

# LOVE AND RAGE

A REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHIST  
NEWSMONTHLY

500 YEARS OF INDIGENOUS RESISTANCE  
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BERKELEY CHAINSAW  
MASSACRE  
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ANARCHIST YOUTH  
FEDERATION  
PAGE 11



What happens to a dream deferred? Does it dry up like a raisin in the sun...?

## OR DOES IT

## EXPLODE?

Anarchism and  
the Struggle for  
Black Liberation

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# Letters

## TAKE MY "TAKE," PLEASE

Dear Love and Rage,

Bravo! You've printed several articles in one issue (October, 1991) that highlight — somewhat articulately, in fact — a number of (perhaps interrelated) central issues affecting all thinking anarchists — issues on which I diverge from your "take" on things. Particularly because these divergences represent fundamental differences in underlying philosophy — differences that affect both the viability and the very character of anarchism — your approach to these crucial questions should not go unanswered.

Most basic is Wayne Price's "Revolutionary Anarchism: Part of the Left?" First, a disclaimer: I definitely consider myself an anarchist, but not necessarily a revolutionary; I believe that being an anarchist describes the end one seeks to achieve, while "revolutionary" merely refers to a possible means to that end. While I don't want to get

lost on this point, suffice it to say that by declaring revolution to be something more fundamental than one tool among many — something, in fact, integral to anarchism itself — one may already have defined oneself as holding a view (and especially an analysis of society) that could be called "leftist." If that's so, Price's article is unnecessary because it addresses a meaningless question — one whose answer is obvious by definition — a tautology.

Is it only Marxism and/or Leninism that has been discredited, as Price says, or is it the world-view of the left as a whole? At the very least, the entire world-view of the left has been called into question. Why should we be scrambling to redefine and re-legitimize it? Perhaps the very terms of alignment and discussion need to be redrawn. And, among other things, a discrediting of the left needn't mean a defense of capitalism, or a capitulation of all opposition to authority.

I believe — and I'm not alone in believing — that the left itself has been discredited because it fundamentally misapprehends the human condition. It rests fundamentally on the notion that the interests of the community can and must be defined, and that individuals must subordinate themselves to those interests and definitions, and their behavior prescribed — even, for some, that individuals must find fulfillment or identity through community.

The problem is obvious. Who defines the interests of the community? Who is the community, anyway? Does one have the right to drop out? Sometimes, or in some respects, but not others? Doesn't each of us define our own community?

Then, too, the familiar and predictable litany of certified oppressions that make the left readily identifiable also raises questions. Who gets to define what is privilege, and does anyone deserve that privilege? Are we about eliminating oppression or merely redistributing it? Who gains and who loses? Who then lacks — or needs — special consideration? When do these mechanisms become oppressive, intrusively prescribing even the tiniest details of everyday behavior, killing our sense of humor and our ability to get along and truly to find each other? Following this path, rather than forswearing coercion, we are left with a "revolution" that ultimately thrives on coercion — and we will have created a monstrosity, not liberated ourselves.

At this moment — and this may change, of course — it's not as if we risk alienating anybody other than a few sectarian fringes — not the masses, nor even anyone with significant ways and means — by neglecting the "left." We as anarchists will be involved in truly popular struggles because we are people and the struggles are popular! — not because they are leftist.

Libertarians are a problem because they have a blind spot for concentrations of power that involve property or wealth. True anarchists must question property and wealth as social forms that can impede individual liberty, especially when they evolve and deform themselves into highly abstract, depersonalized — increasingly bureaucratic and collective! — forms of ownership (and authority to protect ownership), and come to obstruct freedom rather than enhance it.

But what does Price find wrong with libertarians? "No child labor laws, no anti-discrimination laws..." Well, at least he's tipped his hand. Even at its best, we all know the left's standard answer to a problem once it has power. There oughta be a law.

Some anarchism. If the libertarians are Republicans, Price is a Democrat. For now, he can set up a task force and collect donations; perhaps when the time comes, he can get a job as liaison to the anarchist community.

We've lost by affiliating ourselves with the left — not only because the authoritarian left has betrayed us, but because, so far, at least, the left is the loser. If fascism feeds off a twisted anti-statism, perhaps we'd do well to feed off the same impulses — and untwist

them. Most Americans detest politics, and a good many of them may have little use for cops and tax collectors. Why isn't anarchy the beneficiary?

If the answer is that we've been knee-jerk leftists with a predictable agenda, this is also apparent in Kedzie Throops' "Defense of the Political Statement." She defends the movement for Political Correctness, and in the same breath, disparages a counter-culture "Trippy Dude" who "just needed to liberate himself," and she declares the ultimate importance of "naming power and oppression."

This, again, is a can of worms. Too often, especially lately, the anal retentives of the world have gone on the war-path (against the oral compulsives?), decrying those who speak out of turn or question orthodoxy (usually regarding sexism or racism.) They use process and the hegemony of the explicit statement as their big guns — and invariably make an example of a particularly egregious offender as justification for their continued protection racket.

And so it is for the Trippy Dude — that scourge of feminists, the man who gallops off into the sunset. Yes, this wretched example left a woman behind to raise the kid he fathered, and accepted no responsibility. But what if he had no kid? — left no hooks for a woman to get into him? (He might be gay like me, for instance! And who says that makes him automatically different?) Patriarchy? Has Kedzie ever heard of Aunt Sally? Or the Big Nurse? You can bet the Big Nurse has everything nailed down. She admonishes even queers to assimilate to her order — under the banner of feminism!

Finally, there's the centerfold article about Leonard Jeffries. Yes, Jeffries has an unequivocal right to speak, even if his views are anti-Semitic. (But that's in the context that I'm against laws and regulations prohibiting so-called hate speech. Even as a gay man, I value my freedom of speech more than I fear being called names.) But as a Jew, I found the author's equivocations too lame. He or she says "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." I'm not impressed by the disclaimer, "this is because they are white and middle class, not because they are Jews" — when the author almost immediately goes on to say "It's easy to understand why many Black people end up resenting Jews."

Crown Heights — ugh! This vicious and ugly race war in Calcutta-on-the-Hudson reminds me how happy I am to have moved to California from New York. If I'm brutally attacked, I don't think it matters whether the line was drawn against me for being white rather than Jewish. Or for being white, despite being Jewish. If I'm down and bleeding in the gutter, fuck you — in whatever PC color you care to choose!

In fact, I suspect the ruling class likes Jews positioned (as the obvious whites) where the underclass can feel justified in attacking them! And I've seen some Jews internalize a special oppression that tells them that it is on those front lines of disgustingness and decrepitude that they must eke out their survival and prosperity. One day, we'll see this all brought out into the light, and recognize the humanity in ourselves and each other. But no thanks to the isms and formulas of the left.

Sincerely,  
Mitchell Halberstadt  
Daly City, CA

[Note: Kedzie Throop is a pseudonym for a male author.]

## DEMIBOLD SOFT ON ZIONISM

Dear Anarchist Comrades:

Futura Demibold's efforts to deal with the problems of Black liberation and anti-Semitism in the October 1991 issue of *Love and Rage* were amazingly, shockingly inadequate, insofar as a critical factor — the phenomenon of Zionism — wasn't even mentioned.

Anarchists, in fighting anti-Semitism, need a clear understanding of how Zionism — the ideology, organiza-

tions, and coercive politics of self-styled "Jewish nationalism" — manipulates and exploits the Jewish community, inculcating racist and elitist attitudes which often provoke the very anti-Semitic sentiments the Zionists hypocritically condemn (and then use as political capital).

Zionists (not a "codeword" for Jews in general, but a specific political formation) do in fact constitute a "network around the world" (see, for example, former Mossad operative Victor Ostrovsky's book *By Way of Deception*), working in concert with the imperialist powers and local reactionaries against liberation struggles practically everywhere.

Unless anarchists undertake a fearlessly thorough analysis of Zionism's structures and processes, exposing Zionists everywhere as the fascist-minded, racist bigots that they are, the credibility of anarchism as a movement opposing all forms of racism and supporting self-determination for all peoples will be severely, if not fatally, damaged.

Yours for Resistance and Liberation  
P.A. Ward  
Pinellas Park, FL

[Note: The Lubavitchers (the Jewish sect in the Crown Heights conflict), based on their biblical interpretation, are not Zionist.]

## DEMIBOLD SOFT ON ANTI-SEMITISM

Dear Love and Rage:

I was pleased to see the discussion of Leonard Jeffries and the Crown Heights explosion by Futura Demibold in a recent *Love and Rage* (Vol. 2 No. 8—October 1991). I commend *Love and Rage* for encouraging open deliberation of these important and sensitive issues; after all, it is our only real weapon against ethnic hatred and ignorance. In this spirit, I would like to add two points to the debate.

My first point is that Demibold's analysis of Crown Heights lacks a key element, and that is any recognition of the historical dimensions of anti-Semitism. It would seem absurd to discuss David Duke, for example, without reflecting upon the history of American racism, or to talk about Columbus Day without considering the genocide of Native Americans. Likewise, any anti-Semitic eruption must be seen as part of a history of anti-Semitic violence and persecution.

Indeed, when we abandon historical analysis it is easy to regard events such as Crown Heights as isolated instances without deep significance. But that is a false conception. In fact, Crown Heights is another knot in a broad and barbaric thread of anti-Semitism that dates back thousands of years and is woven deeply into Western cultural and political history. Crown Heights was one moment in the reemergence of one of the darkest and most persistent tragedies of human history. Crown Heights was not a "protest" with anti-Semitic elements: it was a pogrom.

My second point concerns the moral basis for resistance to anti-Semitism and other forms of domination, and emerges from a statement in another, unrelated, *Love and Rage* article ("1992 Presidential Election Boycott" Vol. 2 No. 9—November 1991). This article does not discuss Crown Heights or anti-Semitism at all, but the statement in question has profound implications for either dilemma. I am referring to Matt Black's assertion that "it is intensely disrespectful to reject people's responses to their own lives."

Like Duke supporters in Louisiana, anti-Semites in Crown Heights have many legitimate reasons to be angry. But the point is that they chose to articulate their frustration in a delirium of anti-Semitism and hatred, instead of at the real sources of their misery. Even Manhattan's most unethical and corrupt forces, like the police and the Mayor, saw the Crown Heights eruption as immoral. Moreover, this was the authentic response of many Crown Heights residents "to their own lives."

They deserve our deepest contempt for this choice. However, the issues raised by Crown Heights have implications that transcend immediate problems. Above all, while it is important to understand racists as well as racism, anarchists must make sure never to sink into the morass of moral relativism. We must never privilege or hierarchalize op-

*Love and Rage* is created by the Love and Rage Network, a group of supporters who are in general agreement with the Love and Rage Political Statement and contribute time, money, and energy to *Love and Rage*. Major decisions and overall policy are made when all the supporters gather for a conference — roughly once a year. Less major interim decisions (consistent with decisions of the conference) are made by a Network Council of people from many regions that meets at least once between conferences. Any group with a genuine interest in the project may send 2 voting delegates to Network Council meetings. Decisions requiring faster action (consistent with decisions of the conference and 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 of various sorts, and issue networks and organizations that work nationally and internationally, and they often write about their activities in *Love and Rage*.

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

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

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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. Some months we produce an 8 page "broadsheet" edition instead of our regular 16 page full size edition. We do this because we think getting a paper to you every month is more important than waiting until we have enough money to do a full edition. 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.



# Notes of Revolt

## Direct Action Gets The Woods

BY AGA

A 5 DAY logging-road blockade in Northwestern Ontario has forced a logging company to remove its equipment from native land.

The Gull Bay Band erected the road-block on November 7, 1991, after the Provincial Ministry of Natural Resources reinstated a tree-cutting license for Buchanan Forest Products. The license was reinstated after Buchanan representatives falsely reported to the Ministry that, following months of negotiations, the native band had agreed to the cutting. No such agreement had been reached and the Ministry somehow (!) neglected to check the validity of Buchanan's claim with the band itself.

When band members noticed clear-cutting equipment being brought within the boundary of the disputed area of Black Sturgeon Forest, an emergency council meeting was held and by 7pm a roadblock had been erected. At 8pm, three vehicles carrying night logging crews were turned away by the unarmed blockaders. The crews were to have begun logging immediately.

Buchanan Forest Products has a long history of severely damaging forestry practices, and the evidence can be seen along hundreds of kilometers of highway north of Thunder Bay. This area has been ravaged by the clear-cutting method employed by Buchanan. Clear-cutting removes all trees over huge areas and the resulting loss of bio-diversity and topsoil

ensures that the area will never again attain a state of ecological health.

As well as subsistence hunting and trapping in the proposed-to-be-cut forest, Gull Lake Band members fish in the waters beside it. Topsoil run-off from clear-cutting depletes fish populations. Native burial grounds are also located in this forest. Clear-cutting would virtually destroy the natives' traditional use of this land.

When the blockade was first erected, Ontario Provincial Police officers photographed natives at the blockade. Buchanan's corporate representatives, realizing that their deceitful actions were ineffective, arrived at the site to ask for permission to remove their equipment.

At sunrise on November 11, over 100 members of the 600 member band were at the blockade to witness their chief and council escorting heavy logging equipment, including a Grapple Shredder and a Feller Buncher, out of the Gull Bay Block of the Black Sturgeon Forest, to the sound of the Gull Bay Drum.

Because of the blatant attempt of Buchanan and the MNR to sabotage the negotiations, the natives of Gull Bay are trusting neither and are maintaining a watch on the blockade.

Chief Roger King  
Gull Bay First Nation  
Gull Bay, Ontario  
POT 1PO, CANADA

## No Evictions

ON DECEMBER 22 in New York City 400 homeless people, squatters, and tenants rallied and marched together in solidarity against evictions. This event was initiated by the Lower East Side Squatters Eviction Watch.

A new coalition called the Housing Solidarity Network was formed. Nearly 30 groups endorsed the action, including squatters from both the Lower East Side and the South Bronx, anarchists, grassroots homeless organizations, mainstream liberal homeless groups, church groups, and a couple of communist parties (the latter used the event as an opportunity to sell papers).

The coalition called for an end to evictions of homeless people from public spaces, rights for squatters, a stop to new streamlined procedures for evicting renters and the reopening of fire houses.

The event began with a rally at Union Square and then marched through the shopping district and to the Port Authority Bus Terminal where anti-homeless policies are in effect.

Two activists then went inside the terminal and sat on the floor. Both were charged with trespassing and then released. The Dinkins administration has come under attack by some mainstream press and liberal homeless groups for its "blame the victim" rhetoric and for failing to place homeless families into recently built housing which has been sitting vacant for months. The city has also been accused of manipulating statistics of homeless families seeking shelter to justify its continued placement of homeless families in welfare hotels.

The march helped to consolidate support for housing rights in a city where evictions are happening at three times the usual rate due to the recession (read depression).

## Network Council Meeting Hamilton, Ontario — March 28-29

THE NETWORK COUNCIL is a body of delegates from groups in the Love and Rage Network. The idea is to develop a way of having truly representative and accountable decision making. The last annual conference asked that any and all groups genuinely interested in Love and Rage should come to this first meeting of the NC. Two people per group will be recognized as delegates and will be able to vote on the Council. Then we'll all discuss the state of the project, make decisions that need to get made, and try to figure out a way to work together with

people from around North America in a way that is anarchist and revolutionary.

Likely topics of discussion are: the Political Statement, the next conference, how the paper's doing, other projects and actions, and lots more.

### Registration Form

We're expecting lots of people at the NC Meeting, so please register ahead. The organizers have set a registration fee on a sliding scale from \$5 to \$30.

ATS c/o Wild Seed Press  
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Hamilton, Ontario L8P 4X3 CANADA

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☐ I will need childcare for \_\_\_\_\_ children.  
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☐ I have a need/request/question that isn't listed here. (please explain)

pressions of justify racism for any reason whatsoever. We must hold people, not only anarchists, to high, utopian standards, and we must be confident in passing judgement upon the activities of anarchists and non-anarchists alike.

If we refuse to condemn what is wrong, for any reason, then we will have nothing to stand on in our fight against anti-Semitism or any form of domination. In the process, we will have betrayed the very essence of anarchism.

Sincerely,  
Chuck Morse  
Burlington, VT

## Free Mumia

MUMIA ABU-JAMAL is a political prisoner who has been death row since 1982. He was involved with the Black Panthers and MOVE and was a journalist in Philadelphia. In December 1981 Mumia saw his brother being beaten by a cop. He intervened, the cop was killed, and Mumia was critically injured. Mumia has exhausted all his appeals, the Supreme Court has refused to review the case, and Pennsylvania Governor Robert Casey has begun signing death warrants. If the state has its way, Mumia will be the first political prisoner executed in the US since the Rosenbergs. A large movement of prisoners and support groups from across the political spectrum has come together to try to stop this "legal lynching."

Governor Robert Casey  
Main Capital Bldg Room 225  
Harrisburg, PA 17120

New Afrikan Network  
PO Box 90604  
Washington, DC 20090

## Dhoruba Faces Return To Jail

FORMER BLACK PANTHER Dhoruba Bin-Wahad may be going back to prison. His original conviction was vacated in 1990 when he successfully showed that the state had withheld prior statements of one of their witnesses from evidence. This is based on a 1961 decision holding that any withholding of evidence automatically invalidates a trial. However, recently the NY Court of Appeals ruled that since Bin-Wahad had already exhausted all his opportunities of appeal, he had no right right to challenge the original verdict. This could lead to a reinstatement of the original decision and Dhoruba's return to prison to serve the rest of his life sentence. For more info:

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

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## ANARCHIST CALENDAR

February 14th - 17th

### BEYOND DOMINATION CONFERENCE

"We invite all those who are hopeful of, and readying for, a radical change in culture, society, and our relations with the planet. We wish to begin organizing now for a society with no hierarchy."

c/o People's Justice Alliance  
PO Box 281  
Chattanooga, TN 37401  
(615) 265 6713

February 28th-30th

### FARWEST REGIONAL LEFT GREEN NETWORK CONFERENCE

"Ecological Politics and Strategies of Resistance."

Shari Menard  
PO Box 2633  
Goleta, CA 93118  
(805) 893 2139

February or March

### SECOND INTERAMERICAN GATHERING OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKER'S ASSOCIATION

We heard about it from the Confederation of Brazilian Workers. It's sponsored by the COB, Worker's Solidarity Alliance and the IWA.

International Secretary c/o WSA  
PO Box 1197  
San Antonio, TX 78294

Sometime this Spring

### WEST COAST @ GATHERING

A proposal to have a regional anarchist gathering on the west coast - somewhere roughly central between San Diego and Vancouver. Looks good.

Stefan Wray  
2440 16th Street Box 241  
San Francisco, CA 94103

## Synopsis of Articles in the Spanish Section

**Cover & page 4 — "A Call for Solidarity with Cuba — Last Call" — By Gustavo Rodriguez.** Gustavo makes the case that solidarity has to be directed towards the Cuban people and not the dictatorial government of the island, it has to be with that population that not only suffers from the scarcity imposed by a criminal blockade and the interventionist threat, but also one of the most despotic dictatorships in the hemisphere. Let's organize our aid committees without inspection or state control and let's bring our support aid directly from people to people, working together with other autonomous organizations and making contacts with autonomous groups on the island that would permit the development of solidarity and self-determination.

**Page 2 — Cruz Negra Anarquista — Anarchist Black Cross —** Anarchist prisoner in Spain Pablo Serrano and the campaign around Chilean anarchist Ernesto Castro held in France.

**Page 2 — News from South America —** Announcement of a new anarchist news agency based in Brasil and two appeals for help from Latin American anarchist groups.

**Page 3 & 4 — Una Oposición Verde en Cuba —** The second part of the interview with Orlando Polo and Mercedes Paez of the Eco-pacifist group Sendero Verde. See the August 1991 (Vol.2 No.7) issue for the entire interview in English.

### DISCUSSION BULLETIN

Available for some stamps from:  
Love and Rage Supporters  
PO Box 581354  
Minneapolis, MN 55458-1354



# 500 Years of Indigenous Resistance Part II

BY GORD H.

**W**ITH THE ENDING OF THE "French and Indian War" in 1763, and the dominance of British power on a world scale, the European struggle for hegemony in the Americas was nearing its end. Subsequently, the 18th and early 19th centuries were to be a period of wars for independence. Foremost amongst these was the "American Revolution" of 1775-1783.

As in previous European conflicts, the Native peoples were exploited as "expedient" troops, and many sided with the British and the possibilities of limiting settlement that they thought the British represented. As well, the extensive militarization would further establish settler domination, particularly for the "Americans" who carried out scorched-earth policies against the Shawnee, Delaware, Cherokee and the Haudenosaunee (which had suffered a split with the Oneidas and Tuscaroras allying with the rebels).

In 1783, the "American Revolution" was officially ended in the Treaty of Paris, in which the British made no provisions or considerations for their Native allies, who were then congregating in the Great Lakes region. Although the British had ceased hostilities, Native resistance continued. An estimated 1,500 settlers died in clashes along the "frontier" between 1783 and 1790.

The "Indian Wars" launched by the US were to continue throughout the 1800's with unrelenting intensity. In 1803 Louisiana was purchased from France, and in 1819 Spain ceded Florida to the US. During this period various wars were waged against Native nations, from the Shawnee of the Mississippi Valley, to the Creek, and to the Seminole in Florida. By 1824 the Bureau of Indian Affairs was organized as part of the War Department.

In response to US expansionism, Britain was forced to consolidate its remaining colonial interests, and in 1791 declared the Constitutional Act of 1791, dividing Lower Canada (now southern Québec) from Upper Canada (now southern Ontario). Unwilling to repeat the experience of the US revolution, the Act provided for elected assemblies with limited powers of self-government, as well as establishing firm territories with which to challenge US expansion. Using the pretext of Native raids along its northern frontier, the US declared war on Britain in 1812 and attempted to invade Canada, and an alliance of European settlers and natives repulsed the US, so that in the 1815 Treaty of Ghent, hostilities were ended with the borders disputes unresolved and the borders unchanged.

## REVOLUTIONS IN THE "NEW WORLD"

Following the "American Revolution," movements for independence began breaking out in South and Central America. Native people's resistance also continued — one of the largest revolts being in 1780 in Upper Peru (Bolivia) led by Tupac Amaru, heir to the Inca throne. The rebellion was repressed by Spanish arms and Tupac Amaru executed the following year.

The first major colonial revolt for independence was in 1809 in Upper Peru (Bolivia), which succeeded in temporarily overthrowing Spanish authorities. In 1810 Colombia declared its independence, followed one year later by Venezuela. In 1816, Argentina declared its independence, and one year later General Jose de San Martin led troops across the Andes to "liberate" Chile and Peru from the royalist forces. Wars for independence spread quickly, and Spanish royalist forces lost one colony after another to the colonists in decisive conflicts which culminated in the Battle of Ayacucho in 1824 in Peru, which effectively ended Spain's domination in the Americas.

While the former colonies moved to establish their territories and gain economic advantages, new instruments of European domination were being introduced. Through the banks, new conditions of dependence were forced onto the new states; in the 1920's, English banks lent over £21-million to former Spanish colonies (even while British

forces were sporadically attempting to invade various South American countries). The loans were directed primarily at developing infrastructures for the export of raw and manufactured materials; roads, railways, and ports, especially in the mining and agricultural industries. Through the debts, and the import of European technology and machinery necessary for large-scale mining and agribusiness, which was necessary to begin re-paying the loans, dependence was gradually established.

During the same period, the US was setting footholds in the region, and from 1822 onwards began focusing on Puerto Rico and Cuba (as well as the Philippines) and beginning to make armed interventions. With the taking of Cuba and Puerto Rico, as well as the Philippines and Hawaii, the US established itself as a competitive overseas power. The eventual extent of US imperialism was beginning to take shape. Internationally, the development of imperialism, during the 19th century, had now established itself; the full division of the world between various European powers and the US was complete (and would subsequently lead to two world wars).

## MEANWHILE, BACK ON THE RANCH

While the US was moving to establish itself on a world-scale as an imperialist power, it was still in the process of countering armed resistance by Native nations. In 1830 the Indian Removal Act was implemented, and in 1834 Congress reorganized the various departments dealing with Native repression by creating the US Department of Indian Affairs and the Trade and Intercourse Act which redefined the "Indian territory" and "Permanent Indian Frontier," and which gave the army the right to quarantine Natives.

This process of US genocide was reinforced with the continuing epidemics of European diseases, particularly between 1837 and up to 1870 among western Native nations such as the Mandan, Hidatsa, Cayuse and others. By 1850-51, the Miwoks and Yokuts in California were engaged in war with miners, and the Yuma and Mojave were rebelling against settler occupation.

The so-called "Indian Wars" which the US military engaged in up until 1890 when the massacre of 350 Lakotas occurred, is generally well known. It is the focus of an enormous number of books (including *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, by Dee Brown, and many others) and an equal number of less than accurate "cowboy" movies.

It was primarily these three factors, the Indian Removal Act, the annexation of northern Mexico and the continued introduction of diseases, which formed the background to the widespread wars for the "American West." It was a war which involved many Native nations: the Yakimas, Walla Wallas, Umatillas and Cayuses, the Spokanes, Kiowas, Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Lakota, the Paiute, Apache, Shoshone, Navajo, and Kickapoos, as well as many others.

The turning point in this period of war can be seen as the US Civil War of 1861-65.

## AFRIKAN SLAVERY AND THE US CIVIL WAR

Ostensibly a war to "abolish slavery," the US Civil War of 1861-65 was in reality a conflict between the commercial and industrial development of the North, and the agrarian stagnation of the South — based on the slave-labour of Afrikan peoples. In fact, slave-labour was the foundation of the US — just as it had been for the Spanish and Portuguese in South and Central America. As well, when the slave trade in Native peoples began to decline as a result of the massive depopulation (Genocide), the Spanish and Portuguese began to turn to Afrika as a source of slave labour. Estimates of between 10 to 15 million Afrikans were shipped to the Americas between the 1500's up to the 19th century. Millions more perished during the voyages to the "New World," and those who survived were literally worked to death on planta-

tions, in mines, and, later on, in textile mills, ironworks, docks etc.

If Afrikan slave-labour was part of the process of building the United States — just as the Genocide of the First Nations was a part of that same process — then it was clear that the Afrikan peoples inside the borders of the US, like the First Nations, would have to be removed to facilitate settlerism's natural goal: European settlement of the United States. Therefore, the Civil War was not a moral crusade waged against the North to end slavery, but a practical effort to free land and labour from the limitations of the closed system of plantation agriculture based on slave labour.

The "insurrectionary fires" had already dealt the settlers a shocking blow in 1791 in the Haitian Revolution, when Afrikan prisoners, led in part by Toussaint L'Ouverture rose up and established the Haitian Republic. The new Republic offered citizenship to any Native or Afrikan peoples who wanted it, and thousands of free Afrikans in the US emigrated. There were also increasing revolts within the US: in 1800 the Virginia insurrection led by Gabriel, and in 1831 Nat Turner's revolt, in which sixty settlers died. "The situation became more acute as the developing capitalist economy created trends of urbanization and industrialization. In the early 1800's the Afrikan population of many cities was rising faster than that of Euro-Americans" (J. Sakai, *Settlers*).

Combined, these factors led the North to agitate for an end to slavery as one specific form of exploitation. In turn, the Southern states threatened to secede from the Union, and the Civil War erupted.

During the war, most First Nations remained neutral, although the South offered many promises concerning the return of land, and as a result some First Nations did side with the South.

The effect the War had on the then-on-going "Indian Wars" was increased militarization; after the War, the US had in its arsenal thousands of combat-experienced troops and the newest in weaponry, as well as an entrenched military supply system. Added to this, the transcontinental railroad, completed in 1869, facilitated large-scale military operations and the influx of settlers. The final, large-scale wars for the lands were carried out in the post-Civil War period in the US, culminating in the massacre at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in 1890.

## "INDIAN WARS" IN CANADA

In contrast to the US campaign of extermination, the process in Canada

lacked the large-scale armed conflicts that characterized the US "Indian Wars." Although many historians would like to believe that this pattern of historical differences lies in fundamentally different values, culture etc., it is no more than the result of differences in colonial practices rooted in basic economic needs and plans.

Canada, on the other hand, did not fight a war for independence and remained essentially a colony for Britain. The lower population level of European settlers (about 10 percent of the US), and the persistent domination of the fur trade (which relied on Native collaboration in order to be profitable), dictated different forms of control than those used in the US. The low population of European settlers drastically limited military campaigns, and because of the fur trade, military campaigns weren't particularly useful in themselves. The British authorities were to draw on their experiences in the reserve system and apartheid, used in British colonial operations on Africa and India.

To this end, instruments such as the Indian Act were drawn up, which restricted Native lifeways such as fishing and criminalized various aspects of Native economic means (for example, in 1881, the law made it illegal for Natives to "sell, barter, or traffic" fish). A pass system was introduced, restricting movement on and off reserves (similar to the Pass Laws in South Africa/Azania). The extended family, a fundamental part of the First Nations lifeway, was broken up: patriarchal systems forcibly replaced matriarchal ways of many First Nations: and children were forced into residential schools where their languages were forbidden and replaced by English, their cultures forbidden and replaced by Christianity. The attack was directed at breaking up Native culture in all respects. The culture was seen as the basis of resistance, as an obstacle to control over the First Nations.

And armed resistance did occur primarily by the Metis peoples — mixed-blood peoples, generally of Cree and French ancestry. The Metis nation hunted buffalo and lived in the ways of the First Peoples, combining this with European tradition. The Metis rebellions, beginning in 1811 along the Red River in southern Manitoba, continuing with the "Courthouse Rebellion" of 1849 the Red River Rebellions of 1869 (also known as the first Riel Rebellion, after Louis Riel — a Metis leader), and the Second Riel Rebellion of 1885, were the major conflicts of this period.

The Second Riel Rebellion of 1885, which also involved hundreds of Cree warriors and the chiefs Big Bear and Opetecahnawaywin (Poundmaker), was the final major armed conflict in Canada between the First Nation Peoples and the Canadian Occupation forces. In the same year, the Canadian Pacific transcontinental railway was completed, and the last great herd of buffalo was slaughtered by white hunters.

This period, ending the 19th century, can be described as the lowest point in the history of the First Nations of the



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Americas. The Native people's population within the United States was 250,000, starvation and malnutrition were widespread: European diseases continued to kill many.

In the early 1900s, First Nations in North America increasingly turned to legalistic methods of forcing both Canada and the US to honour treaties and to settle "land claims." In 1912, the Alaska Native Brotherhood was formed by the Tlingit and Tsimshian at Sitka, and in the same year, the Nishga Land Claim Petition was presented to the Canadian federal government in Ottawa. In 1924, Native peoples in the US were given citizenship, although the right to vote, granted (in theory) to Afrikans in 1868, was withheld in most states where there were large Native populations. In 1927, Canada outlawed Native political fundraising towards financing "land claims" as a response to the Nishga Petition. The dominant pattern during this period was forcing assimilation of First Nations into the European system. Through the Indian Act in Canada, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the US, the attack on Native culture continued; the Sundance of Plains nations was outlawed in 1910 (similarly, the Potlatch of West Coast nations had been banned in 1884, though it continued in clandestinity) and Medicine Givers arrested. The residential school system in both the US and Canada continued the process of breaking up extended families and indoctrinating Native peoples into Christianity and European culture.

#### THE PEOPLE AIM FOR FREEDOM

Along with the explosion of liberation struggles on an international level in the 1960s, including those in Afrika, Asia, and within the "advanced" industrialized countries — which consisted of Afrikan, Chicano, women's, gay and lesbian, and anti-imperialist movements, there was also a renewal of Native people's resistance in the Americas.

In South and Central America, alongside the developing student, worker, women's and guerilla movements (comprised largely of mestizo peoples in the urban centres), the Indigenous peoples also began an intensification of their struggles. Land occupations, as in 1972 when Mapuches in Chile began "fence-running" — moving fences which separated reserves from farms and extending the reserve area — became a primary form of this struggle. In Mexico, land occupations became so widespread that by 1975, there were 76 occupations in the territory of Sinaloa alone, and 25,000 acres of land occupied in Sinaloa and Sonora.

Between 1900 and 1957, the Indigenous population in Brazil had declined from over 1 million to less than 200,000 persons. Under the "Brazilian Model" — a term used by state and economic planners to refer to the combination of state incentives, international aid and investment and private financing used to pro-

mote economic growth in Brazil — a new chapter in the Genocide of the Indigenous peoples of the Amazon region was to begin. Massacres, biological warfare, and "Indian hunting" became widespread; entire villages were slaughtered, smallpox and other diseases introduced in blankets or through injections, and death squads hired to hunt down Natives.

In North America, land occupations — reclaiming traditional lands — also occurred, though not as large as those in South and Central America.

One of the first of these occupations in this renewed phase of struggle was the seizing of the Seaway International Bridge on Cornwall Island — traditional land of the Kanienkehake (Mohawks).



The blockade of the bridge in December 1968 was carried against the Canadian state's decision to levy customs duties on goods carried across the international border by Mohawks. Forty-eight Mohawks were arrested when the RCMP and Ontario Provincial Police stormed the bridge, but the occupation precipitated occupations which were to follow.

In the same year, the American Indian Movement was formed in Minneapolis - St. Paul by a group of ex-prisoners including Clyde Bellecourt, Dennis Banks, and George Mitchell. At first an organization modelled after predominately white Left groups, AIM organized against police brutality, racism, and poverty. Soon, "the people of AIM realized they had been ignoring the two greatest strengths of the Indian people: their spiritual heritage and their relation to the land." A traditional spiritual leader, Crow Dog, told them "to be a true Indian organization, they had to have the spiritual involvement of medicine men and holy people." AIM developed and grew, spreading from the urban centres to reservations — particularly in North and South Dakota and Nebraska in 1969. In 1970, AIM took part in the occupation of Plymouth Rock and the Mayflower replica on Thanksgiving Day, as well as organizing protests and actions against the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and racism. In South Dakota, a

protest at the Custer courthouse was attacked by police, leading to a riot in which the court and several buildings were burned down.

Despite the influence and participation of AIM, AIM itself was only a part of the general growth of Native militancy. In January, 1970, 200 Metis and Natives occupied the Alberta New Start Centre at Lac La Biche, protesting against the federal government's cancellation of the project's program, and confrontations swept across Canada.

In 1972, AIM organized the Trail of Broken Treaties Caravan and prepared a 20-point position paper concerning Native demands and general poverty. The trail ended in Washington, DC, where

demonstrators occupied and destroyed offices of the BIA.

In 1973, traditionalists in the Pine Ridge reservation of South Dakota requested AIM support after a campaign of terror led by Tribal Council President Dick Wilson and his BIA goons. On February 27, the people of Pine Ridge, AIM members, and supporters occupied Wounded Knee — the site of the 1890 massacre — in what is undoubtedly AIM's most well-known action. For 71 days, up to 300 people carried out an armed occupation that resisted a large military and para-military force consisting of FBI agents, BIA police, local and state police, and military personnel. Two Natives were shot dead, two wounded, and one Federal Agent wounded, during the occupation. Three weeks into the liberation of Wounded Knee, the Independent Oglala Nation was born, March 19. "The Independent Oglala Nation was more than just a brave gesture by a band of besieged Indians. It represented the gravest threat in more than a century to the plans of the US government to subdue the Native people of the US and to deprive them of their lands for the exploitation and profit of white interest" ("On the road to Wounded Knee," Indian Nation, April 1976). As supplies dwindled and the military prepared for a final assault, the defenders decided to with-

draw. On May 7, about half the people filtered through the enemy lines, the following day the 150 who remained laid down their arms. In the period following, as many as 250 people in and around Pine Ridge were dead, including 50 members/supporters of AIM; shootings, firebombings, assaults, and assassinations were carried out by Wilson's goons. It was during one of these attacks — an FBI raid on June 26, 1975 — that two FBI agents and an Oglala, Joseph Stuntz, were shot dead in an exchange of gun-fire. Although Stuntz' death was never investigated, the FBI launched a campaign to imprison AIM members for the death of the two agents. Eventually, Leonard Peltier would be convicted of the killing in a trial that showed nothing more than that the FBI fabricated evidence and testimony and that Peltier was framed.

In the same year as the liberation of Wounded Knee, AIM was established in Canada following the Cache Creek highway blockade in BC by armed Natives. In November of that year, the Indian Affairs office in Kenora, Ontario, was occupied for one day by the Ojibway Warriors Society, against a sawmill's mercury poisoning of fish on the Grassy Narrows reserve, police brutality, racism, the possession of material of the Ojibway Medicine Society in museums, and the relocation of Native peoples in James Bay. The following year, the Ojibway Warriors Society and members of AIM led the armed occupation of Anicnabe Park, near Kenora, from July 22 - August 8. Two months earlier, Mohawks from Akwesasne and Kahnawake occupied Moss Lake in upper New York state, reclaiming and renaming the area Ganienkeh — "Land of the Flint" — the traditional name for the land of the Kanienkehake — "People of the Flint." After a shooting incident between white vigilantes and the Mohawks, police insisted on entering Ganienkeh to investigate but were refused entrance. As the threat of a police raid increased, hundreds of Natives, including some veterans from Wounded Knee, rushed to Ganienkeh. Bunkers were built and defensive lines established. In the end, police withdrew (in 1977 the Mohawks agreed to leave Moss Lake in exchange for land in Clinton County, which is closer to Kahnawake and Akwesasne).

On September 14, 1974, the Native Peoples Caravan, also with AIM participation, left Vancouver. Similar to the Trail of Broken Treaties, the Caravan demanded recognition and respect for the treaty rights and aboriginal rights of Native peoples; settlement of land claims; housing and economic development for Native peoples; an end to the Indian Act; and an investigation of the Department of Indian Affairs by Natives aimed at dissolving it. On September 30, the Caravan ended with a protest in Ottawa at parliament. Instead of a hearing with parliament, the protest faced riot police

(Continued on page 6)

## 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 support self-determination for Puerto Rico and an end to the oppression of Puerto Ricans outside of Puerto Rico. We oppose the oppression of Chicanos. 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 womankind. This includes unquestionable reproductive freedom and accessible womankind-centered health care for all womankind (And all means all!) We recognize that sexual violence and objectification of womankind are necessary to the continued functioning of the state. The state will not solve our problems. We recognize the responsibility of men to organize to change themselves and end patriarchy. We celebrate womankind'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.



# Berkeley Chainsaw Massacre

BY PAUL DALTON

**T**HE HATED VOLLEYBALL courts situated in People's Park succumbed to a massive direct assault on December 15th. During yet another well attended music festival featuring the reggae band Caribbean All Stars, some concert goers initiated the direct action at 4:15 pm. One large rope was attached to the center post and an attempt to pull it out of the ground failed when the rope snapped. A second attempt to remove another post failed in the same manner. Frustrated people cursed and ranted until several brave individuals rushed the courts. One person was armed with a small chainsaw, which was used to cut down the center post as a ring of 75 people blocked the view of the cops. Once the center post fell, police, realizing what

was happening, started to pursue recognizable individuals. As police squared off with park defenders, bottles, rocks, and garbage were thrown at them, resulting in at least one cop being sent to the hospital. During the melee, another rope was attached to a railing and people started pulling on it. This time the cops weren't caught off guard, and immediately rushed to the railing's defense with batons swinging. More bottles and rocks flew. One especially vicious cop ate a 40 ounce bottle, another was beamed with a large rock. As police withdrew to the center of the courts, people danced around hugging each other. After five months the community had finally struck a near fatal blow to the University's plans for the park.

The next day (December 16th), a broad coalition of differ-

ent groups participated in a demonstration entitled, **Berkeley Is Not For Sale!** It was called to protest the continually undemocratic policies undertaken by the Berkeley City Council. Over the past few months this council has "rubber stamped" policies proposed by the University of California, Miles Cutter, and landlords. It has in effect sold the community to these special interests, refusing to listen when opposing voices are raised.

Originally planned as a massive civil disobedience action to blockade/occupy city hall, it became apparent upon arriving at the front of the building, that this idea was unrealistic. During a 15 minute speakout, one person noted that rents were by law going up by 30% without any public comment, and proposed that the demonstrators

go pay a visit to the Rent Board which is situated a block away.

Things remained calm but boisterous as folks took over the offices of the rent board. While discussions were being held, about an hour later, it was decided to go next to Milton Fujii's office. This one especially hated representative of the University was responsible for some of the decisions which resulted in numerous injuries activists suffered earlier this summer.

Enthusiastically people marched to the next target. Inside there was some confusion as to exactly where the office was. Most of the crowd arrived on the fourth floor, and found one office marked Assistant Vice Chancellor, Property Development. Two individuals started kicking on the locked door. After several tries, it par-

tially opened as a U.C. employee peered out. Gleeefully the crowd surged forward, chanting "U.C. out of town," and started trashing the office. By the time the pigs arrived, the office was in shambles and people were leaving.

Both of these actions resulted in no arrests at this time, and only one reported participant being injured. Once again a clear message had been sent to the ruling class. We are not going to give up the struggle, and we have the ability to disrupt your business and personal lives whenever we choose. Remember these words spoken by an I.R.A. volunteer, "We only have to get lucky once, you have to get lucky all the time." Saiorse Go Deo, Let the Fight Go On! ★

## 500 Years

(Continued from page 5)

and barricades. In the ensuing clashes, nine police were injured.

In 1976, another caravan, the Trail of Self-Determination, left the West coast of the US as one of many anti-Bicentennial projects organized by Native peoples in the US. Its purpose was to get the US government's answer to the points raised by the 1972 Trail of Broken Treaties. As in that caravan, government officials refused to meet with the demonstrators, and 47 people were arrested at the BIA offices in Washington, DC.

It was also during this period that Native peoples began organizing at an international level.

In South and Central America, many "Pan-Indian" organizations began to develop and network — as early as 1970. In 1971, Indigenous groups in Argentina organized a conference around the Genocide in Paraguay. Organizations such as the Regional Caucus of Indians of the Cauca (which published *Unidad Indigena*) and the South American Indian Council would eventually be established. In the US, the International Indian Treaty Conference was organized by members of AIM in 1974.

### THE STRUGGLE FOR THE LAND

Following the Second World War, and the post-War economic boom in the US and Canada, plans for new energy policies began to be formulated in the offices of government agencies and corporations. One of the first of these was the North American Water and Power Alliance, developed in 1964. It was a plan for diverting water and/or hydro-electric power from Canada to the US. Another aspect of these energy policies was nuclear energy, and militarily, nuclear weapons, which facilitated massive uranium mining in

both Canada and the US. Following the 1973 "Oil Crisis," plans for developing "internal" energy sources were developed. In the US, this energy policy was titled "Project Independence."

"In a period barely exceeding 200 years, the 100% of the territory which was in Indigenous hands in 1600, was reduced to 10% and over the next 100 years to 3%. We retain nominal rights to about 3% of our original territory within the USA today. Native people were consigned to what was thought to be, at that time, the most useless possible land... Ironically, from the perspective of the Predator, this turned out to be the land which contained about 2/3 of what the US considers to be its domestic uranium reserve. Perhaps 25% of the readily accessible low-sulphur coal. Perhaps 1/5 of the oil and natural gas. Virtually all of the copper and bauxite... There is gold. There are renewable resources and water rights in the arid west." (Ward Churchill, *Red Road*, no. 2)

The same is true for Canada and the countries of South and Central America, where there is not only large scale mining and deforestation, but also massive hydro-electric projects which have flooded regions in the Amazon and in James Bay, northern Québec.

### IN TOTAL RESISTANCE

"Now that war is being forced upon us, we will turn our hearts and minds to war and it too we will wage with all our might... Our spirits are strong. We are together at last with ourselves and the world of our ancestors; we are proud before our children and our generations unborn... We are free. No yoke of white government oppression can contain us. We are free."

(Mohawk Nation Office, August 27, 1990)

In March 1990, the Kanienkehake of Kanesatake occupied the Pines traditional land which also contained the peoples cemetery and a lacrosse field — against the township of Oka's plans to expand an adjacent golf course, over the

Pines. On July 11, under the directive of the Mayor of Oka and/or the Quebec provincial government, over 100 members of the Quebec Provincial Police (SQ) attacked the barricades, opening fire on mostly women and children and firing tear-gas and concussion grenades. Members of the Kahnawake Warrior Society and warriors from Kanesatake returned fire. In the exchange of fire, one SQ officer was killed. Following the battle in the Pines, Warriors from Kahnawake seized the Mercier Bridge — a major commuter bridge into Montreal — to deter a second SQ attack. More barricades were on highways around both Kanesatake and Kahnawake by hundreds of Kanienkehake — setting into motion one of the longest armed occupations in North America in recent history. The occupation, which involved hundreds of police and the deployment of 4,000 troops from the Canadian Armed Forces, initiated widespread solidarity from First Nations across Canada, including road and railway blockades, occupations of Indian Affairs offices, and sabotage actions against railway bridges and electrical power lines. On September 26, the last remaining defenders — who had been forced into a treatment centre following advances by the military — made the decision to disengage (not surrender), and began to move out of the area; they were going home, refusing to surrender or walk into custody because, as is right for sovereign people, they had committed no "crimes" in defending their land. The occupation forces disagreed and arrested them all.

The background to Oka is found, in many ways, in the history of occupation that defines the settler states of Canada, the US, Brazil, Guatemala, and others. The current phase of the occupation and the Genocide in North America can also be traced to those plans developed in the post-Second World War period. Particularly in the original plans drawn up by NAWAPA for the diversion of water and/or hydro-electric power from Can-

ada to the US; the Oldman River dam project in Alberta — resisted by the Piegan people and the Piegan Lonefighters Society, who began digging a diversion of the river away from the dam site, and for which Milton Born With A Tooth is currently appealing an 18 month sentence for conviction of weapons related offenses; the Rafferty-Alameda dam project in Saskatchewan; and the proposed James Bay II hydro-electric project in northern Quebec; all form parts of the plan for the "Last Indian War: For Energy." Indeed, the deployment of military forces in Kanesatake and Kahnawake can be seen as a counter-insurgency exercise to develop plans in the event of future resistance by Native peoples, just as Wounded Knee in 1973 employed strategies and tactics developed in the US war against the Vietnamese people.

In the 500 years since the Genocide landed in Guanahani, in the Caribbean region, it is clear that the Genocide continues against Indigenous peoples. The conquistadores have been replaced by death squads in the villages of El Salvador, the highlands of Guatemala, the Amazon region of Brazil, and by the FBI and police agencies in the US and Canada. European diseases have been replaced by pesticide use in Central and South America, and mercury poisoning and other industrial pollutants in Canada and the US. Today, Indigenous peoples, Mestizo, and Afrikan peoples survive in conditions of poverty, alcoholism, drugs, and suicide; conditions introduced by the occupiers. The resistance to this Genocide has been continuous and remains a struggle for the land, our cultures, and our ways of life.

In this way, the Campaign for 500 years of Indigenous Resistance in 1992 forms an important point in this history:

"In our continent, history can be divided into three phases: before the arrival of the invaders; these five hundred years; and that period, beginning today, which we must define and build." (Campaign 500 years of Indigenous and Popular Resistance). ★

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New York, NY 10013-0365

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

Ailall 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

Resistance  
c/o Friends of Durruti  
PO Box 2881  
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X4

### MEXICO

Amor y Rabia  
Apartado Postal 11-351  
CP. 06101 Mexico, DF. Mexico



# Anarchist Black Cross

## Harassment in Walla Walla

NICK OLIVO is a Native American prisoner incarcerated in Walla Walla, Washington. For two years Nick was held in the I.M.U. (Intensive Management Unit) which is a solitary confinement ward. Upon release from solitary, he asked to be placed in a single person cell to give him time to readjust to being in population. His request was denied. He was offered the choice of returning to solitary or going into the "Special Housing Unit" for "mentally ill" prisoners.

Nick has a court case pending in Federal court and feels that the harassment against him is in retaliation for his filing his civil rights suit. He has been verbally harassed and threatened by the guards, as well as having rumors spread about him to the other prisoners. He feels that he is being fed tainted food, and is considering a hunger strike.

The situation now is not good, he is in the Special Housing Unit and may remain there for the rest of his time (up to 4 yrs left), the harassment continues. While waiting for his harassment case to come up in court, Nick is considering filing a Civil Rights Complaint, but is concerned about increased harassment.

Nick is asking that letters be sent condemning the treatment he is receiving. When you write, you can mention also that he is having medical problems (failing sight) that need immediate care, and mention his pending lawsuit: United States District Court, Western District at Tacoma, WA, Dominic Olivo vs. Robert Doss, et al., Case No. C91-5116 (T) D.

Nick's address is —  
Dominick Olivo  
901187 SHU 5 wing G - 21  
P.O. Box 520 Walla Walla, Washington  
U.S.A. 99362 - 0520

Letters can be sent to —  
Mr. James Blodgett  
Superintendent of W.S.P.  
P.O. Box 520  
Walla Walla, Washington  
U.S.A. 99362 - 0520

## Anarchist Prisoner Needs Immediate Help

CHRYZTOFER KNECHT is an anarchist imprisoned at the Southern Ohio Correctional Facility in Lucasville, Ohio. His politics and "jailhouse lawyer" legal work have brought the wrath of the prison system down on him. He was beaten, along with other prisoners by a group of 18 guards; maced and clubbed. The beating was part of an effort by the guards to strip the prisoners of their (legal) property. The prisoners protested by setting fires, and when the harassment intensified Chryztofer began a hunger strike.

Intimidation and harassment are ongoing and Chryztofer is seeking a transfer to another prison. He is asking for help from other anarchists. Letters and phone calls would help. In a situation

like this, when someone is on a hunger-strike, and being continually abused WE NEED TO ACT FAST. There is no time to fuck around.

Letters of support can be sent to Chryztofer, and mention that you had called/written to those listed below to protest the abuse against him.

Chryztofer Knecht  
Southern Ohio Correctional Facility  
R142749  
P.O. Box 45699  
Lucasville, Ohio 45699 - 0001



Letters of protest can be sent to:

Arthur Tate, Jr.  
Warden, S.O.C.F.  
P.O. Box 4569  
Lucasville, Ohio 45699 - 0001  
PHONE # (614) 259 - 5544

Reginald Wilkinson  
Director of Ohio Dept. of Rehabilitation  
and Correction  
1050 Freeway Drive, North  
Columbus, Ohio 43229  
PHONE # (614) 466 - 6190

## Women Prisoners in Israel

A FEW MONTHS BACK we ran a list of Palestinian Woman prisoners sent to us by Women for Women Political Prisoners, a group of women providing support for Palestinian women in Israeli prisons. We received an update and biographies of a few of the prisoners. They are looking for "women interested in helping in the work of WOFPP."

You can reach them at WOFPP, P.O. Box 8537, Jerusalem, Israel, 91083

was tortured. She was beaten, taken out to the courtyard for long periods, during which she was bound to a small chair, upon which she was sat sideways, so that her back had no support, with a sack over her head (shabeh). She was also put in the "grave" for several hours. In like manner, she was also kept in the interrogation room for extended periods. Since she was kept so long in the courtyard in shabeh and in the interrogation room, she spent very little time in her cell, and when Attorney Habash requested to see her, he was told that she was not listed as an occupant of the cells. During the time she did spend in the cells, collaborators were employed in an effort to persuade her to make a confession. Shtay was allowed to meet with her lawyer, Lea Tsemel, for the first time on June 21, at which time she had not yet been allowed to see a doctor.

### Mai Naghasin:

Nineteen years old, from the village of Betuniya, Ramallah area. She was arrested on June 2, 1991, along with her relative, the minor M.N., on suspicion of stabbing a tourist at the Damascus Gate. On June 25 her detention was extended by six days. Mai suffers from epilepsy, for which she has been treated at Moqassed Hospital and in Bethlehem. She must receive medication regularly three times a day in order to prevent seizures. In prison they are not strict about the regularity of her receiving medication, but the WOFPP lawyer has been assured that she has not had seizures. On July 9 her detention was extended until the conclusion of proceedings.

### Minor M.N.:

Seventeen years old from Betuniya. She was arrested on June 2, 1991 with her relative, Mai Naghasin. On July 9 her detention was extended until the conclusion of proceedings.

### Maryam Shkirat:

Twenty-three years old from Jabal Mukabber, Jerusalem. She was arrested on June 16, 1991 on suspicion of setting fire to a car and a forest. On June 23 her detention was extended without a lawyer being present. She does not know the length of the extension, as she could not understand the proceedings, which were in Hebrew.

### Muniya Qasem:

An accountant from Siwn, 32 years old. She was arrested on May 27, 1991 on suspicion of setting fire to a car. On June 12 her detention was extended until the conclusion of proceedings.

### Minor N. Sh.:

Fifteen years old, from Jalazon refugee camp. She is suspected of trying to stab a soldier in Ramallah. In the course of her interrogation at the Russian Compound, she was sworn at and her face was slapped. N. Sh. is from a broken family. Since her arrest her family has ignored her, refusing to visit her or to get her a lawyer. Attorney Tawfic Jabrin, from the Quaker Service - Information and Legal Aid Center, has taken it upon himself to represent her. On June 28 N. Sh.'s detention was extended until July 8.

### Itidal Zneid:

Twenty-five years old from Shu'afat. She was arrested on June 24 and held in isolation. Her lawyer has been prevented from seeing her, and it was even claimed to the lawyer that she was not at the Russian Compound at all, at the time when she was being held there in a cell (tsinok) in the Shabak wing. Zneid was released on bail on July 5.

## 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 End  
The Marion 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



# Anarchy Can't Fight Alone

BY KUWASI BALAGOON

OF ALL IDEOLOGIES, ANARCHY IS the one that addresses liberty and equalitarian relations in a realistic and ultimate fashion. It is consistent with each individual having an opportunity to live a complete and total life. With anarchy, the society as a whole not only maintains itself as an equal expense to all, but progresses in a creative process unhindered by any class, caste or party. This is because the goals of anarchy don't include replacing one ruling class with another, neither in the guise of a fairer boss or as a party. This is key because this is what separates anarchist revolutionaries from Marxist, socialist and nationalist revolutionaries who from the onset do not embrace complete revolution. They cannot envision a truly free and equalitarian society and must to some extent embrace the socialization process that makes exploitation and oppression possible and prevalent in the first place.

When I first became a revolutionary and accepted the doctrine of nationalism as a response to genocide practiced by the United States government, I knew as I do now that the only way to end the evil practices of the US was to crush the government and the ruling class that shielded itself through that government was through protracted guerilla war.

Armed with that knowledge, I set out the initial organizing of the Black Panther Party until the state's escalation of the war against the Black people that was begun with the invasion of Africa to capture slaves made it clear to me that to survive and contribute I would have to go underground and literally fight.

Once captured for armed robbery, I had the opportunity to see the weakness of the movement and put the state's offensive in proper perspective. First, the state rounded up all organizers pointed out to it by agents who had infiltrated the party as soon as it had begun organizing in N.Y. It charged these people with conspiracy and demanded bails so high that the party turned away from its purposes of liberation of the black colony to fund raising. At that point, leadership was imported rather than developed locally and the situation deteriorated quickly and sharply. Those who were bailed out were those chosen by the leadership, regardless of the wishes of the rank and file or fellow prisoners of war, or re-

gardless of the relatively low bail of at least one proven comrade.

Under their leadership, "political consequences" (attacks) against occupation forces ceased altogether. Only a fraction of the money collected for the purpose of bail went towards bail. The leaders began to live high off the hog while the rank and file sold papers, were otherwise misdirected or were filtered out leaving behind so many robots who wouldn't challenge policy until those in jail publicly denounced the leadership.

How could a few jerks divert so much purpose and energy for so long? How could they neutralize the courage and intellect of the cadre? The answers to these questions are that the cadre accepted their leadership and accepted their command regardless of what their intellect had or had not made clear to them. The true democratic process which they were willing to die for, for the sake of their children, they would not claim for themselves.

These are the same reasons that the People's Republic of China supported UNITA and the reactionary South African government in Angola; that the war continued in Southeast Asia after the Americans had done the bird; why the Soviet Union, the product of the first socialist revolution is not providing the argument that it should and could through being a model.

This is not to say that the people of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, Zimbabwe or Cuba aren't better off because of the struggles they endured. It is to say that the only way to make a dictatorship of the proletariat is to elevate everyone to being proletariat and deflate all the advantages of power that translate into the wills of a few dictating to the majority. The possibility must be prevented of any individual or group of individuals being able to enforce their wills over any other individual's private life or to extract social consequences for behavior, preferences or ideas.

Only an anarchist revolution has on its agenda to deal with these goals. This would seem to galvanize the working class, declassé intellectuals, colonized third world nations and some members of the petty bourgeois and alright bourgeoisie. But this is not the case.

That China, North Korea, Vietnam and Mozambique would build 'round a Marxist ideology to drive out invaders and rebuild feudal economies in the midst of Western Imperialism's designs and efforts to reinvade and recolonize is a point that can be argued in the light of the international situation. It is one thing that they don't back the will of the people as much as they choose allies in the East-West wars fought on the ground of the non-white colonies. It is another thing that Anarchy ceases to inflame or to take the lead in combatting fascism and imperialism here in North America with the history of the Wobblies, the Western Federation of Miners and other groups and individuals who have made their mark on history. It is a denial of our historic task, the betrayal of anarchists who died resisting tyranny in the past, malingering in the face of horrible conditions. It is the theft of an option to the next generation and forfeiture of our own lives through faint hearts.

We permit people of other ideologies to define Anarchy rather than bring our views to the masses and provide models



to show the contrary. We permit corporations to not only lay off workers and to threaten the balance of workers while cutting their salaries, but to poison the air and water to boot. We permit the police, Klan and Nazis to terrorize whatever sector of the population they wish without repaying them back in any kind. In short, by not engaging in mass organizing and delivering war to the oppressors, we become anarchists in name only.

Because Marxists and nationalists ain't doing this to a large extent doesn't make it any less a shame. Our inactivity creates a void that this police state with its reactionary press and definite goals are filling. The parts of people's lives supposedly touched by mass organizing and revolutionary inspiration that sheds a light that encourages them to unveil a new day, instead are being manipulated by conditions of which apathy is no less a part than poisonous uncontested reactionary propaganda. To those who believe in a centralized party with a program for the masses this might mean whatever their subjective analysis per-

mits. But to us who truly believe in the masses and believe that they should have their lives in their hands and know that freedom is a habit, this can only mean that we have far to go.

In the aftermath of the Overtown rebellion, the Cuban community conceded as lost souls by Castro came out clearly in support of the Black colony. And predictably the Ku Klux Klan, through an honorary F.B.I. agent, Bill Wilkenson, made no bones about supporting the rights of businesses and the business of imperialism. Third World colonies throughout the United States face genocide and it is time for anarchists to join the oppressed in combat against the oppressors. We must support in words and actions, self-determination, and self-defense for third world peoples.

It is beside the point whether Black, Puerto Rican, Native American and Chicano-Mexicano people choose nationalism as a vehicle for self-determination or agree with anarchism as being the only road to self-determination. As revolutionaries we must support the will of the masses. It is not only racism but complicity with the enemy to stand outside of the social arena and permit America to continue to practice genocide against the third world captive colonies because although they resist, they don't agree with us. If we truly know that Anarchy is the best way of life for all people, we must promote it, defend it, and know that the people who are as smart as we are will accept it. To expect people to accept this, while they are being wiped out as a nation without allies ready to put out on the line what they already have on the line is crazy.

Where we live and work, we must not only escalate discussion and study while promoting discussion and study groups, we must also organize on the ground level. The landlords must be contested through rent strikes and rather than develop strategies to pay the rent, we should develop strategies to take the buildings. We must not only recognize the squatters movement for what it is, but support and embrace it. Set up communes in abandoned buildings, sell scrap cars and aluminum cans. Turn vacant lots into gardens. When our children grow out of clothes, we should have places where we can take them, clearly marked anarchist clothing exchanges and have no bones about looking for needed clothing there first. And of course we should relearn how to preserve food; we must learn construction and ways to take back our lives, help each other move and stay in shape.

Let's keep the American and Canadian flags flying at half mast....I refuse to believe that Direct Action has been captured.★

## Ojore Lutalo

OJORE N. LUTALO IS A NEW AFRIKAN Prisoner of War locked down in Trenton, New Jersey, for actions carried out in the fight for Black liberation.

In his own words, "After my parole violation term (stemming from an armed expropriation from a capitalist bank) terminated in December 1987, I started serving a forty year sentence with a twenty-year parole ineligibility (I was paroled in 1980 and I have been back in captivity since April 20, 1982) that I received in 1982 for having a fight with a drug dealer. The overall strategy behind assaulting drug dealers is to secure monies to finance one's activities, and to rid the oppressed communities of drug dealers."

Ojore was originally arrested with New Afrikan P.O.W. Kojo Bomani Sababu, and was struggling with comrade Andaliwa Clark up until the point that Andaliwa was killed in action within the confines of New Jersey's infamous Trenton State Prison after he shot two of the prison's security guards in the repressive Management Control Unit (MCU) on January 19th, 1976 when they attempted to stop him from escaping from captivity. Ojore was a comrade of the late Kuwasi Balagoon, a New Afrikan anarchist P.O.W. "I've been involved in

the struggle, the war against the fascist state since 1970. I've been an anarchist since 1975 without any regrets. Prior to my involvement in the struggle, I was just another apolitical lumpen (bandit) here in Amerika.

"I was influenced and highly motivated by the Black Liberation Army (BLA) here in Amerika. These sisters and brothers were New Afrikans just like me from the streets of the ghettos who took the initiative militarily, to start assassinating members of the state's security forces who were murdering Black people in our communities. From the inception of all revolutions, I feel that the people need armed combat units to check state sponsored acts of terrorism by the government's security forces. In addition, I feel that these armed combat units are necessary to show the people that fascist acts of state-sponsored terrorism...will be responded to militarily. In 1975 I became disillusioned with Marxism and became an anarchist (thanks to Kuwasi Balagoon) due to the inactiveness and ineffectiveness of Marxism in our communities along with the repressive bureaucracy that comes with marxism. People aren't going to commit themselves to a life and death struggle just because of grand ideas someone might have floating around in their heads. I feel people will commit themselves to struggle if they can see progress being made similar to the progress of the anarchist collectives in Spain during the era of the fascist Bahamonde..."

"The vast majority of the Prisoners of War and Political Prisoners now being interned here in the concentration

camp of North Amerika aren't receiving any assistance (e.g. being liberated, assistance in liberating ourselves, financial assistance needed to obtain food packages, winter clothing, reading material and postage stamps) from the so-called progressive revolutionary organizations, groups and individuals here in Amerika. With our talents, we have been abandoned here in the state's numerous concentration camps and Management Control Units by those out there in what we call minimum custody..."

"We don't need moral support because we have purpose. We don't need anyone to tell us to stay strong because we are going to remain steadfast anyway because we have come to terms with the prospects of death and captivity."

Love and Rage printed a longer version of this article — taken from a Toronto Anarchist Black Cross pamphlet — in June 1990 (Vol.1 No.3). Despite the fact that this information and Ojore's address went out over a year and a half ago he writes: "I did not receive a single letter from any white anarchists within the borders of the United States of Amerika making any inquiries about anarchism and the Black revolution or my position as a New Afrikan anarchist!! If they seriously wanted to learn more about their anarchist comrades presently in captivity, they could have written to me directly...but none none of them did for reasons unknown to me."

Ojore N. Lutalo #59860 M.C.U.  
CN - 861  
Trenton, NJ 08625

## Kuwasi Balagoon

KUWASI BALAGOON WAS A NEW Afrikan anarchist Prisoner of War. He died of AIDS-related pneumonia in New York's Auburn prison on December 13, 1986.

Kuwasi's opposition to the state began at 17 with his resistance to the racism in the US military. He was discharged and became a tenant organizer in New York City. He joined the Black Panther Party and went underground after his indictment in the famous "Panther 21" case. When the defendants were acquitted two years later of all 156 charges, Kuwasi stayed underground in the clandestine Black Liberation Army. He was captured and spent most of the late 70s in prison. He escaped twice.

He was re-arrested in December, 1981 for allegedly taking part in an armed expropriation of the contents of a Brinks armored truck — during which two cops were killed. Kuwasi refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of US jurisdiction over any New Afrikan and he was sentenced to life in prison.

Over his lifetime Kuwasi spent more than 10 years behind bars, yet he never gave up the revolution. He wrote essays, poems and stories about his life and his struggle and inspired both Black and white activists around North America.★





# All the Way With the BLA

BY F. DZERZHINSKY

**E**ARLY IN 1971, THE BLACK PANTHER Party divided in two; Huey Newton became the Supreme Commander. All collective decision making was abandoned.

Major opposition came from the New York and Los Angeles BPP, and the International Section of the BPP in Algiers. All these sections were expelled from the BPP. The revolutionaries in these chapters, including the NY Panther 21, chose a course of underground armed struggle. They established cells, fled into exile, went underground, began laying the groundwork for a guerrilla organization that still exists today [1974]. That organization is the Black Liberation Army. This is their story:

From the time a group of Weatherpeople bombed the home of Panther 21 Judge Murtagh, a police guard had to be kept at his home, and at District Attorney Frank Hogan's house. Three months after the trial was over, on Malcom X's birthday, the cops at Hogan's house left duty on a coffee break. Two blocks away they were both killed when "unknown persons" tore their car apart with machine gun fire.

A phone call to the New York *Daily News* later that night gave credit to the Black Liberation Army. The cops and the media reacted cautiously, not wanting to make this thing any bigger than it already was. And no one knew how big that was. All the cops knew was a lot of Panthers, a lot of community workers were disappearing.

Two weeks later, a Mafia heroin distribution center on 125th St. in Harlem was held up by 5 armed guerrillas. An off-duty cop and a Mafia security guard were both worked over. The cops, noticing the steady stream of business which characterizes such places had ended, surrounded the place and fired in tear gas. Three of guerrillas escaped, but Richard Moore (Dharuba) and Ed Josephs, both of the Panther 21, both of whom were thought to be in Algiers, were busted for attempted murder, armed robbery and possession of dangerous weapons.

Police boasted, for the first but definitely not the last time, that they had "broken the back" of a terrorist conspiracy. But this became questionable as other elements in the BLA responded with 3 bank robberies, an armed assault on a San Francisco police station that left one cop dead, a shoot-out in Los Angeles, an attempted bazooka attack on a cop car in Queens, and the successful grenading of another cop car in Queens which killed the 2 cops inside.

At the same time, 2 Atlanta Panther leaders were sprung from jail, escaping through a police roadblock in South Carolina, leaving one cop dead. FBI wanted posters were issued for over 100 people, warning that they were HEAVILY armed and EXTREMELY dangerous. While all of this was happening, George Jackson was murdered. Angela Davis was in jail, and the Attica Rebellion was crushed.

White radicals here never have been up against a situation where our most active leaders and organizers have been systematically hunted down and murdered by cops and secret police the way Black and Chicano movements have. But there's been a steady attrition of BLA members too hunted or too clean to be allowed to

come to trial. The BLA has a long history of being ambushed by cops, of being shot while trying to escape, of being killed in their sleep, or murdered in jail.

In December of 1971, three ex-NY Panthers, suspected by the cops of being BLA members, were set up for an assassination try. A group of Red Squad detectives burst into a restaurant and opened fire on the three men. Two were killed instantly, the third one managed to pull his gun out, wound the cops and escape into the streets.

BLA retaliation was swift — it had to be. As urban guerrillas, they knew the oppressor had to pay, as a deterrent. In such a situation, the urban guerrillas take the offensive.

In the next three days, station houses in every borough in New York came under sniper and bombing attacks. Four cops were killed and six were wounded.

The mass media and the cops attempted to divide the Black Community from the BLA by saying that the BLA was waging a murder campaign against Black cops. To disprove this, and up the ante, they shot two white cops the next night. Even though it was New Year's Eve, all police leaves were canceled. Police stations resembled fortresses. Cops wore body armor, carried rifles shotguns, even grenade launchers. They travelled four in a car. Mocking this whole offensive, the BLA hit up a bank for funds, netting \$75,000.

Police assassination continued, in places where the BLA wasn't able to strike back. In Florida, 20 FBI agents surrounded a motel. They burst into a room firing and killed Frank Fields, wanted for one of the 1971 bank robberies. In St. Louis, five FBI agents ambushed Ron Carter, a suspected BLA member, killing him.

In New York, Dhoruba was given 25 years for armed robbery. Three BLA women guerrillas responded by ambushing two cops, wounding them both. And in the middle of January, the BLA issued a communique announcing that Mark Essex, the New Orleans Howard Johnson's sniper, was a member of the BLA. The mass media chose to overlook this, not wishing to panic people into believing that a "national conspiracy to assassinate policemen" did exist.

In 1973, the BLA suffered some heavy setbacks as did the Uruguayan Tupamaros, the West German "Red Army" and Chilean and Palestinian guerrillas. The ruling class press, which had never quite made up its mind on whether or not the BLA did exist, now loudly trumpeted its death, as did the FBI, the New York Police, the Huey Newton Democrats and apathetic radicals who woke from their burn-out long enough to mumble, "The BLA? Oh they've been wiped out, yawn."

In fact, going through our sources of information in the mass media, we found no less than 5 articles which announced that once and for all the mastermind, the key leaders, the wanted gunmen of the BLA were all dead or in jail. The BLA was becoming a remarkable creature. It was repeatedly buried, but somehow always re-emerged, more audacious and together than before its "death."

This growth and militancy stood in direct contrast with so many white radicals, who having made their decision to

work for McGovern, or plant organic veggies, or "organize da workers" (seeing any kind of armed struggle as a threat to bring back the days of 1970 when white radicals had to worry about going in front of grand juries and other torturous things), refused to lift a finger as Brazilian-type police terror came down on the Black Community, and the BLA in particular.

In the early part of 1973 another Mafia nightclub was knocked over by BLA people. Two cops were wounded in an ambush. In San Francisco three BLAers were arrested trying to shoot at a cop car with an AK-47 that jammed. One of them was carrying the service revolver of a white cop killed on NY's Lower East Side. Later that month, a BLA hide-out was raided in New York, with 2 people arrested for possession of explosives. Another person busted was "released under police protection" — an informer.

On May 2nd, Zayd Maylik Shakur was killed, and Joanne Cheismard and Clark Squire were captured after a shoot-out between them and what became 10 cops on the New Jersey Turnpike. What exactly went down is still unclear, but basically:

The BLA car was pulled over by a N.J. State Trooper, who radioed in for a back-up unit at the same time. When the back-up patrol car arrived, a shoot-out erupted. Zayd Malik Shakur was killed on the spot, but Joanne and Clark escaped, both wounded, after leaving one cop dead. It's unclear whether the cop was even shot by them or merely caught in the crossfire. Joanne Cheismard was discovered 1/4 mile away, and was beaten while being brought to the Essex County Hospital, and again in the hospital. Clark Squire was not caught until the next day, after 700 state troopers, helicopters, dogs, and armored personnel carriers were brought in.

In Harlem, 10,000 people turned out for Zayd Malik Shakur's funeral, chanting support for the BLA. Less than a month and a half later this same neighborhood was to erupt into guerrilla warfare after a cop killed a ten-year-old Black kid by shooting him in the back.

New York police again boasted that all the top leaders of the BLA had been captured, that the backbone of the BLA had been broken. Clark Squire responded to this in a letter from jail saying, "Every time the oppressor says he has broken the back of the Revolutionaries, of the BLA, more Brothers and Sisters will rise to make him gag, strangle and choke on his own lies, suffocate in the vomit of his own greed..."

On June 2, a cop was killed in an ambush on New York's Upper West Side. The BLA took credit. The next night another cop was wounded in a subway ambush. Victor Cumberbatch was busted in a hospital and charged with being the gunman in both cases.

The next night over 100 N.Y. cops and FBI raided a BLA hide-out and killed two people they found inside. The night after another subway cop was killed. Two more BLA hide-outs were sprung, with several FBI fugitives captured. After this brief week-long struggle, everything was quiet.

Several more cop murders were blamed on the BLA, but it's impossible to say if they did them or not. Abandon-

ing the policy of denying the BLA's existence, the police brass and mass media were creating BLA crimes where they weren't even involved. Every bank robbery involving a Black gunman, every cop killed or assaulted, was labeled BLA.

At the same time cops were telling the people not to panic, that it was only a few isolated, paranoid bands, soon to be rounded up. Both exaggerations missed the point. With over 25 people in jail, and over 20 dead, the BLA had been hurt; but not killed. A few months to regroup, re-arm, to plan where to strike next and ...

On September 27, Henry Brown, who was being held on multiple counts of murder and bank robbery, escaped from his guards outside the Brooklyn House of Detention. A waiting car carried him away. This upset the police and prison brass very much, because a week before, Brown told his fellow prisoners and guards, that as long as the BLA existed, no prison could hold him. A week later, betrayed by an informer, he was captured.

Two weeks later, 3 BLAers — Avon White, Melvin Kearney and Bob Hayes — were busted in a raid conducted by Transit Authority cops, N.Y. Police sharpshooters, and FBI agents. They were charged with attempted murder and illegal possession of firearms. Avon White, after "questioning" decided to squeal, and became a star witness at virtually every BLA trial being held.

In early December, Joanne Cheismard and Clark Squire went on trial in New Jersey for the Turnpike shoot-out. Naturally, they had an all-white jury, a white judge. Reading material for the jury allowed into the jury room included Asst. Police Chief Robert Daley's Target Blue, which devoted 4 chapters to slandering the BLA, labeling them nihilistic murderers and marijuana peddlers.

During the trial over 100 BLA supporters were expelled from the courtroom, over 20 arrested. And the judge allowed members of the American Nazi Party in as "observers." Joanne and Clark were eventually removed from the courtroom, Joanne was separated from the trial and Clark Squire was sentenced to life in prison.

On April 17 of 1974, a BLA team of at least 4 people smuggled an acetylene torch, several pistols, and an automatic weapon into the Tombs prison in New York City, where most BLA members were being held. They disarmed, handcuffed and gagged the guards on duty, and used the acetylene torch to melt down a door that separated them from the prisoners. Unfortunately, the torch ran out of oxygen before the job was completed. But it still was a major coup for a supposedly "dead" BLA.

There are rumors, sparked by the fact that there have been close to 100 escapes of other prisoners from New York jails, that some guards with BLA sympathies may have helped smuggle the weapons and torches in. The 4 people involved slipped out of the Tombs without being captured. Two of the 4 identified by prison officials were captured May 3 in New Haven after robbing a bank and several other places, and engaging in a running gun battle with several dozen cops.

These latest actions show that the BLA's latest "death" is again premature. Indeed, the ranks of urban guerrillas in America have been swelled since last June by the August 7th Revolutionary Movement, which has taken credit for shooting down a police helicopter in Oakland, executing several heroin pushers in Chino, CA, and murdering a prison guard known to be particularly sadistic to prisoners. And of course there's the Symbionese Liberation Army. Even a few cells of the Weather Underground have pulled off actions. Despite the curtain of silence or slander pulled over urban guerrillas in America by a frantically paranoid radical movement, despite the execution and rail-roading of many revolutionary fighters, despite a secret police machinery that still operates Watergate or not, urban guerrilla warfare will continue.

The latest news of a United Front of North American guerrillas — the "United People's Liberation Army" — shows that a whole strata of political activists has turned away from the parochial organizing of the liberal, Stalinist Left toward revolutionary violence, and those who dismiss them all as CIA figments are full of shit.

As Joanne Cheismard said: "There is, and there always will be, until every black man, woman and child is free, a Black Liberation Army."

This article originally appeared — in a longer form — in the Yipster Times, August 1974. ★



# Slaves & Settlers in Black and White

BY CHRISTOPHER DAY

**D**URING BLACK HISTORY MONTH WHEN I WAS in grade school we learned about George Washington Carver. That's the kind of Black History that gets taught to most of us; Peanuts. As I grew older and began to obtain a radical political education, I learned another kind of Black History. I learned about Denmark Vessey, Nat Turner, Touissant L'Ouverture and other leaders of slave revolts. I learned about Malcolm X, the Black Panthers, and eventually the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. And I learned some things in between. This was a better kind of Black History. It held up Black people as heroes and placed the struggles for Black liberation at the center of American history. Anarchists need to study that kind of Black History a lot more than we have. But it's not enough to replace George Washington and George Washington Carver with John Brown and Malcolm X.

Anarchists in North America need to understand Black History not in order to recite a catechism of admiration for Black heroes, but in order to understand the society we live in today, how it got this way, how that process has been resisted and what those things tell us about what we need to do if we want to change it. The collapse of Communism presents anarchists with a unique opportunity to place anti-authoritarian ideas at the heart of revolutionary politics in North America and around the world. But if we fail to really understand the history of people of African descent in North America we will be unable to formulate a coherent revolutionary anarchist analysis of this society. It will not be sufficient to supplement our readings of Kropotkin or the Situationist International with the *Autobiography of Malcolm X*. We need to dig deeper.

The radical Black History taught on the left is in many ways just as non-historical as that taught in the public schools. The main reason for this is that most white radicals are deeply invested in a set of myths about the radical history of white people. So Tom Paine and Joe Hill are supplemented with Frederick Douglass and Martin Luther King.

The development of a revolutionary anarchist assessment of Black History will be a long process. This essay is only a tentative first step down that road. I will discuss three books here, hoping to encourage others to read them and hoping to spark further contributions to this discussion. I will focus on the period of history that begins with the colonization of North America and the introduction of African slavery and ends with the defeat of Black Reconstruction following the destruction of the Southern slavocracy during the US Civil War. I believe that only by understanding this period is it possible to make sense of the current situation.

*Settlers: The Mythology of the White Proletariat* by J. Sakai is a provocative analysis of "the true story of the white nation" that argues that the United States can only be understood as "a chain of European settler colonies that expanded into a settler empire." *Settlers* traces the implications of his understanding from the experiences of the first settlements to an analysis of the class and national character of contemporary US society. The book comes from an explicitly Marxist-Leninist anti-imperialist point of view, and argues that there is not a "white proletariat" that can make any meaningful contribution to the revolutionary transformation of North American society, and that it will be the national liberation struggles of the Black nation and other oppressed nations that will bring down this system and set in motion the revolutionary process. There is an all-or-nothing view of the revolutionary potential of white working people here that I believe betrays the much more sophisticated analysis of the historical experience presented in the book. It is this historical analysis that I will focus on.

*Black Reconstruction in America 1860-1880* by W.E.B. DuBois is the classic radical analysis of the critical period following the end of the Civil War. DuBois describes how an intense struggle over the fate of 4 million recently freed slaves raised the possibility of a truly democratic society based on respect of the full self-determination of people of African descent. But the white supremacist positions of the white working class movement compelled Black people to make an untenable alliance with Northern industrial capital that was quickly betrayed as soon as the Northern capitalists felt secure in the suppression of any further insurgency from the old planter class.

*The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* by David Roediger investigates white working class attitudes towards slaves, slavery and Black people more generally during the period of the formation of the American working class in the first half of the 19th century. Roediger relies heavily on the changing usages of words like slave, master, boss, wage slave, white slave and servant as evidence of how white workers came to see themselves as more white than workers, that they cast their lot with their white bosses instead of with the Black worker.

## THE WHITE PROBLEM

These three books share at least one interesting feature: they see the central problem of US history as the problem of "whiteness." While the suppression and distortion of the history of Black people has had horrible consequences, these books reveal how the mystification of white people's history form the central lies that stand in the way of the overthrow of white supremacy and the creation of a truly free and democratic society. In the pointed introduction to *Settlers*,

Sakai puts it bluntly "The imperialists even concede that their standard 'US History' is a white history, and is supposedly incomplete unless the long suppressed Third-World histories are added to it. Why?"

"The key to the puzzle is that Theirstory (imperialist Euro-American mis-history) is not incomplete; it isn't true at all. Theirstory also includes the standard class analysis of Amerika that is put forwards into our hands by the Euro-American Left. Theirstory keeps saying, over and over: 'You folks, just think about your own history; don't bother analyzing white society, just accept what we tell you about it.'"

At a time when multi-culturalism is a major issue on campuses and in society as a whole, it is important that we not view Black History as a supplement to white history, but as a radical revision of all US history that takes the Black experience, and the experience of other oppressed nationalities in the US, as a starting point for reassessing the history of white people as well.

The strength of *Black Reconstruction* is its thoroughness. The evidence it presents swamps the reader and makes its main points irrefutable. When the Confederacy was defeated the US was confronted with the question of whether freed slaves were to be enfranchised, educated, and given the means to self-sufficiency, namely land. In the end, after short and tentative experiments in all three categories, white supremacy triumphed and Black people were largely condemned to being voteless, poorly educated, and landless. DuBois makes it clear that such a solution served the interests of the rich and powerful in the North and the South and that we should not be surprised that that is the solution those forces ultimately supported. He goes on to argue convincingly that the Civil War had left the ruling powers vulnerable to a movement for economic democratization if white and Black workers had been able to unite. *Settlers* offers a sweeping analysis of why that unity was impossible given the social position and consciousness of the white worker.

DuBois sees in the period of Reconstruction not just the opportunity to create an authentically democratic society in North America, but a chance to prevent the whole horrible history of imperialism in the 20th century. He argues that the slave system in the US was a cornerstone in the structure of world imperialism and that the triumph of white supremacy during Reconstruction preserved the super-exploitation of Black workers in the US that fed the global expansion of the imperialist powers at the end of the 19th century.

*Settlers* argues that from its birth, white society in

before industrialization when he tosses artisans and small farmers into those categories. When he leaps to the present his statistics require fudging by analyzing the occupations of only white men and using the category of the "labor aristocracy" to write 24% of white men out of the class.

Roediger's focus on the development of "whiteness" culturally is more satisfying than Sakai's statistics. *The Wages of Whiteness* takes its title from DuBois' observation that even when white workers "received a low wage (they were) compensated in part by a...public and psychological wage." In other words the problem of whiteness is not just a matter of the "bribery" of white workers with the profits squeezed from the super-exploitation of an internal Black colony (and later other parts of the Third World), but is a more complex question involving the cultural and political identity of white workers as well. Implicit in Roediger's approach is the view that from the point of view of simple economic self-interest the class treachery of white workers is not explainable. It is the economic privileges of the best jobs and the possibility of escaping wage labor combined with membership in what Roediger calls *herrenvolk* republicanism that has made the white worker the loyal defender of white supremacy. *Herrenvolk* republicanism is derived from a term used in analyzing South African society to describe the relatively high level of democracy among white people in a racially divided society. In other words white workers have more authentic political power in the US in spite of their class than, for example, workers in England where class lines between white people are more sharply drawn. It is this reality, and not just boss propaganda, that allows white workers to honestly believe that they live in "the freest country on earth."

Both DuBois and Sakai return constantly to the question of land. In a time when the vast majority of Black people, particularly in the North, live in cities it is tempting to dismiss the question of land in trying to construct a program for Black liberation. DuBois demonstrates how central the question of land was in leading us to where we are now. When slavery was abolished 4 million people of African descent were ultimately dispossessed of the land they had tilled for centuries and that was by any measure rightfully theirs. The promise of 40 acres and a mule for every former slave family unit that was to be the basis of Reconstruction was broken and the Black worker was forced to accept the continuation of his or her status as



what is now the US was "abnormal because it was dependent upon a foundation of conquest, genocide, and enslavement...It is the absolute characteristic of settler society to be parasitic, dependent upon the super-exploitation of oppressed peoples for its style of life." Sakai proceeds to demonstrate this by analyzing the class composition of European colonists and the process of stealing Native American lands, enslaving Native Americans, and finally the establishment of African slavery as the foundation of the American economy. Sakai takes on the seductive tendency to try to separate the economies of slaveholding South and the small farmer and increasingly industrial North. We are reminded that, as colonies, what became the United States was from the start part of an international system: "the fisherman whose low-grade, 'refuse fish' was dried and sold as slave meal in the Indies; the New York farmer who found his market for surpluses in the Southern plantations, the forester whose timber was used by shipyard workers rapidly turning out slave ships; the clerk in the New York City export house checking bales of tobacco awaiting shipment to London..." and so on. In addition to this dependence on the slave system, white settlers had another obstacle to developing the kind of class consciousness that would lead them to ally themselves with Black people: access to land. Sakai shows how the continual conquest of Native lands made for a constant turnover amongst early white workers as they became small farm-owners. The real possibility of this kind of property ownership continues to thwart the development of class consciousness among white workers to this day. Throughout *Settlers*, Sakai is at pains to prove that the majority of white people are not really workers, but are bourgeois and petty bourgeois. This is somewhat easier in the period

a colonial laborer: overworked, underpaid, politically powerless, and subject to the abuse of any white man.

## FREE THE LAND

DuBois sees land ownership as the basis of the fulfillment of the promise of American democracy. Sakai is more critical and sees the pattern of land ownership among whites not simply as a promise that needs to be extended to Blacks, but as an integral part of a social structure of white supremacy built on the conquest of Native land. From Marcus Garvey to Malcolm X to the Black Panthers to the various revolutionary Black organizations active today, the land question has remained a central part of the programs of the revolutionary wing of the Black liberation movement. The land question has also been consistently avoided by most white radicals claiming to support Black liberation. Many anarchists (like many Marxists) jump ahead of the question of land, anticipating the question of Black nationalist demands for a politically independent Black state, as a way of avoiding answering the basic question: whose land is it? DuBois and Sakai are a good starting point in appreciating how important this question is.

Studying Black history is a crucial part of the work of revolutionary anarchists in North America. We need to go beyond empty slogans about racism and nationalism and develop a coherent explanation for the specific situation that confronts us all. Every part of the world has its own history that needs to inform the transformation of anarchist ideas into a living practice in that region. If anarchism is to thrive in the soil of North America we need to identify and remove the poisons and weeds of white supremacy that have left that ground so barren. ★



# Anarchist Youth Federation

**"Real problems can be solved only through community action:  
a massive, total, mutual effort. We are not surviving and cannot survive as individuals  
or family units; we must get together."**

**George Jackson**

## CAAC Stomps O.R. Creeps

BY PATTY CAAC

ON OCTOBER 18 AND 19, Tri-State Operation Rescue, a section of the anti-choice right wing group made infamous in Wichita this past summer, attempted to shut down Planned Parenthood in Cincinnati. We were prepared for them. A University of Cincinnati campus coalition, regrettably spearheaded by the International Socialist Organization, was formed several weeks prior to the confrontation date. Coalition for Choice meetings were attended by members of Cincinnati Autonomous Anarchist Collective (CAAC), the Alliance of Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual People, Revolutionary Workers' League (RWL), New Course Faction (NCF), Socialist Workers' Party (SWP), NARAL (National Abortion Rights Action League), NOW and unaffiliated activists. The Coalition voted to plan a clinic defense. Not surprisingly, both NOW and NARAL backed out after a private meeting with the cops and the clinic directors. The Planned Parenthood director also reneged on her support after initially supporting both clinic defense and "independent actions." NOW informally called for a picket across the street, but luckily very few of them showed up, which gave us a greater opportunity to be militant.

On Friday the 18th, the first day, we met at 6 A.M. and spread out to the four possible targeted clinics in order to beat OR to the doors. Planned Parenthood was hit. After a false lead, we raced past OR and beat them to the iron gate surrounding the clinic. We linked arms to keep them from climbing the fence. Each side, pro choice and OR, had about 100 people and there were not many cops. OR first picketed while singing hymns, then knelt on the sidewalk to pray, stood, and began picketing again. At this time the fake casket two men had been carrying was uncovered to reveal a ladder which they used to climb over the undefended side fence. According to the newspaper, over 70 ORs hopped the fence. We immediately began pulling people off the fence and two waves of pro-choicers jumped over and ran to defend the main door at the rear of the building. We found them already blocking it; we tried to break through, to no avail since the cops came running when a OR man yelled "assault." We then went back to the front where ORs were blocking the unused but visible front door. We linked arms to form a chain around them to prevent more from joining those already on the steps. At this point the clinic director told us to leave or we would be arrested. We left. Three hours later the cops finished arresting

the OR people. This slow process caused the clinic to be closed for quite a while, but twelve patients had been able to get into the clinic prior to OR's blocking the doors which enabled us to feel successful and keep our spirits up for Day Two.

Saturday was significantly different; the street was blocked off, there were more of us, more of them, and tons more cops. Lots of out-of-towners came, including ACT UP-Columbus, Queer Nation-Dayton and Antioch students. At the side of the property where OR had jumped the fence, at least 40 of us formed a militant door defense contingent. It included us anarchists, the NCF, RWL, and many independent activists.



Regrettably, information was not dispersed by the "tactical leadership" of four to the rest of the 36+ people so no one knew what was happening in front or at the other side of the building. Otherwise, the fence was tightly fortified for nine long hours. Some OR people tried to get to the fence (in the process hitting and pushing our people who were lined against the fence), but we were determined not to let them have it. No ORers were arrested but the cops picked out our people on a whim. 22 were arrested, including two anarchists who were doing nothing but standing with linked arms. In the afternoon, the Dayton crew (Dayton Anarchist Collective) provided masked entertainment with chants such as "We're tired, we're cranky, we hate your fucking singing" and "Fuck the church, fuck the state, men against choice should masturbate." Finally, at 4 P.M., OR left. We had prevented them from blocking the doors and all the patients were escorted in with no problem. Everybody danced in the street because of our victory.

OR came back in November during the "National Week of Rescue." The first day of this fun-filled week consisted of a decoy plot. OR returned once again to Planned Parenthood—for about 20 minutes. They then marched down the street leaving us bewildered. At a clinic about a mile away they reconvened and took the doors while we raced after them. At the clinic we were antagonistic toward them but there were no arrests on our side. There was no way we could reclaim the doors, so about eight patients were hidden nearby and escorted into the clinic after the cops had arrested the OR people blocking the door. That evening, with a crowbar, OR supporter Rev. Strycker broke into the clinic where he destroyed equipment and injured a clinic worker and a patient. He became the focus of chants such as "Rev. Strycker, with his crowbar, carries out the will of OR."

Wednesday through Friday were uneventful. The coalition voted to concentrate their effort on Saturday in hopes of avoiding burnout, but CAAC people showed up every morning at 6:00 to heckle the less militant OR devotees who only held signs and blessed us. We kept our humor by blowing up (nonlubed) condoms and laughing at anti-choicers like the "feminist" womyn we talked to.

Saturday's turnout was larger and included NOW (who brought food!), surprisingly enough. NOW made green and purple sashes which said "Choice" and "NOW." In order to get a purple "NOW" sash people had to sign a paper promising not to be militant, creating an easy system for the cops to pick out us "troublemakers." OR did not attempt to take the door, however, so it was not a problem. We formed a wide corridor between us and the fence which prevented them from getting to the fence. The day ended early and there were no arrests.

The Antioch anarchist's case was dropped, as were most of the disorderly conduct cases (except a few \$17-\$35 fines) but the CAAC man got a 30 day suspended sentence, one year probation, \$286 fine, and 80 hours of community service.

Despite OR's persistent actions, a lack of any real support from large-scale liberal organizations such as NOW or NARAL, and the cops' biased antagonism toward us, we feel successful in our attempt to defend the various clinics. The protesting actions taken by radical organizations proved to the Cincinnati community and society at large that attacks on wimmin's rights to safe and legal abortion will not be taken lightly; until this right is fully safeguarded, anti-choice attacks will be responded to militantly. ★

**This month's AYF page is dedicated to the  
memory of Jonathan Jackson.**

On August 7, 1970, at age 17, Jonathan and friends William Christmas and James McClain, were gunned down by the police when they held Marin County Judge Harold Haley captive in an attempt to free the Soledad Brothers from San Quentin Prison. Though he lived only a short time, he worked tirelessly in the struggle for Black Liberation and the freedom of Black prisoners. His heroic act will not be forgotten. All power to the people.

## Adult Regimes Are All the Same

LAST YEAR A 16 YEAR OLD high school student, Nilay K. was detained by Istanbul police, and badly beaten while in custody. She had been handing out pamphlets at her school called "End Repressive Fascist Education." They charged her with membership in an illegal organization and placed her in an adult prison. Two months later she was released. A 12 year old was picked up by police during a trade union demonstration, held for three days and beaten. In Turkey, the cops routinely arrest and abuse youth, mostly for political offenses, although youth arrested for criminal offenses face worse torture than adult political prisoners. Turkey has a long and sordid history of torturing prisoners, even though it claims to protect human rights. Not surprisingly, Turkey is an ally of the U.S. and the third largest recipient of U.S. aid—it will be getting over \$700 million this year.

Speaking of brutality, the US is one of the few countries that sentences juveniles to the death penalty. On Nov. 15, sixteen Polish Amnesty International members, along with anarchist supporters, picketed the U.S. embassy in Warsaw to protest the U.S. death penalty for juveniles. This news was sent by Malgorzata Tarasiewicz, a leading feminist in Poland. Write to her at:

**Malgorzata Tarasiewicz  
Karmelicka 1B/9  
00-149 Warsaw, Poland  
tel. 312 257**

## DISCO BULL

**The AYF DISCUSSION BULLETIN—  
some of the politics behind the AYF—is  
available for \$1 plus 52 cents postage  
from NYAYF.**

**POB 365 Canal St. Station  
New York, NY 10013-0365**

## What is AYF?

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

## What is the AYF Page?

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

**NY-AYF PO Box 365 Canal St  
Station, NYC 10013-0365**

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

## Cracker Barrel: Crock of Shit

LAST JANUARY, the vice president of Cracker Barrel Restaurant (which sells Confederate Flag cakes and the racist and sexist *Redneck Handbook*, among other items) issued a policy directive stating that it is inconsistent with the restaurant's "concepts and values" to employ persons "whose sexual preferences fail to demonstrate normal heterosexual values." At least twelve employees have been fired because of their sexual orientation.

Cracker Barrel has retracted the directive by saying the directive was a "well-

intentioned over reaction [sic] to the perceived values of our customers and their comfort levels with those individuals." Apparently, though, most employees were not rehired.

Coalitions of queer groups (including Queer Nation) and other activists have been protesting this discrimination in Georgia, Illinois, Michigan, and Tennessee. There are restraining orders against protesters at the restaurants outside Detroit and Chicago and Queer Nation-Chicago is being sued for \$5000 for protest activities at the site. ★





# On Gogol Boulevard

Polish Anarchist Federation Congress Document  
The Polish Anarchist Federation national congress was held June 22-23 '91 and adopted the following resolutions concerning the situation in Poland and the activity of the Anarchist Federation.

## 1. Resolution of the FA concerning political repression.

Though the diverse declarations and assurances of the Polish government, of the president and of other state offices, human rights are still not respected in Poland and political activity is not free. There are increasing provocations, having the character of a planned repression against the people taking part in the anarchist movement. On top of police repression against persons refusing registration and military service, graffiti, and discrimination because of opinions expressed in the mass media, there are repressions against direct activity. That is:

- Klaudiusz WESOLEK — having a justice trial for goods destruction and devastation as he took part in the Gdansk anarchists' protest action at the USSR consulate [June 1, '90] after the murder of the Russian dissident and anarchist Piotr Siuda in Novotcherkassk. There have been two trials. Klaudiusz risks up to two years jail.
- Five persons having trials in Krakow after the demonstration at the USSR consulate [May 24, '90] after the murder of Piotr Siuda. The reproach - active attack on a police functionary. There have been five trials, the people risk up to five years jail.
- Marek KURZYNIEC, Przemyslaw MIGALA, and Dariusz PIEKLO, on the charge of active resistance to a police functionary while occupying the electoral office of Tadeusz MAZOWIECKI [former Presidential candidate]. The trial is going on at this time. We demand stopping political repression and the respecting of human rights by the power. We demand the withdrawal of the groundless charges and the acquittal of the sentenced.

Blowing up charges based only on the testimonies of police functionaries, procedural mistakes, and the public prosecutor's office blocking the trials against the state police, shows the acts of the public prosecutor's office and those of the courts are repressive and have nothing to do with administering justice. As well we demand full information about the violations of human rights in Poland.

## 2. Resolution of the FA concerning the clericalization and the role of confessional organizations in social life.

In the last times we can notice numerous examples of the privileging of the Roman Catholic church by the state authorities, and see the higher clergy imposing their goals by using the state apparatus. That is:

- Introducing Roman Catholic religious instruction into state schools, with the National Education Ministry financing a part of the catechists (while it lacks of money for other teachers!!), and introducing them into pedagogic councils.
- Trying to charge the whole society with the costs of church education by the whole society, a decree concerning the financing of the Lublin Catholic University (KUL) from the state budget, and trying to create theology sections controlled by the church in state universities (Silesia University).
- Merciless war against freedom of the press - the fight of the state against anti-clerical opinions and moral censorship (repression against so-called "pornography").

We do not agree with that! We do not take a position against any religion or absolute research. We reckon the right of the Roman Catholic church as well as any others to claim and spread its opinions on any theme, to own its own schools, press, radios, TV. But we refuse forcing everyone to pay for the Catholic Church's activities through the state budget, as well as forcing everyone to accept the indication of that organization in private life (what one should buy, listen to, read, look at, think). We think as well that we do not need any law fixing the position of the church in public life. The church should not have any larger or other rights than any other association.

## 3. Resolution of the FA concerning the social situation and social struggles.

While the economic breakdown is getting deeper and the social and political crisis sharper, it becomes clear that the world of working people does not accept the situation imposed by the post-Solidarnosc power camp. The testimony of this are the increasing wave of uncoordinated and spontaneous strikes, as well as the breakdown and the departure of many workers from the "official" trade unions OPZZ [Communist] and NSZZ Solidarnosc, as well as the legal means used by the ruling crew to limit the possibility of organizing in

trade unions, and to smash down strike actions and protests organized out of the control of the power and apart from the official structures (so called "wild" strikes).

We stand in front of critical changes. The ideological model of so-called privatization, imposed by the "apparatchicks" of the former "Solidarnosc" and the private financial mafias of the former Communist Party PZPR, will lead in fact to full and ultimate expropriation of the workers, that is giving the social wealth into the hands of a narrow group of enriched and privileged functionaries of the new power camp and Communist "survivors" eagerly undertaking "capitalist" and "liberal" phraseology.

Giving back the ownership rights of the social wealth into the hands of a not numerous group of contemporary "oligarchs", or leaving it in the hands of servile state functionaries, is giving into the hands of this group the whole political power - that means giving it the possibility to form the whole social system. This is the end not only of the syndicalist movement, of the influence of the workers on the economy administration (not to mention the workers undertaking the factories...), but also the end of freedom and democracy for all, and the coming back to the totalitarian practice of unlimited power by a narrow group of the privileged. We have to mobilize all the forces to prevent this. Such a serious change needs serious and decided means.

Only the general strike can lead to a radical change in the direction of the economic and social transformations in Poland. Only the general strike can stop the stealing of social wealth by the old and new nomenclature [those appointed by the Communists to administrative positions - a patronage system]. Only the general strike can lead to the undertaking of the working-places by the workers. Then only the general strike can guarantee the full realization of human rights and smash down the dreams of some about a red, black [church], or even a green dictatorship! No organization nor their alliances can realize the general strike. It will be the work of the workers themselves. But it is possible to accelerate its break-out by joining the struggles of the working crews for everyday-life economic interests, the struggles against bureaucratic administrative structures and the trade unions' nomenclature, and the struggles to respect the rights of the workers. And particularly:

- Clear and as far as possible practical support for "wild strikes".
- To link contacts with every independent union (Free Trade Unions, Solidarnosc 80, Autonomous Unions, OPZZ dissidents), have common actions, meetings, local alliances.
- Supporting or organizing general protests for social and economic causes ("popiwek" wage tax, energy prices increase, etc.)
- By contacts with unions, directly with the workers or during actions, to spread the following postulates: the general overtaking of social property by the workers and overtaking of the social functions of the state by the syndicates and other social organizations.
- Actions towards changing the trade unions and collective conflicts bill - which means abolishing state permission and control other union activity. Supporting unions fighting for registration.
- Any other possible means.

These matters are not narrow party or group interests, but the future form and freedom space of the society and the influence it will have over decisions concerning it directly.

## 4. Resolution of the FA concerning access to mass-medias.

Every person should have the right to present its opinions, as well as in the public forum. This right is in theory guaranteed in the constitution of the Polish Republic, but in fact a part of the citizens are currently deprived of it. Legal limits, (for instance, required government authorizations to broadcast radio or TV programs), as well as economic ones, make it impossible for people to create independent publication initiatives, not even to mention radio or TV stations. For instance, the authorities are repressing the independent radio station "Rebelia w Eterze" in Lublin, not allowing it normal activity. Using the state mass-medias, financed by the whole of the citizens, is possible only for those persons who subordinate to the directives of its administrators - in practice, to the political line of the government. For instance: The youth magazine "Pies w Kuchni" at the Szczecin local state radio has been suppressed and the director of the station forbade to its authors access to the radio station building as they have presented information about the FA-Krakow section picket "Europe Without Political Prisoners" at the CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] conference in Krakow.

Up to now the "social" press was controlled by the state press concern RSW. Thanks to the self-determined decisions of the RSW liquidation committee (unclear auction conditions), it has been transmitted to

owners mainly linked with the current ruling camp. So we demand:

- Not to limit the right to create independent radio and television stations on a legal or administrative basis (authorizations, excessive licenses).
- Access for the whole society (including the political opposition) to public mass-medias and stop political pressure on journalists working there.

## 5. Resolution of the FA concerning military service.

Opposing the aggressive militarism of the state, which under various pretexts intrudes into the life of individuals, we demand:

- Abolish compulsory registration, stop repression against the so-called "conscripts" (for instance, giving a pass only to those who have a regular situation in the military service.)

We appeal:

- To undertake any form of opposition against compulsory military service, beginning with sending back military papers and the refusing of registration.

Even if we consider that the existence of civilian service does not lose the problem — it is only one further form of obligation, slavery, resignation from one's own rights, from one's own life, for the abstract goals of the institutions — we demand to accord the civilian service to every person who asks for it. Today, even the existing insufficient law solutions aren't respected and often the civilian service is not accorded.

## 6. Resolution of the FA regarding prohibition.

We demand acquittal of the repressed for refusing registration: B. SAWICKI, P. ZUK, P. TYSLEWICZ (6 million zlotys fine!) and many others.

The FA demands abolishing the monopoly of the state on the production and trade of narcotics. We think that every person has a natural right to the production, trade, and consumption of everything he/she feels right. The state dividing legal (cigarettes, alcohol, coffee) and illegal narcotics does not lead to suppressing the use of the latter, but only to criminalize the trade and consumption of narcotics, to make impossible the control of their quality as well as to a nonsensical buildup of an expensive police apparatus to fight against the needs of narcotics.

## 7. Resolution of the FA concerning Customs and taxes.

We are against the current economic policy of the Polish government, desperately trying to save the budget by always increasing customs and taxes on goods imported from abroad. Under the pretext of protecting the national industry and agriculture, one limits more and more the tax-restricted economic freedom of society, and one intrudes into the market by protecting and supporting the economic objects which cannot resist the concurrence. This is especially strange as this is done by a government which pretends to be liberal.

We think that the worst way of making society happy is to intervene into the processes taking place inside of the society, and hidden attempts of the power to maintain its own threatened position.

## 8. Resolution of the FA to form a committee for relations with anarchist and libertarian movements in USSR.

Estimating the development of the political situation in the USSR, the appearance and the activity of strong anarchist and libertarian groups, one has to pay attention to the necessity of organizing an efficient system for bounding contacts and communication, for exchanging opinions and political analyses between the movements in Poland and the USSR. One does not need to mention that the activity of anarchists in the USSR has a great importance for us. In order to really exploit always new and numerous contacts and collaboration proposals, the congress of the FA has decided to form the committee for relations with anarchist and libertarian movements in the USSR.

This committee collects information, follows the contacts with friendly groups, and is allowed to give declarations in the name of FA concerning the USSR and the Polish foreign policy towards the USSR. The committee gives reports of its activity at every congress of the FA. The committee has an open form, everybody interested in USSR topics can take part in its' work. The works of the committee are coordinated by:

Marek KURZYNIEC, Ul. Smolensk 16/8, 31121 Krakow. tel.012/226051

POLISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION  
C/O AN ARCHE  
UNIVERSYTET SLASKI  
UL. BANKOWA 12 B. POK 1  
40-007 KATOWICE  
POLAND — tel. 58-82-11



# AMOR Y RABIA

UNA PUBLICACION MENSUAL  
ANARQUISTA REVOLUCIONARIA

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**M** POR GUSTAVO RODRIGUEZ  
UCHO ES LO QUE HOY  
se habla y se escribe sobre la problemática cubana; tanto que, se pueden encontrar infinidad de criterios y colores, que van desde las más antagónicas posiciones. Políticos, filósofos, teólogos, antropólogos, historiadores, "cubanólogos," sociólogos, ensayistas, periodistas y charlatanes, entre otros, dedican su tiempo a analizar y estudiar una vez más la situación de una Cuba que ha sido demasiadas veces distorsionada (conciente e inconcientemente) por quienes desconocen esta realidad. Por esa razón, el propósito de este artículo no es agregar un criterio más al profundo costal de utopías y especulaciones que han convertido a la isla de las "Cachitas" y los

"Cheos" en conejillo de Indias. No, el propósito es otro.

Cuando algunos compañeros me pidieron que redactara este artículo, partimos de una interrogante: ¿qué tipo de solidaridad se le debe brindar a Cuba en estos momentos difíciles? Basándonos en nuestras posiciones ideológicas, en nuestra experiencia revolucionaria, en nuestra sensibilidad y en las lecciones aprendidas del desplome del llamado "bloque socialista," no nos olvidamos del aislamiento en que vive el pueblo de Cuba, en especial todos aquellos que trabajan a favor de los cambios políticos y sociales, desde una perspectiva anti-autoritaria, revolucionaria y autogestionaria dentro de la

isla. Es a ellos, los verdaderos revolucionarios y los protagonistas del cotidiano acontecer cubano, en el campo, en las fábricas, en los barrios, en las escuelas, en las universidades, los que no aceptan bajo ningún concepto la ayuda yanqui, ni la de sus organizaciones títeres en la gestión, es que se dirige en primer lugar este artículo.

En segundo lugar, este artículo va dirigido a los sectores más reaccionarios, retrogrados y ultraderechistas norteamericanos y del exilio cubano, a Jorge Mas Canosa y su Fundación Cubano Amerikkkana, a Hubert Matos y su "Cuba Independiente y Demokkrática", a los Ricardo Boffi y demas oportunistas, a los Valladares, a su equipo de caradu-

ras y a los escritores de sus libros, al Pentágono, a la CIA, a la Casa Blanca y al payaso sanginario de turno en la presidencia. Para que por éste medio, conozcan nuestra posición y para que sepan que el pueblo de Cuba, ni está, ni estará solo.

A través de este artículo, quiero llegar a la susodicha "izquierda". A esa "izquierda" que más de una vez al día nos obliga a preguntarnos si formamos parte de ella, cuando los hemos venido escuchando apoyar consitudinariamente la ley marcial en Hungría, Checoslovaquia, Polonia, elogiar y venerar a Ceausescu o aplaudir a los tanques criminales que aplastaron a la juventud y a la libertad en la Plaza de

Tiananmen; y a los seguidores de consignas, a los tontos útiles, a los seguidores de líderes y caudillos, de hombres y no de ideas. Y es a esta "izquierda" y a ese ejército de seguidores de consignas que les pregunto: ¿no se les hace sospechoso que aquellos que apoyaban la ley marcial en Hungría, Checoslovaquia y Polonia, los que elogiaban y veneraban a Ceausescu, los que aplaudieron a los tanques criminales de Tiananmen y a los golpistas estalinistas en Moscú, son los mismos que apoyan a Castro y su camarilla burguesa?, se han preguntado ¿quienes estan detras de organizaciones como

(Continúa en la pagina 4)



## AGENCIA DE NOTICIAS ANARQUISTA

SE TRATA DE UN NUEVO ÓRGANO divulgador de los acontecimientos de importancia que ocurren en el universo anarquista. El objetivo es ofrecer la oportunidad a los individuos y grupos latinoamericanos de estar en contacto con noticias de otros puntos del planeta y mejorar el flujo de informaciones entre los latinos. Otra meta de la agencia es mantener un lazo de solidaridad internacional más efectivo y eficaz entre los anarquistas. La agencia divulgará noticias a través del boletín que serán enviados a los principales periódicos, revistas, radios libre y grupos de América Latina (principalmente). Llamamos a todos los anarquistas a que apoyen esta iniciativa, de cara a contribuir al desenvolvimiento del movimiento

anarquista latinoamericano, con necesidad urgente de informaciones. Las noticias (cualquiera que sea su contenido) deben ser enviadas a:

ANA  
Caixa Postal 78-11500  
Cubatão SP-BRASIL

Los interesados en recibir noticias del movimiento anarquista brasileño deberán entrar en contacto con la agencia. Contra la concentración de tecnología y riqueza en unos pocos países; contra las cinco principales agencias internacionales de información: Associated Press, United Press International, Reuter, Agence France Press y Tass que manipulan hechos y noticias de importancia general. ★

## Noticias de la Patagonia Rebelde

DESDE CHILE

SOMOS UN KOLEKTIVO que estamos participando en la Federación Anar-

Amor y Rabia es realizado por la Red Amor y Rabia, un grupo de personas comprometidas, las cuales están de acuerdo en línea general con la Declaración Política de Amor y Rabia y contribuyen con su tiempo, dinero y energía para que Amor y Rabia sea una realidad. Las principales decisiones y la política general se determinan cuando la red se reúne en conferencia, una vez al año aproximadamente. Las decisiones interinas, menos importantes (de acuerdo con las decisiones de la Conferencia) las toma el Consejo de la Red, integrado por personas de diferentes regiones que se reúnen varias veces al año. Cualquier grupo verdaderamente interesado en el proyecto puede mandar dos delegados a las reuniones del Consejo de la Red. Las decisiones que requieren acción inmediata (de acuerdo con las decisiones de la Conferencia y el Consejo de la Red) las toma el Grupo de Coordinación electo, que consulta con el Grupo de Producción (GP) por teléfono y por correo. Diariamente las decisiones son hechas por el GP residente en la ciudad de Nueva York, donde se publica el periódico. En algunas ciudades y regiones, simpatizantes de Amor y Rabia se organizan para cooperar en el apoyo al periódico a nivel local y a veces participan en la Red a través de su grupo o colectivo. Otros simpatizantes militan solos.

La mayoría de los colaboradores/as de Amor y Rabia están activos en esfuerzos por cambiar el mundo, además de publicar Amor y Rabia. Los simpatizantes están involucrados en un amplio rango de grupos locales, en varios tipos de publicaciones, en redes que atienden asuntos específicos y en organizaciones que militan nacional e internacionalmente y frecuentemente escriben sobre sus actividades en Amor y Rabia. La Red Amor y Rabia no es un círculo cerrado de amigos, si estás de acuerdo en línea general con la Declaración Política y estás dispuesto 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. Pide más información a la persona que te vendió u obsequió el periódico, o escribe a:

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

**Grupo de Coordinación**  
Audrey, Minneapolis, MN  
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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

**Grupo de Producción:**  
Rachel, Matt, Lisa, Gene, Dena, Dan, Dave,  
Jessica, Jane, Chris, Christopher, Chris,  
Bob, Holly, Matt, Gustavo, Paulina, Jodi,  
Gabriel, Joanna.

**Traductores:**  
Alvaro, Gustavo, Nina, Eugenio, Jodi, Anna

Intentamos tener la publicación lista para la segunda semana de cada mes, rogamos que las colaboraciones sean enviadas a la oficina antes del día siete de cada mes. Regularmente se les envía a los suscriptores al término de la edición, aunque no siempre es posible por razones económicas. Si tienes dificultades para recibir el periódico por favor llama o escribe a la oficina.

**Atento Aburrido**

[ATENCIÓN!] Artículos, cartas, Notas de Agitación, y otras cosas publicadas en Amor y Rabia no necesariamente representan las opiniones o los puntos de vista del Grupo de Producción, Grupo de Coordinación, del Consejo de la Red, de la Conferencia o de cualquiera de las personas que forman parte de la Red Amor y Rabia. Imprimimos una variedad de artículos por diversas razones, incluyendo artículos con los que no estamos de acuerdo, porque creemos que son interesantes o provocativos. ¿O.K.?

quista de Intercomuna de la ciudad de Concepción y estamos abocados a la difusión del ideal ácrata, realizando charlas, debates, exhibición de videos, publicando el boletín "Acción Libertaria" y publicación de Folletos. Ahora estamos viendo la posibilidad de levantar un taller de segrigrafía para poder editar materiales de propaganda como carteles, calcomanías y otros de difusión.

El motivo de esta carta es pedir la solidaridad de los compañeros que tengan a su alcance material como: Malla serigráfica de 900120 para los bastidores. Acá ese material es demasiado caro (Aproximadamente 10.000 pesetas) y nosotros no contamos con fondos necesarios; aparte del material solicitado, si algún compañero(a) desea donar algún material de difusión como libros, periódicos, revistas, chapas, carteles y de manera especial videos de documentales, luchas sociales o películas de contenido libertario en el sistema VHS para latinoamérica (no PAL-SECAM) al igual que música alternativa o programas radicales, acá nos hace mucha falta ese tipo de material de difusión y las posibilidades económicas de alquilarlo son nulas ya que los fondos reunidos se invierten en folletos, pintura, carteles, etc. Esperamos contar con vuestra solidaridad. Correspondencia y envíos a:

Eduardo Torres Los Sauces 426  
Lomas Coloradas  
Concepción, Chile

DESDE ARGENTINA

EL GRUPO IMPULSO Autogestionario, la Biblioteca "Alberto Chiraldo" y el Centro de Estudios Sociales "Rafael Barret", junto con la Unión Socialista Libertaria y el Taller Ecologista, han debido cambiar una vez más de inmueble. En estos últimos cinco años hemos afrontado tres mudanzas, con las consecuentes dificultades aparejadas, lo que nos impide un trabajo más sostenido y más largo aliento.

Razones de índole económica han motivado estos sucesivos traslados, y causas de la misma índole ponen en peligro nuestra continuidad. Para enfrentar esa situación y, al mismo tiempo, intentar adquirir una casa propia, apelamos una vez más el apoyo solidario de nuestros compañeros en el exterior, básicamente de los países llamados "desarrollados". La situación económica en la Argentina hace casi imposible que podamos continuar con nuestras realizaciones y proyectos sin ese auxilio.

Por esa razón, agradeceremos toda colaboración económica- por más pequeña que sea y la difusión de esta solicitud. Los giros deben ser efectuados a nombre de:

Carlos Solero o Pedro Munich  
La dirección postal es: C.C. 984  
2000 Rosario Rep. Argentina

Quienes remitan sus colaboraciones serán debidamente informados acerca del uso de tales dineros y las actividades concretas emprendidas, como así también de las posibles realizaciones. Sin más, y agradeciendo desde ya la solidaria actitud de nuestros compañeros y simpatizantes, les saludamos fraternal y libertariamente desde Rosario. ★

# Cruz Negra Anarquista

## Solidaridad con Pablo Serrano

LAS ORGANIZACIONES CNT, SOL y Ateneo Libertario de Zaragoza han convocado varios actos para denunciar la vulneración de derechos del preso libertario Pablo Serrano. El 25 de Octubre, a las 8h. se desarrolló en el Centro Cívico Delicias, una charla-debate sobre la "situación penitenciaria actual". El día 26, tuvo lugar una concentración ante la cárcel de Torrero, a las 5 de la tarde.

La campaña de solidaridad pretende conseguir que el compañero, que lleva 7 años encarcelado, con una cuarta parte de la condena cumplida, pueda disfrutar de permisos de salida a que tiene derecho según la ley (Art. 254 del Real Decreto 1201/81 del Reglamento Penitenciario), y más cuando Instituciones Penitenciarias está concediendo permisos a presos de extrema derecha juzgados en relación a los casos "Nani", "Almería", "23-F", "la matanza de Atocha", el asesinato de Yolanda González, etc...

Igualmente está previsto solicitar una entrevista del Comité Nacional de CNT con el Director de Instituciones Penitenciarias para exponerle las reivindicaciones fundamentales: concesión de permisos legales y el pase a 3er grado. Tendente a conseguir esto, se van a elaborar, 10.000 tarjetas postales con un texto en que se denuncia la discriminación del compañero respecto a otros presos, que serán enviadas al director de Instituciones Penitenciarias y al director de la Prisión de Torrero.

Sobre el compañero Pablo se ha cebado la represión por su trayectoria, marcada por sucesivas luchas y despidos ya desde su inicio en el mundo laboral (despidos en los que ya tuvo que hacer frente a una petición de dos años de cárcel de la que fue absuelto).

Es conocida igualmente su labor en la Asamblea de Parados donde se llevan acciones de denuncia más radicalizadas (toma de alimentos en economatos, comida en el Hotel Corona de Aragón dejando la cuenta al Ministro de Economía Boyer, etc...).

Posteriormente pasó a otras formas de lucha, siendo detenido por acusación de colocación de bombas en un pub de reunión yanqui y sede de la Patronal de Artes Gráficas y de la muerte de un Asesor de la Patronal.

En la cárcel denunció las irregularidades existentes, lo que llevó consigo el cese del director de la cárcel de Torrero. Ha participado en varias huelgas de hambre reivindicando condiciones de trato y vida digna (no olvidemos que en las cárceles del estado están siendo denunciados año tras año en los diversos organismos de derechos humanos internacionales y nacionales y que en la actualidad se han convertido en las leproserías de finales del Siglo XX). Fue represaliado con un traslado a Tenerife por solidarizarse en huelga de hambre por la reagrupación de los presos políticos. A todo ello añadimos su negativa a la política del PSOE de reinserción, en la que se exige el abandono de los ideales políticos e ideológicos de la persona.

Hacemos una llamada a la clase obrera y movimiento ciudadano para solidarizarse con Pablo Serrano y apoyar las acciones necesarias para que estos "demócratas" si todavía saben qué es eso, cumplan las leyes, las mismas que en su día con tanta dureza le fueron aplicadas a Pablo Serrano. ★

## Compañero en Francia

DESPUÉS DEL GOLPE de estado de 1973 y tras múltiples peripetias por diversos países Latinoamericanos, a nuestro compañero Ernesto Castro le fué concedido el estatuto de refugiado en Italia.

Los años 70 fueron, como bien sabemos muy calientes y Ernesto fue detenido como impulsor de "Azione Rivolucionaria" (Grupo Anarquista) y paso 18 meses en varias prisiones Italianas.

Fue expulsado antes de su proceso, ya que el gobierno democrático italiano se encontraba a disgusto tener en sus cárceles a un resistente antifascista Chileno.

Ernesto ha emprendido varias gestiones en diferentes países europeos a fin de regularizar su situación, y a cada intento, ha sido devuelto del país, tachándosele de "indeseable en todos los países democráticos".

El 5 de julio del 88 fue detenido en París, acusado de intento de robo, junto a sus compañeros co-inculpados, pero estos fueron puestos en libertad, mientras él sigue preso.

Consideramos que su continuación en prisión es totalmente escandalosa y arbitraria. Todas las peticiones de puesta en libertad provisional han sido sistemáticamente rechazadas, siempre con la misma mención de que "siendo extranjero, no ofrece suficientes garantías a la ley francesa" Llamamos a todos los compañeros a solidarizarse con él, con el fin de obtener su libertad, enviando una petición de apoyo o cartas exigiendo su libertad a estas direcciones:

Ministre de la Justice  
13 Place Vendome  
75001 Paris, France

Ligue des droit de L'Homme  
27 rue J.Dolent  
75014 Paris, France

Y para los que deseen manifestar su apoyo directo a Ernesto Castro, escribir a:

Ernesto Castro, No.783905-1-353.  
1 Avenue de la division Leclerc  
94261 Fresnes, France

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y recibirás cada número de este periódico mensual anarquista revolucionario por un agente uniformado del Estado. Indica tu preferencia y envía este cupón al:

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# Una oposición ecologista en Cuba

Este artículo es la segunda parte de la entrevista con Orlando Polo y Mercedes Paez de Sendero Verde. La primera parte apareció en diciembre 1991 (Año 2, Número 10)

## ¿EL COMUNISMO VERDE?

**Bill Weinberg:** Tengo la edición de Otoño de 1990 del periódico de San Francisco *Earth Island Journal*. Que incluye un artículo escrito por Karen Wald (norteamericana) la cual reconoce fervientemente la labor de la política de medio ambiente llevada a cabo por Fidel Castro. Ella escribió sobre esto con motivo de la conferencia de "Áreas Verdes", la cual tuvo lugar en la Habana el pasado Noviembre. Dice que: "la única ausencia fue la de los miembros de la única oposición en Cuba de un Grupo 'Verde' (escribiéndolo entre comillas). Sendero Verde, una organización que apareció hace pocos años atrás, liderada por un disidente llamado Orlando Polo. En 1988, Polo participó en una conferencia de prensa con algunos otros oponentes a Fidel, describiéndose a sí mismo ante la prensa como un Eco-pacifista. Si Sendero Verde existe, ha perdido la única oportunidad de ser escuchado entre las más altas y comprometidas personalidades y organizaciones que han asistido a este evento."

Mercedes Paez: Bien, conocemos a Karen Wald. Dejanos aclarar un punto. Ella es considerada "Amiga de la revolución." Ella vive en uno de los barrios más acomodados de la Habana, y como extranjera posee privilegios, los cuales son negados a la mayoría de los cubanos.

OP: No participamos en tal conferencia porque no fuimos invitados. Este fue un evento oficial y nosotros nunca hemos sido invitados a un evento oficial. Esas conferencias son organizadas por gente del gobierno. Tratamos de obtener información para saber cómo participar, pero eso fue

imposible. No sabemos si eso fue hecho intencionalmente o es parte de las deficiencias de la burocracia. Frecuentemente, si tu no eres un funcionario del Gobierno; tú tienes que pagar en dólares para participar en esas conferencias. Así que en realidad estas no están abiertas al público, y menos si estos parecen tener posiciones disidentes.

En septiembre pasado, hubo una conferencia de las Naciones Unidas sobre el crimen, en la Habana, en la que queríamos participar. Había una sección que iba a tratar sobre la destrucción ecológica como un crimen. Pedimos a todas las organizaciones de derechos humanos del mundo y tras arduos esfuerzos diplomáticos, conseguimos invitaciones para tres representantes nuestros. Pero, incluso con el permiso oficial para participar, pudimos llegar hasta tan sólo las puertas del recinto cuando fuimos detenidos por la policía de la Seguridad del Estado. Obviamente, no fuimos detenidos por las consecuencias internacionales. Alguno de nosotros pudimos pasar por entre los guardias por parecer conspicuos y andar bien vestidos, entonces hicimos saber que estábamos allí presentes, pudiendo hablar con algunos representantes antes que nos echaran por la fuerza. Fue una verdadera acción de arte.

**BW:** De acuerdo con el artículo de Karen Wald. Cuba posee una muy privilegiada política ambiental. Ella dice que es una política oficial en favor del uso de las bicicletas como medio de transporte, producto del corte de suministro de petróleo de la Unión Soviética e informa que hay un nuevo énfasis en torno a la medicina natural. ¿Tú crees que eso sea así?

OP: No negamos que el gobierno de Fidel Castro este intentando crear el paraíso en la tierra. Nuestra bronca es como el quiere llegar a hacerlo. Ellos están tratando de imponer su paraíso a la fuerza. Existe la fuerza y las intimidaciones que obligan a la gente a participar en movimientos oficiales. Ellos no permiten ningún espacio para las iniciativas individuales.

Nosotros propusimos al gobierno una política para promover el uso de bicicletas para disminuir la contaminación ambiental, esto fue en 1975 y fue completamente desechada. Sólo cuando las condiciones y presiones en la sociedad demandaban el cambio, lo hicieron. En definitiva producto de la carencia de petróleo, ellos irónicamente lo consideraron.

**BW:** Pero el programa de bicicletas existe.

OP: Existe, pero la nueva política energética es una espada de doble filo. Por ejemplo: Ellos dicen que el desarrollo de la energía nuclear resuelve el desarrollo de proyectos del país y ayuda a preservar el balance ecológico. Ellos dicen que el poder nuclear es energía "limpia." Como es posible que un gobierno como el de Cuba con un ejército de 250.000 hombres y mujeres activos en un país de sólo 10 millones de habitantes. Los cuáles 57 mil de ellos fueron llevados a Angola, armados para pelear. ¿Cómo podemos pensar que una sociedad militarista puede seguir estrictamente una vía pacífica, especialmente cuando se trata del poder nuclear? Cuba no es firmante del Tratado de Tlatelolco (cuyos esfuerzos están en crear una Latinoamérica libre de zona nuclear). No existe control sobre el desarrollo nuclear en Cuba.

**BW:** ¿Uds sospechan que Cuba este tratando de desarrollar una bomba nuclear?

MP: En Cuba lo importante es saber que el presupuesto militar, así como la información esta controlada.

OP: El primer reactor nuclear esta bajo construcción ahora, cerca de Cienfuegos, con tecnología soviética. Está programado para comenzar a funcionar en 1992, pero probablemente se pospondrá dado el retiro de los técnicos soviéticos. El gobierno Cubano esta ahora negociando con Japón para completar la planta.

**BW:** ¿Han habido algunas protestas en Cuba contra la construcción de la planta nuclear?

OP: Hemos sido los únicos en protestar. Sólo nosotros protestamos contra la guerra en Angola. Recientemente, estuvimos en Cienfuegos para protestar contra la planta nuclear, una fue en 1985 y la otra en 1986. En agosto de 1986 fuimos un grupo de estudiantes del Centro Superior de Artes e hicimos teatro en las calles representando el peligro del poder nuclear. Esto fue durante el carnaval en Cienfuegos. Nos metimos en medio de la gente, bailando y cantando emblemas contra la guerra y el desarme nuclear. La gente nos siguió, pero cuando la policía se dio cuenta nos golpearon y nos detuvieron por tres días.

**BW:** ¿Han habido resistencias a la conscripción militar en Cuba?

MP: El servicio militar en Cuba es por tres años desde que se cumplen los 16 años. Si tú te ofrecías ir a pelear a Angola era por dos años. Esta era una de las razones porque algunos se enrolaban para ir.

OP: Cuando la conscripción fue instaurada por primera vez en 1964, miles de jóvenes se registraron y miles fueron también arrestados en campos especiales (Unidades Militares de Ayuda a la Producción). Pues muchos tenían cabellos largos, habían homosexuales detenidos y aquellos con tendencias religiosas, etc.

MP: Actualmente los problemas con el sistema militar aún existen, especialmente después de la experiencia en Angola. Gente joven que sirvió en el ejército se frustan cuando ven a Savimbi dándose la mano con el presidente de Angola Dos Santos, hay mucho resentimiento. La gente no se siente orgullosa que haya peleado por algo. En respuesta a esto, el gobierno ha reducido el servicio militar a dos años.

**BW:** ¿Podrías decir que el servicio militar en Angola fue impopular?

OP: El servicio militar en Cuba nunca ha sido popular. El pueblo lo aguantaba para sobrevivir.

**BW:** ¿Que sucedió realmente en el proceso de Ochoa?

OP: Ochoa era el líder de un grupo de gente que quería cambiar a Cuba a través de una salida militar, pero una reforma que nos llevara hacia la izquierda, hacia un socialismo democrático. Ochoa era un hombre muy apreciado por sus tropas, un verdadero héroe de la guerra de Angola. A pesar que no admiramos a este tipo de individuo, tenemos que reconocerlo. No queremos un cambio violento en Cuba, queremos un cambio pacífico.

**BW:** ¿Hacia qué?

OP: Hacia el pluralismo y la democracia, pero no hacia la democracia de los Estados Unidos; una democracia para una experiencia como la cubana, con una visión distinta de el futuro, una democracia ecológica, una democracia directa.

**BW:** ¿Qué me puedes decir sobre la economía? ¿Apoyan ustedes una transición hacia el capitalismo?

OP: No. El capitalismo es una fuerza deshumanizada y además arcaica. Estamos en tiempos de nuevas filosofías. El capitalismo esta en estado de descomposición. Existen muchas necesidades humanas que el capitalismo no satisface. El capitalismo presupone para muchos libertades, pero es obvio que la gente aquí no es realmente libre.

**BW:** ¿Aguf en los E.U. o en Cuba?

Continúa en la pagina 4)

## 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. Proveremos cobertura sobre luchas sociales, eventos mundiales, acciones anarquistas y brotes de resistencia. Apoyaremos las luchas de los oprimidos alrededor del mundo por el control de sus propias vidas. El anarquismo ofrece la más profunda crítica a la jerarquía y a la dominación, haciendo posible un armazón para la unidad de todas las luchas por la liberación. Tratamos de entender los sistemas bajo los cuales vivimos mediante nuestro propio análisis y rechazamos cualquier ideología pre-enlatada. 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 Revolucionario

Apoyamos el derrocamiento de toda forma de relaciones 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 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 contra el actual sistema y para el 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 legal y organizada: la policía, el ejército y el sistema de prisiones, imponiendo la organización de la sociedad. Nos oponemos al sistema de intimidación y al intento de control del libre movimiento de los pueblos a través de las fronteras. Creemos

que la gente puede organizar sus vidas y sus comunidades. Esta auto-organización puede hacer que el pueblo 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 traducida en huelgas, luchas obreras, la ocupación de edificaciones (squating), huelgas contra los 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 sea descentralizada, equitativa, fluida, experimental y controlada por los que participan en ella.

### Amor y Rabia es Anti-racista

Apoyamos la autodeterminación de todas las comunidades de color. Luchamos contra la supremacía blanca y trabajamos por una sociedad que respete la diversidad cultural. Conocemos la opresión específica que existe 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. Sabemos que las bases de la sociedad racista de hoy son el genocidio y la asimilación forzada del pueblo indígena. Apoyamos la conservación de las tradiciones culturales y los derechos a la tierra de los nativoamericanos. Luchamos por erradicar el imperialismo cultural. Nos oponemos al racismo anti-semita. Apoyamos la autodeterminación de Québec y el fin de la opresión contra el francofono en Norteamérica. Nos organizamos contra el racismo de 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: el pueblo de color. Para crear esta sociedad, la humanidad tiene que derrocar la 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 incluye, no solo la dominación del 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 menos poderosas contra el control y el abuso imperialista.

### Amor y Rabia es Anti-sexista

Rechazamos el patriarcado y luchamos por la liberación y la autodeterminación de todas las mujeres. Esto incluye la inquestionable libertad de elección reproductiva y una más accesible atención médica y de cuidado para todas sin exclusión. Reconocemos que la violencia sexual y el abuso son necesarios para la continuación del funcionamiento del Estado. El Estado no resolverá nuestros problemas.

Reconocemos la responsabilidad de los hombres para lograr un cambio en sí mismos y terminar por siempre el patriarcado. Reconocemos la fuerza de la mujer y nos regocijamos por ello.

### Amor y Rabia Apoya la Libre 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 Discrimina las Edades

Las manifestaciones del generacionalismo toman lugar, desde la opresión a la juventud hasta

las problemáticas de las personas ancianas, de todo aquel que es marginado y alienado por su edad en esta sociedad. Nuestra idea de liberación esta en constante desarrollo y no puede resumirse en un solo párrafo. Por lo tanto, esta debe ser discutida en todos sus aspectos en nuestro periódico, así como a través de nuestras vidas. Estos temas no deberan construir las reglas de un juego a seguir, sino que deberan debatirse en artículos relevantes en las páginas de la Federación de Jóvenes Anarquistas (Anarchist Youth Federation - AYF) y en cualquier otro lugar donde 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, por el contrario creemos que la vida humana forma parte integral del mismo. Al mismo tiempo, sabemos que toda forma de dominación social solo traerá 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 "enverdecimiento capitalista". 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 ecologista tiene que ser anarquista.

Esta declaración no pretende incluir todos los planteamientos que conciernen al anarquismo o anti-autoritarismo, como tampoco pretende Amor y Rabia darlo todo por entendido ni unificar todos los puntos de vista. No podemos representar el amplio espectro del heterogéneo movimiento anarquista contemporáneo, ni nos avergonzamos de algún punto de vista controversial. Finalmente, buscamos la incorporación de nuestros lectores y otros activistas en nuestro esfuerzo por el avance de nuestro entendimiento y el del movimiento en el que militamos.



# Sendero

(Viene de la pagina 3)

OP: La gente no es libre en ninguna parte. En Cuba no hay capitalismo, pero tampoco existe socialismo.

**BW: ¿Entonces, que hay en Cuba?**

OP: En Cuba lo que hay es fidelismo, castrismo.

**BW: Pero realmente qué está sucediendo en Cuba? Por una parte se habla de apertura y de mas libertades que nunca y simultaneamente, tenemos el arresto de los líderes de los derechos humanos y el caso Ochoa. Entonces, hay cosas contradictorias sucediendo dentro de la isla.**

OP: El gobierno de Cuba lo único que ha hecho es instituir una serie de cambios cosméticos - esto debe quedar bien claro. El propósito es tratar de satisfacer las demandas internacionales y las demandas internas de cambio, pero sin hacer un cambio real en las estructuras. El propósito real es simplemente mantenerse en el poder.

**BW: Pero esto les permite a ustedes, los activistas, mas espacio para organizarse.**

OP: Cualquier espacio que nosotros alcancemos es basado y esta condicionado a nuestras tácticas. Sucede algo muy interesante. Este punto entra en el interés político de ambos, los pro-castristas y los anti-castristas. Los anti-castristas establecidos en Miami estan controlados, al igual que los espacios, la radio, la prensa, por personas que realmente estan interesadas en que Castro se mantenga en el poder para que se mantenga y continúe el sufrimiento, la histeria y el odio, porque ellos viven de eso. Si Fidel Castro se cayera ellos (la estructura de poder anti-castrista de Miami) se caerían con él. Por otra parte los E.U. saben que el problema de Castro no es el de Saddam Hussein o Manuel Antonio Noriega. La posibilidad de una invasión es irrealista.

**BW: ¿Ven ustedes una Cuba post Castro delineada en el horizonte?**

OP: Sí. El paternalismo y las tácticas represivas que han sido usadas por el gobierno de Cuba durante estos 30 años, han engendrado en el pueblo de Cuba, una profunda necesidad de realización de sus libertades fundamentales, de su desarrollo independiente y de su crea-

tividad, sin la supervisión ni la presencia de ningún gobierno autoritario.

**BW: ¿Qué pasará con la CIA y las fuerzas reaccionarias en los E.U. que han estado durante estos 30 años tratando de derrocar a Castro? ¿Qué posibilidades existen de que algunos exilados de ultra derecha de Miami, se instalen en el poder despues de la partida de Castro?**

OP: Cometerían un grave error - van a ser los cubanos de la isla, los que se gobernarán a sí mismos después de Fidel. Va a ser muy diferente a la manera que se imaginan la mayoría de los cubanos de Miami. Treinta años de revolución no han pasado por gusto. El pueblo de Cuba no aceptará que estas gentes que abandonaron la isla, regresen solo para oprimirlos y explotarlos.

**BW: ¿Qué tipo de apoyo específico ustedes necesitan por parte de los activistas ecologistas, pacifistas, etc. aquí en E.U.?**

OP: Nosotros necesitamos que más personas conozcan de nuestra existencia. Queremos establecer contactos y oficinas que nos representen aquí en E.U. Tenemos oficinas en Miami y queremos tener representaciones en New York, Washington y California.

**BW: La política del gobierno de Cuba con los pacientes de SIDA forzados a cuarentena, a causado grandes controversias aquí en E.U. Nosotros, entendemos que las pruebas obligatorias de SIDA y la cuarentena forzada a la que son obligados los más de 500 pacientes de la enfermedad, así como el aislamiento a que son sometidos, es inaceptable. Pero, también reconocemos que al menos estas personas están recibiendo algún tipo de cuidado médico y les aguarda un destino mejor que el de miles de enfermos del virus aquí en E.U. que son desamparados y viven en las calles sin un techo, o en la prisión o no tienen acceso a atención médica. En fin, ¿cuál es su opinión respecto al programa del SIDA en Cuba?**

OP: Reconocemos la necesidad que existe de tener algún tipo de control, pero creemos que esto debe de hacerse de una manera más humanitaria. Allí existe un grupo de enfermos de SIDA, presos en la cárcel del Combinado del Este, en La Habana, que se han resistido a la cuarentena. Los detalles no han sido hecho públicos, pero aparentemente se suscitaron algún tipo de disturbios. ★

# Resumen de los artículos en inglés

**Portada - Historia Afroamericana y la lucha de liberación del pueblo negro.**

**Pág 2 - Cartas.**

**Pág 3 - Notas de Agitación - Calendario de eventos y noticias breves.**

**Pág 4 y 5 - Resistencia Indígena (Segunda Parte).** En la conclusión de su artículo, Gord H. nos detalla el desarrollo de la resistencia nativo-americana desde la revolución americana hasta el presente. Nos demuestra como las naciones existentes hoy día, han sido construidas sobre cientos de años de genocidio y explotación a los nativos y a los afroamericanos. Desde las luchas recientes por la autogestión incluyendo el surgimiento del A.I.M. (Movimiento Indígena Americano) en 1965 y los hechos de Pine Ridge (1973). ¡LA LUCHA CONTINUA!

**Pág 6 - Berkeley con la sierra en la mano.** Por Paul Dalton. Un grupo de compañeros que apoyan a Amor Y Rabia en Berkeley participaron en un acto de desobediencia civil el día 15 del pasado diciembre en protesta por la construcción de una cancha de volibol en pleno centro del "People's Park" como parte de la política general anti-democrática a beneficio de la Universidad de California y de los propietarios locales. Los manifestantes sierra en mano cortaron uno de los postes de la red de volibol y entraron por la fuerza a las oficinas del "Buro de Rentas" y de un oficial universitario.

**Pág 7 - Cruz Negra Anarquista - Noticias desde las prisiones.** Documentos y artículos sobre prisioneros políticos. Ver sección en español.

**Pág 8 - El Anarquismo No Puede Luchar Solo.** Una declaración inspirada en el anarquismo y la liberación afroamericana. Balagoon (desaparecido compañero anarquista afroamericano) llama a apoyar activamente las luchas de los pueblos oprimidos por su autodeterminación, aun incluyendo el peligroso nacionalismo como vehículo de lucha. Anexo una biografía de Kuwasi Balagoon y Ojore Lutalo.

**Pág 9 - Ejército de Liberación Negra Hacia la Victoria.** (Tomado de la revista Yipster Times) Escrito en 1974 este artículo cubre el surgimiento del Ejercito de Liberación Negra y parte del desarrollo del Partido Panteras Negras en EU. El Ejercito de Liberación Negra funciona como guerrilla urbana en la lucha contra la supremacia blanca en Norteamérica.

**Pág 10 - La Historia Estadounidense en Blanco y Negro.** Chris Day hace una interesante reseña de los libros: *Settlers: The Mythology of the White Proletariat* de J. Sakai, *Black Reconstruction in America 1860- 1980* de W.E.B. DuBois, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* por David Roediger.

**Pág 11 - Federación de Juventudes Anarquistas - Nuestra acostumbrada página del movimiento juvenil anarquista, repleta de subversión y diversión, en su lucha por erradicar la opresión juvenil.**

**Pág 12 - En la Avenida Gogol - La habitual sección de Amor y Rabia dedicada el enfoque sobre Europa del Este. En esta ocasión aparece publicada las resoluciones de la Federación Anarquista Polaca, tomados en la última conferencia nacional (Junio, 1991).**

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# Cuba

(Viene de la portada)

"US HANDS OFF CUBA COALITION". ¿No?, pues creo que es hora de que averigüen.

Por medio de este artículo quiero comunicar a cada uno de nuestros lectores cuál es la realidad cubana y ayudar a despertar a esa "izquierda" y a esos "tontos útiles"; a mostrarles que hay mucho más allá de sus narices y que, más allá de su organización (política, ecologista, pacifista, feminista) sea local, regional o nacional, existen otras que persiguen los mismos objetivos, con tácticas y estrategias similares alrededor del mundo; y que, en Cuba también existen estos grupos en menor escala y con menor participación, (por que no existe el derecho ineludible de libre asociación y reunión) con iguales inquietudes, preocupaciones y luchando contra los mismos enemigos.

Es inenxigible como la llamada "izquierda" (a veces cínicamente hasta autodenominados "radicales") luchan contra el desarrollo de las plantas nucleares y la tecnología nuclear, mientras aplauden el discurso castrista justificando a la tecnología nuclear como método "alternativo" de independencia económica y la construcción de la planta nuclear en Cienfuegos de fabricación soviética (¿se acuerdan de Chernobyl?) y de un reactor en La Habana. Como luchan contra el desarrollo de la biotecnología y aplauden su auge en Cuba y los servicios que esta presta a todas las industrias capitalistas que no se les permite las operaciones en sus países de origen. Como lu-

chan por la abolición de la pena de muerte y por la abolición de las prisiones y aplauden el fusilamiento en Cuba y sus super pobladas cárceles. Como luchan por la abolición del servicio militar selectivo y por la desmilitarización de la sociedad y aplauden el servicio militar obligatorio y la militarización de la sociedad en Cuba. Como luchan por los derechos de las lesbianas y los homosexuales y como aplauden a un gobierno homofóbico que hasta hace pocos años tenía campos de trabajo forzado para los homosexuales (UMAP/Unidades Militares de Ayuda a la Producción), expulsó a miles de homosexuales y lesbianas por el puente marítimo "Mariel-Cayo Hueso" (1980) bajo la consigna: "¡Que se vayan los homosexuales!" y no les permite pertenecer a la "Unión de Jóvenes Comunistas", ni cursar estudios universitarios. Como luchan por los derechos de la mujer y por la autodeterminación de las mismas y aplauden el discurso machista y la dictadura patriarcal que ejerce Castro.

Así, podríamos confeccionar una larga lista de contradicciones de la llamada "izquierda", pero ese no es el propósito. Lo importante, es dejar en claro la existencia de estos grupos alternativos, revolucionarios, antiautoritarios, anticapitalistas y autogestionarios dentro de Cuba y que todos ellos reclaman el espacio físico y político-social que les corresponde y el derecho del pueblo de Cuba a su autodeterminación y emancipación. Quizás, hoy más que nunca el derecho a la autodeterminación y emancipación del pueblo de Cuba y ese espacio tan necesario para sobrevivir humanamente, está siendo amenazado por los grandes capitales financieros

(desde el Fondo Monetario Internacional hasta los pequeños capitales miamenses) y por las nuevas ansias expansionistas yanqui auspiciadas por el "Nuevo Orden Mundial."

Y he aquí, el propósito de este artículo: la solidaridad con el pueblo de Cuba. La solidaridad no como concepto abstracto tomado de alguna ideología preenlatada, sino la solidaridad real de pueblo a pueblo, de trabajador a trabajador, de ecologista a ecologista, de mujer a mujer, de homosexual a homosexual, de oprimido a oprimido. La solidaridad concreta con aquellos a los que han desconocido durante tantos años: el pueblo de Cuba.

## ULTIMO LLAMADO

En la primera ocasión que tuve contacto con los grupos anarquistas, antiautoritarios y ecopacifistas, polacos, checoslovacos, moscovitas y ucranianos, me comentaban sobre el poco apoyo y la poca solidaridad que recibían del exterior. Recientemente una compañera polaca anarcopacifista, estuvo por aca con motivo de una conferencia internacional de mujeres y me hablaba sobre la amplia crítica que se escucha ahora por parte de la "izquierda" de las dictaduras del llamado "bloque socialista" en Europa del Este y me preguntaba ¿donde estaban estos grupos mientras vivíamos la pesadilla autoritaria? Pues bien, en Cuba la pesadilla autoritaria aún es una realidad, como también es una realidad la amenaza imperialista y el asecho del exilio reaccionario y ultraderechista. Como parte de la escalada intervencionista yanqui y el desarrollo de una política de oposición pro-Washington den-

tro de Cuba, la National Endowment for Democracy, destinó el pasado año (1991) \$ 462,132 para siete proyectos de ayuda a grupos disidentes en Cuba, doblando la cifra de 1990. La subvención de la N.E.D. fué repartida entre los grupos según el nivel de compromiso, asignándole entre otros, a Jorge Mas y la ultraderechista Fundación Cubano Americana \$100,000 para apoyar la "Coalición Internacional por los Derechos Humanos en Cuba", mientras que a Ricardo Bofil le regalaron \$44,000 para editar su revista "Siglo XXI" y manipular desde Miami al Comité Pro Derechos Humanos.

Sin embargo, grupos opositores que podrían calificar dentro de la clasificación de "izquierda" como el "Movimiento Eco Pacifista Sendero Verde", "Seguidores de Mella" y otros tantos que tienen que operar clandestinamente, no solo no reciben un centavo sino que tratan de mantenerlos en el anonimato. Y aquí, la autodenominada "izquierda" coincide con los intereses de Washington y se esfuerza en silenciar estas alternativas antiautoritarias dentro de la isla.

Hace muchos años que la dictadura castrista abandona las posturas revolucionarias, (más bien desde la ascensión al poder se delineó su tendencia nazionalista y tiránica) sus cárceles no solo han sido habitadas por agentes de la CIA y reaccionarios ultraderechistas; anarquistas, anarco-sindicalistas, socialistas libertarios, socialistas revolucionarios, troskistas, maoístas y socialdemócratas, también han abarrotado sus mazmorras. Es por eso, que se hace importante reflexionar cuando hablamos de solidaridad. Vivimos momentos donde la solidaridad con Cuba apremia, se hace necesario atender a este

llamado. Pero, ¿con quién ha de ser nuestra solidaridad?

Se ha venido desarrollando toda una campaña internacional en busca de PETROLEO PARA CUBA y conociendo las vicisitudes y la realidad del pueblo de Cuba, desde luego que hace falta petróleo para electrificar la isla, para mover las fábricas, para transportar al pueblo, para encender las cocinas, pero, con petróleo también se mueven los tanques, esos mismos tanques que podrían volver a aplastar al pueblo como en la Plaza de Tiananmen. Por eso, nuestra solidaridad ha de estar dirigida al pueblo de Cuba y no al gobierno dictatorial de la isla, ha de ser con ese pueblo que no solo sufre las carestías de un bloqueo criminal y la amenaza intervencionista del imperio más grande, sino que también sufre una de las dictaduras más despóticas del hemisferio.

Seamos solidarios con el pueblo de Cuba; enviémosles alimentos en latados, cereales, soya, ropa nueva o usada, abrigos, jabones, detergentes, en fin todo lo necesario para sobrevivir. Organizemos nuestros propios comitees de ayuda sin la inspección y el control estatal y llevémosle nuestra ayuda solidaria directamente de pueblo a pueblo, agrupémonos las organizaciones autónomas del mundo y desarrollémos los contactos (autónomos) dentro de la isla que permitan el desenvolvimiento autogestionario de esta solidaridad. Respondamos presente a este último llamado de ayuda solidaria y brindémosles el combustible necesario al movimiento revolucionario del pueblo para que marche adelante y no el combustible a los tanques para que lo aplaste. ★