar juntos. Las protestas y las demostraciones en las calles, nos dan la oportunidad de ampliar nuestra visión, obtener experiencia y desarrollar la confianza entre nosotros cuando participamos en grandes luchas sociales. El organizar grupos anarquistas que nos representen en las protestas y demostraciones a nivel nacional llevadas a cabo por otras entidades o fuerzas, nos permiten llegar a una mayor cantidad de personas que las que podríamos alcanzar solo a través de nuestros propios esfuerzos. El contingente anarquista contra el Pentagono en 1988 y el reciente "Bloque Negro" en la marcha del 26 de enero a Washington, son un buen ejemplo del valor de dichos esfuerzos.

El organizar contingentes no solo nos permite reunir a muchos compañeros anarquistas de diferentes comunidades, sino que también nos permite participar juntos en las calles y obtener una experiencia común la cual podemos aprovechar y analizar como bases para fu-

se presentan en las grandes demostraciones pueden comenzar por sí mismos a hacer mas agresiva la misma o pueden escoger ser la parte mas notoria en una manifestación menos militante. Podemos participar en acciones directas o simplemente demostrar que estamos preparados para ello. Estas son decisiones que requieren tacto y que se deben basar en las

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# JUNTOS...

(Continúa de pagina 3)

ando una conferencia para este verano en Minneapolis (del 29 de junio al 1° de julio). En esta conferencia no solo se tomaran decisiones importantes con respecto al futuro del periódico, a la dirección futura de Amor y Rabia, sino que también se ofrecerá una oportunidad para que se construya en una forma mas amplia la alianza de los activistas revolucionarios anarquistas. Habrá talleres educativos sobre varios temas tales como: solidaridad para con las cárceles, el golfo Pérsico, etc. Esto proveerá una oportunidad para la discusión cara a cara de la política anarquista. Habrá discusiones sobre cambios que se han propuesto respecto a la estructura de la toma de decisiones del periódico Amor y Rabia.

También habrá otro tipo de conferencias, reuniones y encuentros. Es importante que participemos en el mayor número que podamos de estas actividades de manera que podamos construir y abrir las líneas de comunicación, bases estas, de la organización futura.

## ORADORES Y GIRAS DE AGITACION

El asistir a conferencias se puede convertir facilmente en gastos prohibitivos. Es por eso que, sin embargo, la comunicación de persona a persona que se lleva a cabo durante las mismas necesita involucrar el mayor número de personas posible para que la red sea verdaderamente democrática y participativa. Además se tiene que hacer siempre el esfuerzo de involucrar en la red a todos aquellos activistas anarquistas que por una u otra razón han permanecido aislados hasta la fecha; esto, sin duda alguna significaría marchar adelante. No se puede esperar que un movimiento crezca sin entrar en contacto con la gente en las calles y organizadores. Durante sus primeros años, el IWW, tuvo organizadores tiempo completo que se dedicaron a construir y formar filiales en distintas ciudades y pueblos a través del continente. En los años sesenta los SDS (Estudiantes Pro-Sociedad Democrática) hicieron

lo mismo enciando a organizadores de Universidad en Universidad ayudando a establecer 'CHAPTERS' y a organizar manifestaciones y conferencias. Un orador informal o un organizador que viaje de una ciudad a otra, inmediatamente puede informar a muchas gentes de lo que esta pasando en otras partes.

Un orador puede ser cualquiera de nosotros que este seriamente envuelto en esta cuestionable lucha y llegue a ser importante agitador. Eso no quiere decir que tenga que ser alguien famoso siempre y cuando su mensaje sea relevante. La "gira de agitación" puede cubrir solo unas pocas ciudades. Los grupos locales pueden organizar acciones públicas de apoyo o simplemente el compañero dialogar con el público. Si bien sea modesto o ambicioso, el propósito es el mismo: poner al pueblo en contacto con las luchas que se van dando en diferentes comunidades y allí hacia la formación de la alianza. La 'gira de agitación' es la forma para que los grupos locales se generen por sí mismos. El orador de afueras de la ciudad es un buen camino para atraer nuevo gente o hasta a un grupo.

El propósito de organizar estas relacionando con la construcción de esta alianza. El organizador de giras va de ciudad en ciudad dialogando con activistas anarquistas, participando en las experiencias de otros grupos, ayudando en los grupos que recién se inician, ayudando a la gente a escribir para el periódico encontrando nueva gente de manera que lo distribuya, movilizandogente para realizar conferencias o manifestaciones, etc. El organizador de giras puede ir a ciegas sin ningún contacto y encontrar de repente el camino de la música alternativa, o bien puede visitar las universidades para tratar de establecer contactos.

Más que nada el organizador necesita un conocimiento de la diversidad de situaciones que existen en las diferentes ciudades y pueblos; necesita vencerse de los anarquistas están aquí y allá y que la tarea

es encontrarlos; necesita entender que construir una red involucra una serie de intentos fallidos, pero que cualquier contacto le da un punto de partida para encontrar otra.

Un organizador de giras de agitación tiempo completo, necesita apoyo económico. Un grupo local con un número considerable de miembros puede enviar a uno de sus más formados y experimentados militantes una de estas giras, por una o dos semanas, agitando, gestando mítines y estableciendo contactos cada día en una ciudad diferente en un estado o área determinada. No necesariamente tiene que ser totalmente financiado, un viaje tan largo, por donaciones, la gasolina, la alimentación y la estadía podría ser un apoyo facilitado por los grupos de las distintas ciudades visitadas.

## ESTRUCTURAS BASICAS

Infinidad de actividades y acciones directas están ocurriendo a uno u otro nivel. AMOR Y RABIA y alguna que otra publicación son las que cubren todas estas acciones y actividades anarquistas en toda Norte América, en la mayoría de los casos reportadas por sus propias protagonistas. Existen conferencias y reuniones todo el tiempo. La Alianza de Solidaridad de los Trabajadores (WSA) mantiene conferencias anuales, La Juventud Verde tiene al menos dos conferencias al año. AMOR Y RABIA tendrá su ciberbucua anual este verano. Contingentes anarquistas fueron organizados, en 1988 la acción directa contra el Pentágono, en 1989 la marcha por el Derecho a Escoger, en 1990 la acción directa contra Wall Street, el 26 de enero la Marcha a Washington contra la guerra en el Golfo Pérsico.

Anterior al Encuentro Anarquista de 1989, dos activistas se tomaron todo un mes buscando apoyo para lograr materializar lo que entonces era el proyecto Amor y Rabia.

Para que todo esto continúe, y muchas otras cosas sucedan, se hace necesario la existencia de una red; pero debemos ser más ambiciosos en la construcción de la misma. Necesitamos organizar giras de agitación para promover la labor que actualmente realiza la Cruz Negra Anarquista (ABC), las acciones de los compañeros de Acción Anti-Racista, el trabajo de la or-

ganización "Ni el Este, ni el Oeste" y otros tantos comités y organizaciones dedicadas a diferentes áreas de lucha que debemos dar a conocer. Necesitamos poner a nuestros organizadores y agitadores en las giras de trabajo todo el tiempo.

Existe un creciente número de personas que ven la importancia que tiene trabajar para la creación de una red. También entendemos que todo esto genera una demanda muy por encima de los recursos poseemos por lo que debemos crear estructuras concretas y resolutivas que nos permitan establecer un orden de prioridades y hacer más planes a largo plazo.

Tendremos un largo camino que recorrer en la construcción de nuestra red cuando cientos de personas se unan a este esfuerzo y podamos lograr realizar actividades y acciones conjuntas en las que estemos de acuerdo, como por ejemplo, en publicar un número especial de un periódico dirigido a los estudiantes de Secundaria Básica en septiembre, construir un Contingente Anarquista para una manifestación en octubre, activar la solidaridad con los presos políticos mediante una gira de discursos y conferencia en noviembre, organizar distintas acciones radicales ecologistas en diferentes ciudades a lo largo y ancho de Norte América en diciembre, promover charlas y conferencia educacionales sobre el anti-racismo en enero y tener un organizador en gira todo el tiempo que sea necesario. Ninguna de estas cosas están más allá de nuestra capacidad, por lo que no vemos porque no se puedan materializar. Planeando con anticipación podremos llevar todos estos proyectos adelante. Trabajando unidos podremos construir un modesto programa de acción.

Falta por ver, cuando tendremos organizadas las estructuras básicas necesarias para llevar a cabo este programa. Sin embargo, podemos llevar al movimiento hacia un nivel mayor de organización, trabajando conscientemente por ello, discutiéndolo en cada oportunidad que se presente, mientras se van creando las estructuras de dicho programa y se va materializando la red con cada una de las personas interesadas en la misma.

## AUTONOMIA EN LOS GRUPOS LOCALES

Este artículo está basada en las tareas que conllevaría la formación de una red libertaria de activistas anarquistas revolucionarios en toda Norte América. El formar tal red es una parte necesaria en el proceso de construir una organización mas revolucionaria y anarquista, sin embargo esto es solo una parte. En muchos aspectos es más importante la organización diaria y las tareas que se lleven a cabo a nivel local. Una red no tiene sentido si está formada por individuos que saltan de conferencias a demostraciones a nivel nacional pero que no están comprometidos con la verdadera lucha que se lleva a cabo en sus propias comunidades.

Al mismo tiempo que trabajamos para formar una red, necesitamos también crear colectivos revolucionarios y anarquistas a nivel local, los cuales puedan participar en un amplio rango de luchas en la comunidad aprendiendo de ellos lo suficiente para poder desarrollar durante el proceso políticas anarquistas más coherentes. Una red de pequeños grupos anarquistas y de compañeros aislados, no se debe confundir con una organización que esté basada en colectivos locales locales, seguros y establecidos. Lo primero ya está formado, lo segundo aún está por venir y puede todavía tardarse un poco.

En su máxima expresión, una red puede hacer crecer y fomentar el surgimiento de los colectivos locales. Sin embargo, si la red no respeta la autonomía de los asfixie y como es de esperar con la desaparición de dichos colectivos estaría desapareciendo la propia red. Ninguno de nosotros está ciento seguro de lo que se debe para formar una organización anarquista revolucionaria; por lo que debemos ver en cada grupo local un fascinante experimento en algo nuevo.

Existen ya varios grupos locales que se pueden describir como colectivos anarquistas revolucionarios. Existen muchos grupos que cuentan con compañeros de basta experiencia que debían orientar e informar sobre organización a los nuevos colectivos que se encuentran en proceso de formación. El desarrollo de los colectivos anarquistas revolucionarios autónomos a nivel local va a ser el foco de el próximo artículo de esta serie.

# DECLARACION POLITICA DE AMOR Y RABIA

Amor y Rabia es una publicación mensual anarquista revolucionaria que intenta fomentar el activismo revolucionario anti-autoritario en Norteamérica y construir un movimiento anarquista mejor organizado. Proveeremos cobertura sobre luchas sociales, eventos mundiales, acciones anarquistas y brotes de resistencia. Apoyaremos la lucha de los oprimidos alrededor del mundo por el control de sus propias vidas. El anarquismo ofrece la más profunda crítica de la jerarquía y la dominación, haciendo posible in armazón para la unidad en todas las luchas por la liberación. Tratamos de entender los sistemas bajo los cuales vivimos mediante nuestro propio análisis y rechazamos cualquier ideología pre-elatada. El anarquismo es un cuerpo viviente teórico-práctico, conectado directamente a las experiencias de los oprimidos que luchan por su propia liberación. Anticipamos la revisión constante y radical de nuestras ideas como parte necesaria de cualquier proceso revolucionario.

### Amor y Rabia es Revolucionaria

Apoyamos el derrocamiento de toda forma del relación es sociales autoritarias y la creación de una sociedad basada en la cooperación, en la solidaridad y la ayuda mutua. Reconocemos que la revolución social solo puede hacerla realidad la mayoría oprimida de la humanidad mediante un movimiento auto-gestionario. Apoyamos la utilización de cualquier medio que sea necesario para emancipar a la humanidad y alcanzar así el fin de la guerra, de la pobreza, del hambre, y de la miseria generada por el actual sistema. Apoyamos el uso de tácticas diversas por el actual sistema.

Apoyamos el uso de tácticas diversas en desarrollo de una revolución social.

### Amor y Rabia es Anti-estatista

Nos oponemos a todos los Estados (gobiernos) sin distinción de ideologías. El objeto del Estado es mantener y regular todas las formas de dominación. El Estado tiene el monopolio de la violencia organizada, la policía, el ejército y el sistema de prisiones, imponiendo la organización de la sociedad. Nos oponemos al sistema de inmigración e intentamos controlar el movimiento libre del pueblo sobre las fronteras estatales. Creemos que la gente puede organizar sus vidas y sus comunidades. Esta organización por sí misma puede hacer que la gente tome el control de las funciones que ahora dependen del Estado.

### Amor y Rabia es Anti-capitalista

Apoyamos todas las formas de resistencia a la dominación capitalista - resistencia tal como huelgas, luchas en sitios de trabajo, la ocupación de edificaciones (squattng), huelgas por alquileres y luchas por el control comunitario de los recursos. Deseamos la transformación total de la producción y el consumo en una economía cooperativa y a favor de la vida, que además debe ser descentralizada, equitativa, fluida y experimental, y controlada por los que participan en ella.

### Amor y Rabia es Anti-racista

Apoyamos la autodeterminación de todas las comunidades de color. Peleamos en contra de la supremacía blanca y trabajamos por una sociedad que respete la diversidad cultural. Reconocemos la opresión específica hacia el afroamericano, desde épocas de la esclavitud

hasta el presente. Luchamos por la liberación y la autodeterminación del pueblo negro en los Estados Unidos. Reconocemos que las bases para la sociedad racista de hoy son el genocidio y la asimilación forzada del pueblo indígena. Apoyamos la conservación de tradiciones culturales y los derechos a la tierra, de los nativoamericanos. Luchamos para erradicar el imperialismo cultural. Nos oponemos al racismo anti-semita. Apoyamos la autodeterminación del Québec y el fin de la opresión contra el francófono en Norteamérica. Nos organizamos contra el racismo del los "skinheads," el "klan," los nazis y el terror policial. Reconocemos el racismo implícito en la dominación y la explotación económica, política y militar del llamado "tercer mundo." Luchamos por crear una sociedad donde la gente pueda sentirse segura, respetada y no amenazada por el racismo.

### Amor y Rabia es Anti-imperialista

La sociedad por la que luchamos celebrará la belleza de la diversidad humana, honrará la tierra y reconocerá las contribuciones sociales y culturales de la comunidad humana hecha por la mayoría de los habitantes del planeta, del pueblo de color. Para crear esta sociedad, la humanidad tiene que derrocar esta que ha sido impuesta sobre el planeta por una minoría mediante la fuerza, una sociedad que ha esclavizado a la mayoría de los pobladores del planeta para el enriquecimiento de pocos. Esto abarca no solo la dominación por el capital occidental, sino toda forma de imperialismo estatal. Apoyamos la lucha de todos los pueblos oprimidos y explotados, por la autodeterminación y liberación de la dominación extranjera o doméstica. Además,

también apoyamos críticamente la lucha de todas las naciones de menor poder contra el control y el abuso imperialista.

### Amor y Rabia es Anti-sexista

Rechazamos el patriarcado y luchamos por el apoderamiento, la liberación y la autodeterminación de todos. Esto incluye la incuestionable libertad de elección reproductiva y una más accesible atención médica y de cuidado, hacia todos sin exclusión. Reconocemos que la violencia sexual y el abuso son necesarios para la continuidad de la movilidad del Estado. El Estado no resolverá nuestros problemas. Promovemos toda iniciativa y nos adherimos tanto colectiva como individualmente.

### Amor y Rabia Apoya la Liber Determinación Sexual

Rechazamos la autoritaria heterosexualidad de la familia patriarcal y la tradicional adopción de roles sexuales y apoyamos los esfuerzos por promover una pluralidad de relaciones humano-sexuales en su justa proporción. Esto incluye la liberación de homosexuales, bisexuales, lesbianas y travestis.

### Amor y Rabia No Discriminar las Edades

Las manifestaciones del geracionalismo toma mucha cara, desde la opresión de la juventud hasta las problemáticas de la gente anciana, de todo aquel que es marginado y alienado por esta sociedad. Nuestra idea de liberación es siempre activa y no puede representarse en un solo párrafo. Por lo tanto, esta debe ser planteada en todo su respecto en nuestro periódico, así como a través de nuestras vidas. Estos puntos no deben construir las

reglas de un juego a seguir, sino que deberán compartirse como tarea en las páginas que representan a la federación de jóvenes anarquistas (Anarchist Youth Federation - AYF) y en cualquier otro sitio que sea necesario.

### Amor y Rabia es Eco-anarquista

Todas las formas de vida están interconectadas. Rechazamos el mito aquel que afirma que existimos fuera del mundo natural, mas visualizamos la vida humana como parte integral del mismo. En contraste, deducimos que toda forma de dominación social solo traera la destrucción del planeta y por ello, debemos acabar con la misma. El capitalismo no salvará el planeta por el solo hecho de hacernos cambiar nuestro estilo de vida o seguir una política de protección del ambiente. En realidad, tenemos que entender la complicidad del estado capitalista con todas las formas de dominación, tales como el patriarcado y el racismo, responsables de la actual crisis ecológica. La sociedad anarquista tiene que ser ecologista y a su vez, la sociedad ecología tiene ser anarquista.

Esta declaración no pretende incluir todos los planteamientos que conciernen al anarquista o anti-autoritario, como tampoco pretende Amor y Rabia darlo todo por entendiéndolo ni unificar todos los puntos enteramente. No podemos representar el amplio espectro del heterogéneo movimiento anarquista contemporáneo, ni nos avergonzaremos de algún punto de controversia. Finalmente, buscamos la incorporación de nuestros lectores y otros activistas en nuestro esfuerzo por prosperar, aportando información, así como recibiendo por parte de los movimientos que defendemos.