

LOVE AND RAGE

A REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHIST
NEWSMONTHLY

The Myths of Malcolm X

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Victory Victory

Peru's Possibilities

Beauty Myth

and much, much, much more

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Love and Rage,

While I was happy to see the connection of the Haymarket affair to the "May Day 29 Victory" (Vol.3 No.2, February 1992), I would like to clear up some inaccuracies in the article concerning the Haymarket. The writer's main source of information appeared to have been Howard Zinn's book, *A People's History of the United States*, a wonderful look at US History, but not without minor faults.

1) August Spies was one of the people responsible for printing flyers announcing the Haymarket meeting. He, however, did not use the word "revenge" or ask for a call to arms. He went so far as to say that he would not speak unless those words were taken off the flyer. His wish was granted, and the flyer was reprinted.

This point is important because it was the first flyer, of which few if any were actually distributed, that was used in court against the anarchists.

2) It's difficult to condense the events of May 4, 1886 into one paragraph without misrepresenting the bombing. First of all, the meeting was disorganized and began late, which turned some people away. Although 3,000 were in attendance, by the time the police marched on the crowd, it had dwindled to a few hundred. Most importantly, only one police officer was killed by the initial blast of the bomb, which set off a shooting frenzy. Some of the other officers may have died from wounds inflicted by "friendly fire." Many of the innocent citizens, those at the meeting and some totally unaffiliated, were shot.

Love and Rage Network,

We have received all the updates thus far, and would like to congratulate Christopher Day and Dave Lawrence on their speaking tour. If the anarchist movement is to become a strong unified resistance, we must improve our communication. We need a strong anarchist press, along with speaking tours to improve communication within the anarchist communities.

The Presidential Boycott really needs to pick up momentum, and I think it is beginning to. A poster in support of the boycott was produced and glued to posts here in Whittier. We obtained a copy and have enclosed it. I'm writing an editorial about the elections and the boycott in my school newspaper as well as fanzines in this area. We really need a strong coalition to make an impact on the elections. You can include the United Anarchist Front in that coalition.

Your project is very vital to the anarchist movement, we thank you for your efforts.

Long live anarchy! Long live the social revolution!

Chris Crass
United Anarchist Front
Whittier, CA

CONFESSIONS OF A FORMERLY POLITICALLY CORRECT LEFTOID: A RANT AGAINST MISANTHROPIC ANTI-PORN YAHOO-ISM

"My motto is, 'Let there be pleasure on earth, and let it begin with me.'"

-Annie Sprinkle, pioneering porn actress
[An introduction and addendum which were too long to be printed here]



porn/erotica/representational sexual expression (using all synonymously) as any and every representation of nudity/sexuality/sex that's meant to be sexy, i.e. sex for sex sake. (In doing so I'm reappropriating "porn" as a positive term like gays have reappropriated "queer.") Defining porn is as difficult as defining poetry; they're hard to define conceptually but we usually know them when we see/hear/experience them. In porn's case there are the easily observable basics most would agree on: the nude mags on newsstands; films in XXX theaters; video store sex tapes; porno joints with their mags, newspapers, sex toys, 25 cent film booths, dancers and live sex acts; phone sex lines; sex stories/letters mags etc. It's a limited definition, but as good as any.

But then there's Blake. Blake's premise that porn = "violence against women, gang rape, abduction, the mail order bride business, women mounted as hunting trophies" etc. is crackpot from beginning to end. It falls apart completely if one were only to consider the wide world of male gay porn, the growing field of homemade porn videos by friends/couples, and the plethora of male models/actors engaging in posing or hetero-sex where violence or even sexist sexual role playing is as foreign as clothes (you'll have to turn on your TV to find the former). As "Another Look at Porn" (Vol.3 No.2, February 1992) states, the violent stuff is only a *teeny minority* of porn. As an avid consumer of the multi-layered world of porn, as someone whose seen 1000's (I kid ye not) of films, mags, sex shows, etc. in NYC, Philadelphia, Chicago, Berlin, and Amsterdam, I can say that I've seen violence only twice. (I purposely leave out the S&M and bondage and domination (B&D) scene since many consensually engage in that — it's not forced for them. Again it's a teeny phenomena. Some porn shops have a small section of S&M and B&D mags with all variations of same sex/opposite sex dominating or being dominated. And (from what I've seen) it's mostly all silly and staged. It's not my cup of brew — but others like it, so so be it. That S&M and B&D may be reflective of authoritarian social relations and therefore "bad" is another topic. And hopefully people have the right to be "bad" in their own privacy without the interference of sanctimonious anarchists.)

To recklessly mislocate the very real problem of violence against women, in a media where it hardly exists, and exists only as *representation*, makes a mockery of women's issues. (One feminist reading a draft of this article, chided me for even bringing up the issue of "violence," the real issue being *freedom and taste*.)

Porn being a mostly white/het-ero/male (though gays have made significant inroads) business — like all business — will of course reflect those prevailing attitudes, and can be as commercial and crass as anything else, i.e. sex used as a vehicle to sell products. But Blake doesn't deal with those problems e.g. mostly white actors; mostly het-male oriented material and acts (you're more likely to see a woman going down on a guy than vice-versa, phone porn caters mostly to straight guys, as do porn shops, etc.); you'll see more nude women than men; and the sometimes depiction of women as *only* sex-object bimbos (a matter of context and interpretation). Porn also mimics Hollywood/Madison Avenue in the body-fascism of mostly portraying only the "perfect body." And often the sex ain't sexy enough: too many close ups of only faces or penetration and not the whole steamy view; too little (for my tastes) passion/love; stuff too staged, with lousy, silly acting etc.

The (hmm!) photo accompanying "Porn In Flames" of a nude guy and woman kissing and embracing is a good example of much of the above (and is also representative of what most of porn is: *sexy fun, not violence*): they both have Hollywood-tanned "perfect bodies," he's got big arms, she's got big tits, she's a blonde (of course), and you can see her ass and not his, i.e. it's het-male oriented. So do we smash the photo? Do we turn off Star Trek because it exhibits and embodies many of the problems of porn?? Do we not turn on a light because its juice comes from a nuke??? Maybe Rolling Stones music should be banned from the next Love and Rage gathering because some of their lyrics may be construed as sexist. Gimme a break. In this imperfect world we make a million compromises a day — or we'd perish. One can look at the photo, get past its limitations — and then go have fun with it! (I did a few times!!) We do the same all day long with non-porno TV, movies, songs, books etc. etc. Like comedy, hardcore, or sci-fi, porn is simply another genre. And in being so it can be "good," "bad," "right," or "wrong" like any other mode of expression. (But people get *sooo* nervous when something sexual is added). To jump from problematic porn (or problematic *anything*) to condemning all of it is *irrational*, it's *hysteria*. In such wells of fanaticism is where *fascism* breeds. This is the ABC of examining any subject — it's grammar school (scuze the ageism). But it's back to basics with the anti-porn yahoos — as many of them have never even viewed real porn.

LETTERS

3) Fielder, Spies, and Parsons all spoke that night, but, according to the Mayor of Chicago, their speeches were tamer than usual and he asked the police Captain to send his men home.

4) Rudolph Schnaubelt was an anarchist and may have been involved in the bomb throwing, although it is highly doubtful he was an agent provocateur. Anarchist historian Paul Avrich has discovered that the bomb thrower might have been an anarchist from the area.

Although the Haymarket bomb and the aftermath caused a severe crack-down on radical activity, it was also a source of inspiration for others such as Emma Goldman, Voltairine de Cleyre, etc. The martyrs remained dedicated until the moment they were silenced by the state. Perhaps the most emotional part of it all to me is the final part of Louis Lingg's speech to the court that sentenced him to death. "I despise you. I despise your order, your laws, your force-propped authority. Hang me for it!"

Britt
Chicago, IL

can be found in the Love and Rage Network Internal Discussion Bulletin — send some stamps to PO Box 581354, Mpls, MN 55458-1354.]

Uh huh, it's true, I used to have Politically Correct (PC) "politics," just like before that I had all the correct Catholic "morals." So I'd bike messenger past all those sinful midtown Manhattan porno joints and movie houses with my nose up in the air — except something else would also pop up too!

Nature called, Satan's voice proved too strong, and I dove into planet porn, freeing myself of the *hatred of life* and *fun* so endemic to religion and politics.

Richard Blake in "Porn In Flames" (Vol.2 No.10, December 1991) not only makes the fatal error of never defining porn but errs again in always linking it to, and making it synonymous with, violence against women. I'll define

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:

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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.

DISCUSSION BULLETIN

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

Available for some stamps from:
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The point is that porn should be liberated from its ghetto, not suppressed. Instead of strafing the ghetto of porn we should explode its reified barriers and allow sexuality to be a part of everyday life and not some uptight hidden and special category. If the human body and sex weren't so mystified and private, surrounded by guilt, shame, hate and fear, then none of this would be such a big deal. But ironically it's the repressed erotophobes that help maintain problematic porn — repress the bad stuff and you'll repress attempts to make it better.

Psych 101 tells us that when something is suppressed/repressed it's bound to take on "deformed" qualities. So repress coke and you'll get shootouts; repress prostitution and you'll get violent pimps; repress freedom of speech and you'll get dissidents huddled in small rooms having "conversations" via note pads and who'll then swallow or flush their "conversations"; repress nudity and you'll get panic reactions from people caught unclothed and anal-retentive nuts writing complaints to *Love and Rage* for its use of a nude photo. (Believe it or not, they've been received. See the February 1992 issue letters page.)

So by repressing sex/porn you'll only encourage the worst aspects of it. Indeed, President Johnson's 1967-'70 National Commission on Obscenity and Pornography concluded that the problem of sexual violence and "anti-social behavior" isn't sexual imagery but "the inability or reluctance of people in our society to be open and direct in dealing with sexual matters." And according to a FACT flyer: "We need a more, rather than a less, developed sexual culture where women as well as men can freely (and explicitly) express ourselves." So let's make our own porn! Any takers? (Sour-puss sex-police not invited.)

SOME OTHER NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS

— The sex-police and the PC have many on edge the way they blur sex/sexuality/fun/life with sexism. Over and over again I've seen consensual affection/teasing/flirting/ass-grabbing/sexual jibes/joking or simple hornyness denounced as "sexist." Once in a car with a PC friend I said to him of a passing woman (without me gawking or being noticeable at all) "I'm in love!" He said "Now Joey, don't be sexist." Was he kidding?? Nope. Sheet, what an engaged and fun world the PCs have! Is it wrong to be lonely and attracted to someone? Is it un-PC to feel lust?

At the *Love and Rage* Minneapolis meeting last summer a group of us at lunch heard that others had planned an anti-porn plank for the *Love and Rage* political statement. We moaned and I turned to a tough, well known and liked woman friend and said I'd be away for the debate and asked if she was going to take on the anti-pornos. To my surprise she said no — she said she was too intimidated by their authoritarianism.

A woman who wrote of her experiences with sexism at the 1989 San Francisco Anarchist Gathering noted as an example a guy headed to S.F. on the same bus as she who said he hoped to meet some girls there. This funphobe nun admonished him by claiming that Gatherings are only for politics, not finding lovers. (Really? *Where's she been!*) It's that type of be-

havior that makes politicians so hated by so many. (A hatred expressed to me too many times to count.) They make life miserable, they oppress the lonely. They hate life and flip whenever anyone exhibits any.

Let's be honest: the accusation "sexist" is sometimes tossed around too loosely or gratuitously or demagogically. Too many guys are cowed by this. Too many guys and women are afraid to broach the sexual because of it. Misuse of the term sexist undermines the battle against sexism. The uncalled for intimidating use of it is authoritarian.

— "It offends me" is the mantra of parents, priests, bosses, and now the PC. We've all heard it. With that phrase neurotic busybody authoritarians can bring to a standstill anything they wish to in order that the rest of us are subjected to their hangups. "Offensive" and "sex" are synonymous with these people. It's time the rest of us stop being accommodating to their whining. It's they who are forcing themselves onto others.

A few wacko examples:

In a hardcore personals newspaper I found a nude photo of a guy offering himself as a "nude butler" (yuk! yuk!). So I glued a photo of my face on his and got howls from all I showed it to — except at the *Love and Rage* office. A copy of it got ripped down from their bulletin board after someone was "offended" by it! Across town a copy of the same remained untouched on the Libertarian Book Club (anarchists, not Libertarian Party) bulletin board where anarchists act anarchist and grown up ('scuze the ageism) and don't impose authority to censor even if "offended." (Actually, they all wanted to take the "nude butler" offer!)

An anarchist woman (involved in *Love and Rage*) attends a women's meeting. Her shirt's loose and a shoulder strap falls down (yikes!!!). Afterwards she's admonished for this "offensive" occurrence!

This winter in a Berkeley diner an "offended" female waiter refused to serve a customer. Customer's crime? Reading a *Playboy* (ironically opened to an article on *freedom of speech* by Nat Hentoff!). 100 offensive freedom lovers responded by bringing *Playboys* and having a read-in in the diner. The outcome? The owner decides that if a waiter is "offended" by a customer they're free to refuse service and the manager will take over for them.

But what if the manager is "offended" too? No french fries??

It's easy to see where all this leads: people are also "offended" by others' hairstyles, clothes, scents, language, thoughts....

The much talked about "new puritanism," regulating "offensive behavior," is a fact of life. Fascistic (I mean it) "anarchists" are helping to lead the way.

— Objectification? Yes, reducing people to only tits or biceps sucks, as does fetishizing bodies/body parts and demanding they conform to certain looks/standards. But guess what? We are "objects" (a prominent feminist activist turned me on to that idea) — hopefully to be adored and not crassly considered — but "objects" — however vibrantly occupying space — nonetheless. Do we sin if we admire/get off on/enjoy a breast or arm muscle? Why is it okay to "objectify"/admire a landscape, a house, a painting, a book, someone's dress, a singer's voice, a dancer's moves, someone's hair, but never the (ooo! ugh!) body proper? Only in the limited uncivilized world of the PC does "objectification" always have to be sexist, manipulative, exploitative, and harassing. The intrusive "male objectifying gaze" exists — but gazes are had also in other contexts, and women certainly engage in them too.

People delight in each other's looks; their "objectifying," their gazes thrill. The PC priests would kill this joy.

— That some women are exploited and mistreated in the vast porn industry is a given. But so is the opposite as women in the industry testify to. So what else is new? Throw out the baby with the bathwater??

— Porn is outlawed/absent in violent cultures tyrannizing women: China, Iran, African societies performing clitoridectomies. Porn flourishes in

Holland and Scandinavia where reportedly harassment and violence against women is very low.

Let the sex-police explain it.

— I've asked two "anarchist" sex-KGB whether a photo of two guys having sex and a photo of me and a female lover getting it on were "violence against women" and "sexist." With straight faces they answered yes. Am I missing something?

On the phone recently with a sex-FBI she yelled that I was her "murderer" and "raper" because I like porn. Uh huh. This was just after I'd been reading to myself a sex mag story about a guy kissing and licking his girlfriend's feet (yum, yum!).

Am I missing something?

— Blake says he's against censorship. But "Porn In Flames" uses code language to the contrary: "Fight it [porn] in the streets...." i.e. trash sex joints etc. Censors are censors whether it's the totalitarianism of the mob or the state. My response is decoded: such activity should be physically countered. Poses can be arranged. I'll be on board. I kid ye not.

— Famed anti-porno would-be censor Andrea Dworkin (positively mentioned in "Porn In Flames"), who's another who says that "porn = violence," has a new book out: *Mercies*. It has violent detail about an abused woman. Dworkin was asked whether some might find her work "pornographic." She said yes. Huh? So objectively she's a "pornographer" who'd enact laws to ban her own book?! Dworkin has another book: *Inter-course*. Her theme is that hetero fucking automatically oppresses women.

What's her real problem? Yahoos, what's your real problem??



— Is there such a thing as "pornography victims"? Does porn cause violence against women? I'll quote from a leaflet of the (now defunct) women only Feminist Anti-Censorship Taskforce (FACT): "Does social science research prove that pornography causes violence against women? No. Proponents of anti-pornography legislation cite a handful of flawed and limited studies to support their claim that pornography causes violence against women. But, in fact, there is no such consensus among social scientists. Even those who argue that violent pornography may harden attitudes in men already angry do not claim a simple cause and effect relationship between image and act."

Conservative state panels in the US, Canada, and the UK tried to find evidence linking porn to violence. Guess what? They couldn't find any. As with anything there may be a few cases — but that doesn't make a case.

Violence against women is as old as the hills. Porno as we know it is new. Shouldn't we concentrate on the real (not the occasional celluloid) violence against women? Karate lessons anyone?? (All invited to my class except the sour pussers.)

— I've talked to many who are unaware of the porn debate that rocked the feminist movement in the early/mid 80's. It fed off of an infamous anti-porno law that Dworkin and Catharine MacKinnon tried unsuccessfully to pass in Minneapolis. Much of the fight was taken on by FACT. FACT had tons of leading feminists sign on. FACT and other women saw any attack on sexual material as an attack on

women freely expressing their sexuality — something women are repressed for. They battled against forces that hate sex and hate women.

Well, the anti-censors won, a vast body of anti-censorship or pro-porn literature was produced by women, and FACT threw a party (with a live strip act!).

When I've remarked to a few prominent feminist women friends of this renewed debate on porn by "anarchists" they could only laugh or moan and wonder at the fools who'd try to reinvent a wheel that never turned. Yo people, this debate's been done already. It's a bore. (But boredom and collectivist control is exactly what religious/PC elites have in mind for us sinners.)

— All of which leads to no apologies from me, no defensiveness. I'll engage in no trendy, wimpy, self-flagellating posturing about being a "white, het, male" (a sex-yahoo accused me of that!) who has to go to confession or to a PC reeducation camp. Plenty of women have already spoken on this issue, and I'm with them. The "debate" needs an unapologetic viewer and fan of porn — and so I throw in my 69 cents.

This flaming-hetero doesn't like porn, he loves porn. (Just as I love comedy, sci-fi, and hardcore.) Who are all these dull fucking "anarchists"? Y'all need some freedom, some *libertine* in your anemic "libertarianism." The bores of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) far, far outshine many anarchists when it comes to fighting for individual liberties and freedom — something which ought to be the soul of anarchism. It's a shame, it's embarrassing, that there's "debate" about what we are (nude) and what we do (have sex) and that some of us enjoy experi-

encing the representation of such. It's infantile. If it's okay to have sex, or to fantasize about sex, then doesn't it follow that viewing sex has the same validity? But lucid conceptualization can not penetrate the irrational pabulum dimensionality of the yahoos. I may as well be justifying the legitimacy of eating, bicycling, or taking naps. That the act of one flipping through a porn mag, enjoying a photo of a nude couple licking each other constitutes "rape" or leads one to "rape" after viewing this "rape" is not worth consideration of debate — it's fatuous. Using clownish lines of argument to promote women's liberation is sexist.

I've spent a lot of unfun years around both leninists and the religious. I can smell them coming (p.u.!). Without exaggeration, based on lengthy experience, I can say I find no difference of consequence between them and kindred authoritarians in the "anarchist" scene. I mean it. Show a photo of an unfettered (unclothed) human being to any of the above and you'll get the same *misanthropic* response.

Anarchy is not about being repressed and a pitiful masochistic denial of pleasure and joy. Sacrifice is for leninists and Catholics et al.

Yahoos: Get loose and join the real world — You've got nothing to lose but your scowls!

THE SEXETARIAT OF THE WORLD MUST UNITE!

Joey Homicides (The Sultan of Sex), charter member, Nympho Nation — coed chapter. (Sorry, fans, but circumstances have forced me to use a pseudonym.)

April/May?

The Production Group decided to jump ahead an issue this month. Due mostly to money problems, *Love and Rage* has usually come out late. Well, we're sick of it and we've been working really hard to catch up. This issue has a May focus and should be in your hands in the first week of May. The next issue should be the June issue, and you should receive it in the last week of May. And, from now on, you should receive issues a week before the beginning of the month. ★

BY RACHEL RINALDO

ON APRIL 8, PERU'S PRESIDENT, Alberto Fujimori, fully supported by the military, dissolved the elected Congress and declared martial law. He also suspended the Constitution, dismissed the Supreme Court, arrested respected journalists and rounded up members of the moderate-left opposition party APRA (Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana - Popular Alliance of the American Revolution). The former President, Alan Garcia, a member of APRA, is in hiding.

Fujimori's stated reason for the coup was that the corruption of congress and the courts prevented him from carrying out necessary reforms. Given the serious nature of the guerilla war being waged in the highlands and recently in the cities, as well as the expanding cocaine economy, it is more plausible that he saw constitutional law as an obstacle to implementing his program of austerity economics and counterinsurgency. Add to this the fact that Peru's economy is probably the worst in the region.

Peru has a long history of turning to the military in times of trouble. The most recent military government took power in a coup in 1968, overthrowing President Fernando Belaunde Terry. This was no ordinary right-wing military regime. General Alvarador undertook a plan to transform the basic economic and social structures, and to end dependence on the US, seeking a "third way" which was "neither capitalist nor communist." He began sweeping agrarian reforms, labor reforms, and educational reform, but he also ensured that the media and the educational system were firmly under state control.

By the late 70s Peru's debt was so bad that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) took over the economy, and almost none of the social programs from the early part of that decade survived. The military conceded failure and called for an election. In 1980, Belaunde returned to power with a coalition of leftist parties. He inherited an economy in decay, and a huge rural indigenous and mestizo population, mostly Quechua, living in drastic poverty.

The military government, however, unknowingly paved the way for a serious Maoist insurgency, Sendero Luminoso, the Shining Path. The regime had had a strategy of trying to incorporate peasants into the system through various social programs, which was mostly a failure, but it did have the effect of preparing the ground for someone better to come in and organize. This is exactly what happened when Sendero militants spent a year organizing the region of Ayacucho, and burst onto the scene in May 1980 with their dramatic burning of a ballot box in a small village.

Sendero has its roots in the person of Jose Mariategui, who founded the so-

cialist party of Peru in 1908. He believed in revolution through armed struggle. The socialist party was the only Marxist organization in the country until the early 60s, when it started to splinter. In 1964 it split into a pro-Soviet faction which favored peaceful reformism and a Maoist faction, which relied on armed struggle. In 1970 a new faction split off from the Maoist faction. Led by a university professor, Abimael Guzman, it called itself the Communist Party of Peru — by way of the Shining Path of Mariategui — or Sendero Luminoso.

Throughout the 70s Sendero organized in rural universities to develop support bases and recruit future militants. They set up "Popular Schools" in rural villages to indoctrinate peasants and indigenous communities into their ideology, and to raise class consciousness. Education departments at local universities were soon taken over by Sendero converts. Sendero carefully chose to work in regions which had the right conditions — local schools, no democratic tradition, and a history of anti-state activism, as well as a large indigenous population. Sendero reached out to indigenous communities by speaking the local dialects and addressing specific local problems. In its first year of armed activity, 1980-81, there were 482 incidents of Sendero military activity.

Sendero now controls the entire North-South strip of the Andes mountain range, and has been directing its efforts toward the cities for the past few years, where it has been moderately successful. Their main popular support remains in the mountains, but is extremely loyal. In these regions an indigenous economy exists, paralleling the main economy. Just before the coup, 2/3 of Peru had already declared emergency zones, in which the military had full control, and this has pushed many over to Sendero's side. Sendero also controls most of the prisons on the inside. Although the US government makes much of Sendero's alleged drug connections, the drug war is fundamentally an excuse for the US to fight a counter-insurgency war in Peru and neighboring Bolivia and Colombia.

Sendero has an extremely hierarchical organization and a complex ideology. Without exception, those at the top are middle class intellectuals. Their National Central Committee, made up of Guzman and his top lieutenants, is responsible for all decisions on ideology, policy and strategy, and has conferences every few years to make these decisions. The last known one was in 1988. Below that are 6 Regional Committees, which have a lot of autonomy and are responsible for all Sendero activity within their geographic boundaries. Each of these has zones, sectors, and cells, all with their own military detach-

ments. The 5 levels of the organization are sympathizers, activists, militants, commanders, and the Central Committee. There is also an enormous nationwide network of smaller support groups called Popular Aid of Peru which was only discovered in 1988. Another coalition of support organizations in Lima, mainly for recruitment and propaganda, is called the People's Revolutionary Defense Movement. In addition, Sendero has supporting groups in other countries. In the US, the Revolutionary Communist Party heavily supports Sendero, and even operates a US office for them in San Francisco.

Sendero's guerilla tactics are meant to force the military into becoming even

treme violence and fanaticism, and both have cynically used the plight of rural peasants for their own purposes. The Peruvian government has done exactly what Sendero wanted, which is to prove itself undemocratic. Fujimori says he will hold elections soon, and that martial law is only temporary, but that's what every military dictatorship says when it takes power (look at Haiti, for example). According to the capitalist press, 70% of the population of Lima supports Fujimori, but we'll see where that support goes when the military really starts clamping down in the next few months. Repression will play right into Sendero's hands. Meanwhile, Peru looks like a good pick for the

What Next in Peru?

more repressive, to further disrupt the economy, and to make the government look weak, but oppressive. Their favorite targets are military officers, and infrastructure (roads, pipelines, bridges, etc) and especially electrical facilities. Sabotage of these exhausts government money and makes it look inefficient. Provoking military repression is the major tactic for getting support these days. Once the masses are recruited, Sendero believes the government will lose all its support and the masses and the revolutionary army will become one. Sendero makes strategy in a centralized way, but tactical planning is decentralized, and this has been one of the keys to their success. Sendero also has built up a huge cult of personality around Guzman, who is called Comrade Gonzalo.

Sendero heavily targets the left. They often assassinate prominent leftists who are not pro-Sendero. Between Sendero and the military, most of the left and potential opposition has been destroyed, so that there are few alternatives. A few small anarchist groups exist, including one anarcho-syndicalist group and another revolutionary anarchist group, one member of which is in prison (see page 10). They are very much supportive of resistance and revolution, but are not pro-Sendero. The Tupac Amaru are another armed struggle group, also made up of intellectuals, but they have almost no popular support.

What will happen in Peru? Sendero has been compared to the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, which seems pretty accurate. They share the same tactics of ex-

US's next military intervention, though it would be much messier than Panama or the Persian Gulf. It seems unlikely though, that Bush would stand by while a Maoist government seized power.

The cocaine economy is growing because there is literally no other way for farmers to make enough money to feed their families. The government has promised hospitals, schools, and social programs for years now, but they never deliver because they spend the money on counter-insurgency. When children in Ayacucho were recently asked by a reporter what they wanted to do with their lives, they said "Yo quiero ser terrorista." — I want to be a terrorist.

The immediately apparent options for Peru are grim: A bloody counter-insurgency war, or a bloody Sendero victory. But a crisis as deep as Peru's holds out the possibility of many outcomes. The Peruvian anarchist movement, the autonomous organizations in Lima's shantytowns and a peasantry caught in crossfire between Sendero and the Peruvian military, are all forces that represent the possibility of a revolutionary alternative. International solidarity with these forces seems key at the moment. An escalation of US military involvement in Peru will tend to narrow the possibilities, and will probably drive the people of Peru into the arms of Sendero. Anarchists in the US are in a position to resist such aggression, but we will need to know more about the struggles in Peru to be able to help keep the possibilities open. ★

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 Ricans 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 Quebec 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.

BY WAYNE PRICE

WHILE MALCOLM X WAS alive he was hated by the establishment politicians, the "respectable" Black leaders, and the capitalist newspapers. He was called an "extremist," "irresponsible," "radical," and "a man of violence." The largest nationalist organization, the Nation of Islam, which he had done so much to build, threw him out and called for his death. (Louis Farakhan, now leader of the current Nation of Islam, was one of those loudest in demanding his blood.) When he was finally shot down in February 1965 the newspaper editorials declared primly "he that lives by the sword dies by the sword."

Now that he is safely dead, Malcolm X is popular. However, two main myths have been created about him. One is that he became another liberal integrationist. The other is that he remained a Black nationalist. The truth is that Malcolm X was moving beyond the limits of the integrationist/nationalist either/or alternative.

THE LIBERAL MYTH

The Autobiography of Malcolm X, edited by Alex Haley, reads as if Malcolm X broke with the Nation of Islam because of the corruption of its dictator, Elijah Muhammad. Then Malcolm X became an orthodox Muslim and gave up nationalism for integrationism.

There is truth in this, but it leaves a lot out. Malcolm X's main quarrel with Muhammad was over the Nation's conser-

vatism and lack of militancy. The Nation's leaders, especially Malcolm X, denounced the mainstream civil rights leaders for their nonviolence, their reliance on the Democrats, their acceptance of the crumbs thrown them by the white power structure.

Yet the integrationists were leading thousands of Black people in struggles for their rights, while the Nation did nothing but talk. The Nation's positive program amounted to little more than praying to Allah to someday give Black people their own country.

Malcolm X strongly wanted the Nation of Islam to become part of the movement. According to the Black writer, Louis Lomax, "Malcolm was consistently pressing Elijah Muhammad for permission to become involved in demonstrations...It finally came to the point that Elijah ordered Malcolm not to raise the matter again."

The immediate incident that led to the split was the assassination of President Kennedy. Elijah Muhammad told his ministers to keep quiet so as not to annoy anyone. But when Malcolm X was asked about it at a press conference, he called it "chickens coming home to roost." He felt that the leaders of a society which enslaved Black people through violence will often die through violence, and this was nothing to mourn. At this point, in 1964, he was forced out of the Nation.

Malcolm X split with the Nation of Islam, not to become a non-violent integrationist, but to be more militant, more

Malcolm X Myths



active, and more radical. He traveled to Africa, the Middle East, and Europe in his last year, not only to undergo a Muslim pilgrimage, but also to meet international revolutionaries. He became impressed that the people he respected in these countries were always some sort of revolutionary socialist. There is no doubt that, in a general way, Malcolm X was becoming a socialist. "All of the countries that are emerging from under the shackles of colonialism are turning toward socialism...It's impossible for a white person to believe in capitalism and not believe in racism. You can't have capitalism without racism."

THE NATIONALIST MYTH

Malcolm X never stopped believing in the importance of Black pride and Black consciousness and a psychological and political orientation toward Africa. He never stopped believing in the importance of Black self-organization. He continued to oppose "integration" as a program: the assimilation of Black people into US society. But he abandoned the program of Black nationalism — contrary to what many nationalists of today claim.

An interviewer asked him, in January 1965, if he still called for a separate country for Black people in North America. He answered, "No, I believe in a society in which people can live like human beings of the basis of equality." He called for "dealing with humanity as a family." According to the Nigerian scholars, Ruby and E.U. Essien-Udom, "Once he had made the break [with the Nation], Malcolm passed successfully from a narrowly defined Black nationalist outlook to a Pan-Africanism that merged into a Third World political perspective. And

at the time of his death, he was on the verge of becoming a revolutionary socialist."

He expanded his revolutionary internationalism. He stated, "I believe that there will ultimately be a clash between the oppressed and those that do the oppressing. I believe that there will be a clash between those who want freedom, justice and equality for everyone and those who want to continue the systems of exploitation. I believe that there will be that kind of clash, but I don't think that it will be based upon the color of the skin, as Elijah Muhammad had taught it."

ANARCHISM AND MALCOLM X

Malcolm X was not an anarchist. And anarchists of his time were unable to create a pole of attraction in the Black liberation movement which could have influenced him.

However, there is an enormous amount anarchists can learn from Malcolm X. Whether or not he fits into our book, he was a great revolutionary. He hated this system and he spoke for the oppressed.

Among other things, we can learn from his evolution out of the integrationist/nationalist box. Hopefully anarchists would defend the right of Blacks to separate out, or integrate into, the rest of "American" society. More likely, Black people will struggle for the right to be a free, self-defined community within a multi-cultural society, neither "separationist nor integrationist." But that is for African-Americans to decide.

In any event, as Malcolm X taught, US Blacks will play a major role in the coming US revolution and in the worldwide "clash between the oppressed and those that do the oppressing." ★

The Beauty Myth



The Beauty Myth: How Images of Beauty Are Used Against Women, by Naomi Wolf. William Morrow and Co, Inc: New York, NY 1991. Hardcover \$21.95.

BY TOMMY LAWLESS

I WISH EVERY WOMYN COULD read this book. I ate it up (even though I was angry the entire time I was reading it). Naomi Wolf's *The Beauty Myth* was released in May of 1991 and comes at a time when frightening numbers of young wimmin scoff at feminism, feel that making noise is unnecessary today, feel cut off from any community of wimmin, feel distanced from "wimmin's issues."

The Beauty Myth is very timely, and the crises surrounding breast implants and our threatened reproductive rights only increases its timeliness. For those of us wimmin seeking to stir up revolution, there is revolution in this book.

Wolf points the way to bring these disenfranchised, disinterested young sisters into the arena of dissent. She surfaces the issue these wimmin are closest to: body-hating in all its forms — anorexia, bulimia, compulsive eating and dieting, cosmetic consumerism, cosmetic surgery — and exposes the "why" behind this hatred. Wolf stacks up the statistics. "Each year, according to the (American Anorexia and Bulimia) Association, 150,000 American women die of anorexia...more deaths in the United States alone than the total number of deaths from AIDS [worldwide]." She reveals wide-spread self-hatred among wimmin to be a purposefully infected disease. Infected by whom? By those

who stand to profit from the illness, those getting rich selling wimmin back our self-esteem, those behind the "powerful industries — the \$33 billion a year diet industry, the \$20 billion cosmetic industry, the \$300 million (and growing 10% a year) cosmetic surgery industry...[that] have arisen from the capital made out of [our] unconscious anxieties..." She tells wimmin: if we feel fat and ugly, it's not our fault.

Wolf also adds to the breast implant controversy a depth that is lacking in the popular press. While the FDA hems and haws on whether silicon gel implants should remain legal or not (imposing a temporary ban and setting up a system to "register and track," like so many geese, wimmin who opt to have the implants), everyone else — from communists to capitalists — screams at each other. The crucial issue at debate seems to be whether wimmin can be "trusted" or not to make decisions for ourselves, or whether the government needs to make decisions for us. But the issue, as Wolf reveals, goes much deeper. Wimmin considering breast enlargement, reconstruction, or, indeed, any cosmetic surgery, are purposefully kept ignorant of the risks involved, are not even informed of the short-term risks and pain, much less health hazards in the long-term. And thus, in the absent availability of this information, the question of whether or not wimmin can be "trusted" with our own decisions is entirely moot. (I find it interesting that one implant manufacturer is offering \$600 in damages and a new set of implants to every womyn signing a contract to never sue

the company! If this isn't an admission of guilt, I don't know what is.) In addition, Wolf probes the ugly answers to "Why are wimmin in such large numbers willing to risk our lives for bigger breasts?" She unmasks beauty oppression in everyday life, from employment discrimination, to the media messages rammed home all day, every day.

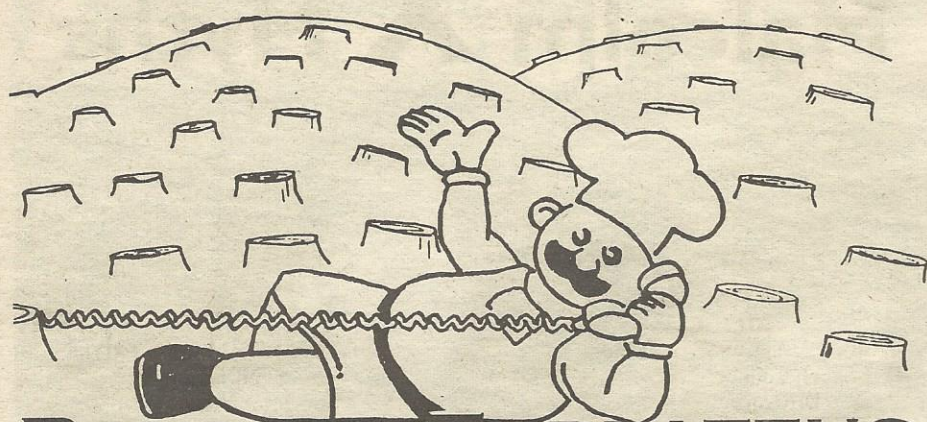
In the book's last chapter, "Beyond the Beauty Myth," Wolf calls for nothing short of a revolution. She encourages wimmin (particularly young, disconnected wimmin) to come together over these self-hate issues: to heal and awaken ourselves, to educate and empower ourselves, to examine the legacy of body-bashing we have inherited in the 80s and 90s. This self-hatred is the Personal that must become Political now. Wolf suggests consciousness raising circles as well as direct action against the oppressors.

These "beauty" issues compliment the issues around reproductive rights because, after all, our bodies and our will are at (the) stake. Encouragingly, in Wimmin's Herstory Month (March) 1992, the alternative press is positively sprouting with reports of wimmin reclaiming our bodies through reproductive self-help groups: learning how to treat our own body ailments and monitor our own health, from breast and gynaecological exams to yeast infections to

abortion at home, as we share the life experiences written in our bodies. This is where revolution begins — in kitchens and living rooms, with people we know.

Before wrapping up, however, I must mention a failing I see in *The Beauty Myth*. The book talks mostly of and to white middle-class wimmin. And while Wolf does address some race/class issues, she leaves out the western world's entire herstory of idealizing aryan beauty features: no mention of the "paper bag test" (for skin), nor the "fine-toothed-comb test" (for kinky hair) African-descended people were required to pass for admission into "whites only" establishments; no mention of the purposeful breeding of quadroons and octoroons for the profit and pleasure of slaveholders, nor little else of this deep herstory; and no connection of this past with the aryan idealization that is still omnipresent in our cultural images (and imagination) today. An entire volume (or ten) could be written on this subject alone. Nevertheless, *The Beauty Myth* is powerful, informative, enraging, and, I hope, revolution-bringing.

I know I'm ready "to make some long-overdue scenes," to be rowdy, shameless, outrageous, and out-of-control. If you are ready too, get a hold of this book, pass it around, and let's bring our sisters (even our quietly suffering sisters) with us to the barricades! ★



BOYCOTT THREATENS CLEARCUTTERS

BY KEVIN THOMAS

SUPPORTERS OF THE LUBICON Lake Indian Nation's land rights struggle in Canada have turned up the heat on the Nation's enemies with an international boycott campaign against the transnational Daishowa corporation. Daishowa is the huge paper manufacturer that plans to clear-cut almost the entire unceded traditional territory of the Lubicon Lake people.

The Lubicons have waged a struggle for recognition of their aboriginal land rights for over fifty years. Located in the oil-rich territory near Peace River in northern Alberta, the 500 member community has had its territory overrun by oil and gas companies who destroyed the nation's traditional hunting and trapping economy and forced 95% of them onto welfare. Since the early 1980s the Lubicons have organized some of the most inspiring and militant resistance to the destruction of their community, including setting up passport control points on all access roads to their lands, an international boycott of the Calgary Winter Olympics in 1988, national and international demonstrations, shut-ins of unauthorized oil operators on their land and now the boycott action against Daishowa.

Daishowa obtained leases to clearcut the Lubicon territories from the Provincial government in 1989. The aspen cut there will be used to feed their massive pulp mill in nearby Peace River. Despite a verbal agreement made with the Lubicons on March 7, 1988, not to cut on Lubicon territories until a land rights settlement had been reached, Daishowa began cutting in late 1990 through its subsidiaries. They were warned that any unauthorized development on Lubicon territories was subject to removal without notice, however the warning went unheeded. Buchanan Lumber, a Daishowa subcontractor, had its logging camp burnt out one late November night that year, which caused \$25,000 in damage.

While that held them back for one year, Daishowa again planned to cut last fall. They deny that any agreement was ever reached with the Lubicons and refuse to make a commitment not to cut or buy wood from uncaded Lubicon territories until the land rights settlement is reached. Therefore Lubicon supporters began a boycott campaign. The boycott was announced by the Friends of the Lubicon, a Toronto support group, at a press conference at the Assembly of First Nations in Ottawa last November. Since Daishowa doesn't sell its products directly to the public, the group is targeting companies that use Daishowa paper bags. Most of the companies targeted have made the switch from Daishowa to another supplier. Those that don't are threatened with boycott action as well. To date, Cultures Fresh Foods, Knechtel's Wholesale Grocers, NOW Magazine, Mr C's Donuts, Ho-Lee-Chow, Safeway's, the YMCA, the Body Shop, the Liquor Control Board of Ontario and more have joined the boycott. Pizza Pizza, a large pizza chain, initially refused to give up using Daishowa paper bags, and were hit with an intense boycott campaign themselves. Lubicon supporters staged pickets, leaf-lettings, and poster campaigns around their outlets across Ontario, convinced advertising sources to

cancel Pizza Pizza ads, and staged a phone blockade to their call-in order line. After three months of this, the Pizza giant was forced to give in, albeit reluctantly, and cancel contracts for Daishowa bags.

Tom Hamaoka, Vice President of Daishowa Canada Co. Ltd., has admitted publicly that the boycott is hurting them. The company has already delayed plans for clearcutting this winter, although they still plan to go in next winter. Also, their attempts to sell the Peace River mill have been thwarted, as its potential buyers have been made aware that they will be subject to major trouble.

The boycott has also been effective in forcing the federal government to move on the Lubicon land rights. Negotiations between the feds and the Lubicons were sabotaged by a take-it-or-leave-it offer from the feds three years ago. Since then the feds have spent millions of dollars in efforts to disrupt Lubicon society and discredit them with a well orchestrated propaganda campaign. Since the boycott, began, they have called for several meetings with Lubicon Chief Bernard Ominayak. Although these are little more than a transparent attempt to quiet growing dissent and prepare the ground for another propaganda campaign, movement on the feds' part does give Lubicon supporters further opportunities for action.

Tactically, the boycott has had a major effect for two main reasons: 1) Daishowa is already financially strapped due to aggressive over-expansion and needed to sell that mill to cut their debt — something that was made impossible by the mountains of negative publicity the boycott brought on; and 2) the market for pulp is way down, so it was already hard for them to sell in Canada even before the boycott hit. On a local level, businesses are more ready to switch suppliers because, with the recession, they simply can't afford a boycott. And as far as the government is concerned, public awareness and pressure on the Lubicon case is the last thing they want as they near another federal election.

Most important of all, the boycott has empowered people across the country to take on a major transnational right where it counts: in the wallet. There is a lot of genuine concern over aboriginal land and political rights in Canada but much of it has been given no real outlet beyond letter-writing and petitioning government. The boycott has inspired people from all over to find Daishowa products and get them out of circulation, thereby forcing the issue of Lubicon land rights to the forefront. That strong, grassroots participation is ultimately the real radical potential of this ongoing campaign. It's an opportunity for people to feel their own power in a concrete effort to stop what ultimately amounts to genocide within Canada's borders.

For more information on the Lubicon struggle and the Daishowa boycott, contact:

Friends of the Lubicon
485 Ridelle Ave.
Toronto, Ontario M6B 1K6
(416) 783 4694

Recommended reading:

Last Stand of the Lubicon Cree, by John Goddard. Douglas & McIntyre — an excellent history and inspiring story of grassroots struggle.

Anarchist Imprisoned

BY ALAN KRONSTADT

NEW YORK ANARCHIST AND squatter activist Kenny Tolia was sentenced to one year in jail on Monday, April 6 for "incitement to riot" in connection with the MayDay 29 trial (see Vol.3 No.2, February 1992). This is the maximum sentence which can be imposed for a Class A Misdemeanor such as incitement, and is even more startling for its vindictiveness in view of the fact that Kenny has no prior convictions of any kind.

Kenny Tolia was one of the early pioneers in the anarchist/squatter movement on the Lower East Side. Kenny also helped to sustain the soup kitchen at La Plaza Cultural on East 9th Street which fed thousands of people during 1987 and 1988, and fought against the curfew which local gentrifiers tried to impose on Tompkins Square Park during the summer of 1988.

Kenny was arrested on the stage of the Tompkins Square bandshell (since torn down) on May 1, 1990, as cops ignored a deal between concert organizers and the Parks Department for a ten minute extension of the sound permit, and swarmed onto the stage at the exact moment that the permit expired.

Needing a scapegoat for the riot which the cops had provoked by beating Kenny and two concert organizers in full view of the 300 person audience, ranking officer Inspector Michael Julian claimed that the crowd rioted because Kenny made several inciting speeches on the microphone. A string of thirteen cops

under Julian's command testified at the trial, accusing Kenny of making four separate speeches. Conveniently, the only words any of the cops could remember coming from the stage during the four-hour concert were the ones which incriminated Kenny — ie. "Resist," "Fuck the Police," etc.

Justice Richard C. Failla remarked at sentencing that Kenny had a "following" which had to be "deterred," and that the defendants and others at the Mayday concert "were like spoiled children who could not be made to go to bed without a spanking." "But for Kenny Tolia," said Failla, "there would have been no riot."

After his sentencing, he was transferred to a remote prison at Ogdensburg, NY, near the New York-Canadian border, making it extremely difficult for his wife and three year old daughter to visit him.

The job of the prison system is to break Kenny's spirit, and turn him into a cooperative drudge in a decaying social order. Those of us who know him know that this will be impossible. But the pigs are trying. A vegetarian, he is forced to live on soggy vegetables and white bread because only members of "organized religious groups" are entitled to special meals. At present, what Kenny Tolia needs is correspondence from people who share his views and who recognize him as a political prisoner.

Kenny Tolia
Riverview Correctional Facility P.O. Box 247
Ogdensburg, N.Y. 13669
(letters only, no books or packages)

BAY AREA @'S SPIN WEB

THE WEB, AN ANARCHIST NEWSLETTER FOR THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY area, has published two issues already. *The Web* is produced every two months by folks who have been holding regular Trans-Bay anarchist meetings to further cooperation between the East and West Bay anarchist movements. The photocopied 16 page newsletter is a promising development for the large but often fractious Bay Area anarchist movement. Both issues so far have had coverage of a wide range of anti-authoritarian activities as well as an impressive calendar of events. *The Web* is precisely the kind of newsletter a lot of anarchist communities could use to build solidarity between different projects and factions. It is a model for any group trying to unite their local anarchist scene.

Subscriptions are \$10 for a year (6 issues). A couple of bucks should get you a sample copy. Write to:

The Web P.O. Box 40890
San Francisco, CA, 94110
or call tel: (415) 474-9161

Community Radio Bites Back!

ALTHOUGH THE FEDERAL Communications Commission (FCC) thinks it owns the airwaves, activists in Detroit's Cass Corridor are expropriating the frequencies! Since November 24, 1991 until just recently, Cass Corridor residents can tune in to 106.3 FM on Thursday and Sunday nights and get groovy with Radio Free Detroit — a non-commercial, non-profit, non-licensed, pirate radio station. Say the members of the collective in their statement of mission:

"Just as the 1960s underground press movement sprang up against corporate domination of information, so now has the rebel radio movement. For the first time, residents of Detroit's Cass Corridor and surrounding areas can tune in to the city's only anti-commercial, non-government-regulated radio station — Radio Free Detroit.

Our objective is to broadcast alternative programming within a three mile radius of the station several nights each week. Radio Free Detroit is a voice within the community, operated by a diverse group of volunteers broadcasting music, news and information, poetry, plays and documentaries not found on the current AM/FM dial. In short, we will attempt to present and analyze the politics and culture of everyday life — to present ideas in an expressive, direct, and immediate way..."

Although Radio Free Detroit's transmitter is only 10 watts, the stooges at

the FCC don't like it. Seems you used to be able to broadcast at 10 watts, but then in 1978 you had to have 100 watts — and tens of thousands of dollars — to get government approval. On Thursday, January 30 FCC agents and other coppers attempted to raid an apartment building in the Corridor. The music stopped broadcasting as an unidentified woman spoke with the cops through a screen door: "I'd like to inspect your radio." "What radio?" "Do you mind letting us in?" "Do you have a search warrant?" "No." "Then I won't let you in."

Minutes later the cops left, still looking back at the antenna wires coming out of the second story apartment, and Radio Free Detroit was back, playing George Carlin's "Seven Dirty Words." "We're here. We're not going away," said the deejay.

Unfortunately, the FCC came back, and busted some members of the RFD collective, and the station remains off the air. Those charged are facing penalties of jail time ranging from 90 days to 2 years, and fines from \$1,000 to \$100,000. However, the idea lives on. If you want information about pirate radio — just for fun folks, no one would actually want to break federal law, because that would be WRONG — write to:

Friends of Radio Free Detroit
PO Box 11410
Detroit, MI 48211

Unconventional Action

UNCONVENTIONAL ACTION INVITES YOU TO PARTICIPATE IN A WEEK of actions in New York City during the Democratic National Convention. We have applied for permits for a week-long encampment in Central Park and we have been reaching out to activists all around the continent. Within the next few weeks, we will be publishing a newsletter with up to date information about the convention, the latest dirt on the candidates, practical info for people coming from out of town and exciting updates on all the fun that's being planned. Send art, ideas, fantasies and/or opinions.

Together, we can deliver this wake-up call to complacent America. We will not vote. We will work for real change.

Unconventional Action
228 E. 10 Street #24
NYC, NY 10003
or call (212) 465-2548

NOTES of revolt

Meeting Report

THE LOVE AND RAGE NETWORK — the Network of anarchists from around North America who produce *Love and Rage* — recently held one of our regular decision-making meetings. For more complete details about the Network, look at our masthead on page 2 and our political statement on page 4. We hold decision-making meetings roughly every 4 months, and they are open to all supporters of the project.

The Network Council met for the first time over the weekend of March 28th and 29th in Hamilton, Ontario. The meeting was well attended, with about 50 attendees, 17 of whom represented 12 supporting groups.

Several caucuses met — those organized around gender, sexuality, and ethnic background. Due to time constraints, the age and class caucuses didn't meet, and will be prominent on the schedule at the conference this fall.

We listened to reports about the status of several projects going on in and around the Love and Rage Network: the Election Boycott, the anarchy-feminist Health Tour, the Anti-Racist Summer Project, the Durrutti brigades to Chile, and the anarchist contingent to the NOW march on Washington on April 5th. Some decisions were reached and are as follows: Boycott — we decided (despite the failure of a national Boycott organization) to work on the local level, and try to coordinate actions, and that the Production Group would design and print an anti-election poster and send copies out to the Network; Durrutti Brigades — We decided as a Network to endorse the Durrutti Brigades, to run regular updates and requests for assistance in the paper, and to provide logistical support for sending materials to Chile through the NY office.

Although few decisions were made, we talked about the following issues: The Next Conference — we may have a site, and are looking at a date in the late fall, possibly US Thanksgiving; The Next Facilitator — we talked about the need to support the next facilitator better, and our commitment for a woman to be the next facilitator; Location of the office — there was some discussion of moving the office, but there was no existing local group that had a formal proposal for moving the paper; Network Council — we discussed the NC and its functioning — please look in the discussion bulletin for a complete discussion; International Affiliates — it was decided that the Network would list groups from outside North America as "International Affiliates" in the supporting groups list.

There were also several issues which were not discussed — look for ongoing discussion in the *Discussion Bulletin* — **PO Box 581354, Minneapolis, MN 55458-1354.**

With Love and Rage from an Immigration Prison

Dear friends,

Unfortunately, we haven't eliminated borders, and this letter is being written from one of the worst places that governments have created to exercise control over people's liberty: Immigration prisons. Some of us who are participating in the "Buenaventura Durruti" International Brigade came to Canada with the intention of letting people know about, and expounding the activities of the brigade at the Love and Rage Network Council meeting. After just having solicited the support of the North American anarchist movement so that the brigade could move forward with its projects, we were misfortunate on our return to the USA and were detained by the Yanki border police.

As opposed to discouraging us, this incident has only served to augment our desires to continue on with the project. Now, thanks to the support, solidarity and work of various comrades, especially those from *Love and Rage* in New York, the brigade has made important gains — like the beginnings of a Latin American anarchist network. Through these means we like to once again solicit the support and the solidarity of the anarchist community so that the Brigade can begin its activities in Chile. One of the proposals of the Durruti Brigade is to create a space to be able to produce a newspaper and that would serve as a location for the realization of alternative activities like workshops, concerts, a meeting center and a communal kitchen. We are putting special emphasis on the struggle against the oppression of women in Latin America.

The most urgent necessities of the brigade are the donation of a computer and laser printer, disks, audio cassettes (blank or alternative music), a wall projector for VHS/NTSC video, video tapes (blank or alternative material, preferably in Spanish), a fax, fax paper, a photocopier, paper and toner, condoms, pregnancy tests, contraceptive pills, all types of literature about alternative health care methods and financial support.

We thank you in advance for your solidarity with the people and anarchist movement of Latin America. Hoping that this confinement is not in vain.

With Love and Rage,
Ana Hernandez M.

P.S. Many thanks to our Canadian friends for their support in these difficult moments.

For more info about the Brigade write:
P.O. Box 3 Prince St. Station
New York, N.Y. 10012 USA

ANARCHIST CALENDAR

May 1st - 3rd
INTERNATIONAL @ MEETING
Paris, France
Humeur Noires - EDITION
B.P. 79 59370 Mons-En-Baroeul
FRANCE

May 8th - 11th
NATIONAL ATF GATHERING/ REGIONAL
MIDWEST GATHERING
Antioch College, Yellow Springs Ohio
Dayton Anarchist Collective
PO Box 3316
Dayton, OH 45401

May 22nd - 24th
WORKERS SOLIDARITY ALLIANCE
ANNUAL CONVENTION
New York City
for info call:
(212) 979 8353

May 22nd - 25th
LEFT GREEN NETWORK
CONTINENTAL CONFERENCE
Iowa City, Iowa
Left Green Network
PO Box 366 Iowa City, IA 52244
(319) 354 8441

June 28th - July 4th
EARTH FIRST! ROUND RIVER
RENDEZVOUS
San Juan Mts., Colorado
EFI RRR PO Box 1166
Boulder, CO 80306

Sometime this Spring
WEST COAST @ GATHERING
(Between San Diego and Vancouver)
Stefan Wray
2440 16th Street, Box 241
San Francisco, CA 94103



SYNOPSIS OF THE ARTICLES IN THE SPANISH SECTION

Page 2 — Letters — Three letters: the first from an imprisoned "Marielita," one of many Cuban refugees who left Cuba on the Mariel boatlift who are still incarcerated by the US Department of Immigration. Roberto Rodriguez calls the continued detention of Cuban refugees "inhumane" and calls on *Love and Rage* to cover the issue.

A letter by Ana Hernandez of the Durruti Brigade. See the translation in *Notes of Revolt* on this page.

Page 3 — "Our Time Has Come...And Gone." By Kate Star. See

page 8 of the English section where this article appears.

Page 4 — "Nota de Dolor" — An obituary notice for Santiago Cobo, an anarchist comrade and one of the founders of the editorial collective of *Guangara Libertaria*. A letter seeking support for a Peruvian anarchist in prison — see the ABC page in English. "500 years of Struggle and Resistance by Indigenous and Latin American Women," a description of an exhibition commemorating 500 years of struggle. News of the formation of a student anarchist network in Chile.

Big Mountain Ain't Over

THE DINE (NAVAJO) AND HOPI peoples's 17-year struggle to resist forced relocation from their ancestral lands of Big Mountain at Black Mesa, AZ, is reaching critical mass. Harassment from Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) rangers has increased significantly over the past several months. Confiscation of livestock, upon which Navajo families depend, has become commonplace. Demolition of buildings and homes has also begun.

A ban on new construction or maintenance of buildings and the reduction of up to 90% of livestock in the former Joint Use Area is decreed by Public Law 93-531, the 1974 relocation order. PL93-531 created an artificial border between the Navajo and Hopi nations, forcing all Navajo and Hopi people living on the "wrong side of the fence" to relocate from their traditional lands. This campaign is the largest peace-time relocation effort in US history. Over 2,500 Dine and Hopi families are affected.

PL93-531 was supposedly passed as a means of settling a fabricated "land dispute" between the two Nations, who have been living peacefully side-by-side for centuries. The real force behind the relocation order is multinational corporations hoping to exploit the coal seam and other resources lying under the Black Mesa (Peabody Coal Company is planning to open two massive strip-mines at the very heart of the Big Mountain Area).

The Federal Government created a lackey Hopi Tribal Council for the sole purpose of signing mine leases. This Tribal Council is not recognized as legitimate by traditional Hopis. The federally created Navajo Tribal Council is similarly pro-development and pro-mining, and is also illegitimate. Hopi and Navajo elders

and traditional leaders have consistently opposed the mineral exploitation and environmental destruction of their sacred land.

Realizing they would not receive support from the politicians in their tribal councils, nor anywhere else, the traditional Navajo elders and their families at Big Mountain declared themselves a sovereign independent nation in 1979. The creation of the Independent Sovereign Dine Nation marked a key point in the resistance to relocation. As a sovereign nation who had never given up the title nor claim to their land, they further declared the federal government would have to negotiate with them on a nation to nation basis.

PL93-531 had set July 8, 1986 as the deadline for relocation to be completed. Between 1979 and 1986 widespread support for the resistance was generated, with much of the support centered on the Big Mountain Legal Defense/Offense Committee. After the relocation deadline passed without incident in 1986, much of that support dried up.

Due to the recently increased harassment, the people at Big Mountain have put out a call asking for self-sufficient people to come to the land to support and provide witness. The Veterans Peace Action Teams, who have mobilized two massive foodruns to Big Mountain since 1990, are organizing a Spring Foodrun in early April. For more information or to support the foodrun:

Support for Native Sovereignty
(206) 547 3983

Veterans Peace Action Team
(415) 753 2130

Our Time Has Come...and Gone

BY KATE STAR

(Author's Note: This article was written for a North American revolutionary anarchist newspaper, by a middle-class American, about a (working-) class-based British revolutionary newspaper and political federation which condemns the anarchist movement. Perhaps it can still be found useful, despite these inherent limitations.)

THE CLASS WAR FEDERATION, which advocates and works toward (working-) class-based global anti-capitalist revolution, emerged originally (primarily as a newspaper) from the anarchist movement in the 1980s. The paper gained its glowing reputation from its stellar coverage of violent clashes of anarchists with police and other fascists, and of its reporting and analysis of the violence in everyday working-class life in Britain. The paper imitates the widely-read tabloid format of the popular press, using humor and audacity to gain what few anarchist papers ever get — a readership wider than the anarchist scene.

As the readership grew and as the newspaper project matured, Class War underwent a radical transformation, becoming a federation, initiating membership dues, dropping the circle-a in the masthead, and defining itself as distinct from what it declared to be the middle-class dominated, lifestyle-based, and often single-issue-focused anarchist scene. At this transition, some anarchists left Class War, and some former communists joined up, leaving the federation with its unique character.

Not at all a traditional left-party (though it does seem to be increasingly adopting the behaviors of one), Class War is usually viewed in the context of other class-based anarchist organizations in Britain, which include the anarcho-syndicalist Direct Action Movement (DAM), the Anarchist-Communist Federation (ACF), and the Anarchist Worker's Group. (Needless to say, Britain must also be proud to admit that there are large numbers of unaffiliated anarchists and traditional party communists milling about.) Despite a modest number of paying members (under 150), Class War reports a significant number of supporters and is generally agreed to have an influence in the mainstream press disproportionate to its size. The federation is comprised of groups in cities throughout Britain. These groups distribute the paper, organize locally, build the organization, and participate in the production of the internal theoretical publication, *The Heavy Stuff*. The Newspaper Class War, is produced in London.

THE CLASS WAR CONFERENCE

In the fall of 1991, the Class War federation held a five-day international conference in London boldly entitled, "Our Time Has Come." Over here in the colonies, there has been some interest in Class War, so there were a few North Americans at the conference. There were also lots of folks there from Western Europe (north and south) and a small bunch from Australia, but sadly the federation's offer of travel subsidies was not effective in bringing more than one person from Eastern Europe. No one at the conference came from Asia, Africa, or South America. Most of the people were white, and quite a few more than half were men. Meetings were conducted in English with limited translation sometimes available. There were workshops on anti-Capitalism, revolution, Ireland, sexuality, football, the politics of culture, sexism, national liberation movements, prisoner support, community organizing, the New World Order, Europe '92, and other topics. The week ended with a poorly-attended rally and well-attended Chumbawamba show, graced by the presence of feisty fascists and obstructionary police.

To my great pleasure, the conference was rife with political conflict. There were great arguments about a number of topics, but the ones to which I'll devote some attention are the fights about sexism and racism, which are not simply

interesting to me but are also integrally related to the reason I cannot suggest that we all drop everything and join in with Class War's version of class-based international anti-capitalist revolution.

CLASS WAR AND SEXISM

My first run-in with sexism at the conference happened when one of the male organizers was talking to someone I knew. I stopped to listen, and, because they were talking about sexism, he began addressing himself entirely to me, launching into an elaborate defense of the poor representation of women at the conference. I tried to ask questions, but he interrupted me and got even angrier and more defensive, so I went off to find some tea. Later he came up to me and held my arms and, dancingly, told me he hoped I'd go to the party that night. Made me want to fucking puke. This was only the beginning.

Throughout the conference, women-only meetings paralleled the general meetings on some topics. I attended a couple of these things, and there are a couple of reasons why what I saw reinforced my agreement with the idea of those meetings. At first I was shocked to find that the women from Class War didn't seem well versed in the federation's analysis of class politics and internationalist revolution. They seemed basically to identify as British women, rather than as members of an international working class, much less as revolutionaries. They seemed to know very little about the anarchist, feminist, and autonomist movements in the rest of Europe, and this showed itself in great contrast with the women who were not from Class War and who were able to speak about the specific importance to women of imminent changes in the European system.

There was also a difference in that the women from Class War seemed to have less experience with demonstrations and confronting the police. On the other hand, the women from Class War at these meetings did seem to understand the importance of gender in determining class experience, and by the end of the conference, they were able to develop a critique of the federation as male-dominated and concerned mainly with male working class culture and struggle (copies of this critique are available from Revolutionary Group X - address in the contact list).

One night in a pub a woman told me she thought these meetings were a very bad sign for the organization, that the women were not so politically experienced as the men and not so analytically assertive within the organization. I had to argue with her that instead I see this as a very good reason to have these meetings, and as a sign that not only is Class War breaking out of the "anarchist ghetto" and actually getting new people involved, it is also apparently not quite as alienating to working class women as most of the left is. My sense was that these meetings were useful even if they were also evidence of an imperfect moment in the class war.

Then the women read their critique to the conference body. The reaction of some of the men, especially of the men who had played the most prominent roles at the conference, was so extreme and so clearly sexist and ignorant that I was left with no doubt in my mind that Class War has a hell of a long way to go. For example, it didn't even occur to one man that the women-only meetings could actually have been about women rather than being just "bitching sessions" about the men in the organization. Another man questioned the appropriateness of these meetings, assuming they were assertiveness training sessions. Class War has a big project in attempting to deal with sexism within the organization, but of equal importance is the development of a revolutionary analysis in which sexism is not part of a laundry list of supposed by-products of capitalism, appropriately relegated to a caucus (or a post-revolutionary committee?). Gender needs to be central to

the organization's understanding of what revolution is and what kinds of activities and changes will be necessary in order to bring about a free egalitarian society.

RACE AND THE CLASS WAR

Questions about race were also central conflicts at the conference. People argued over the question of whether or not (and if so, how) to support national liberation movements. People also criticized the organizers of the conference for not making enough contact with non-white groups in publicizing the conference. I thought these arguments were important, but that they missed the general point about race and class, which is that they're not separate questions. This is what I mean by titling this article "Our Time Has Come and Gone." It is ahis-

Now the right is gaining power based on white working class reaction to the influx of immigrants coincident with the incapacity of the state to provide for the standard of living nostalgically felt by the working and middle classes to be so rightly theirs. It was the labor and resource extraction in the colonies that made possible a relatively high standard of living for working people in Western Europe, but it was in the interest of the capitalists of the day (who favored a proud and eager industrial workforce, who would defend the capitalist state even in world war) to reinforce the belief that prosperity was due instead to the industriousness and cultural superiority of white Europeans. The awful irony of the current connection between race and class in Europe is that immigrants from the former colonies have twice borne the burden of the Western Euro-



torical (and unwise and ineffective) in Europe to imagine a working-class based revolutionary movement that is not anti-racist in its analysis of capitalism. Before beginning to even think about calling for a truly internationalist class-based revolution, before imagining class solidarity that could transcend the racial barriers of the racial division of labor, Class War would have to centrally incorporate into its analysis of class an analysis of the link between Western European industrialization and the colonial process. Class War emerged out of the anti-racism movement, yet it has incorporated very little analysis about the relationship of race and class, while asserting itself as a working class organization.

Race is (and has been for a long time) of enormous importance in European politics. By way of post-colonial immigration agreements, large numbers of non-Europeans have moved to Western Europe since World War II, seeking a share of its economic and political benefits. This has caused immigration (and its political corollary, racism) to be a central political and social issue in several countries including England, France, and Germany.

It can even be argued that German's re-unification was partly an attempt to meet demands for labor without engendering further non-white migration. The decline in colonial empires is related to the rise of Western European economic cooperation. As the European empires have contracted, individual European states have become less and less able to provide a relatively high (albeit unevenly distributed) standard of living for white Europeans. The complicity of the European white working class in the colonial process was bought with the products of third world exploitation.

pean economy, first as they built it, and now as they are blamed as a scapegoat for its decline. In this situation, the lack of centrality of race to any class-based movement's analysis in Western Europe must be seen as either ignorance or racism or both.

CLASS WAR FOR NORTH AMERICA?

It is possible to describe a similar historical and economic argument of the inappropriateness of simplistic class-based organizing in North America, and this is why I think it's a bad idea to try to start up Class War here.

What I did find useful at the conference was the importance placed on understanding the differences in the political situations in different countries. I also think more attention does need to be focused on the development of an anti-capitalist movement that doesn't ignore its own class composition. I learned an enormous amount from people I met at the conference and from the problems and the conflicts brought up there. I would hope anyone reading this would see it as something other than an attempt to trash the federation. I am only trying to be honest, to avoid romanticizing the politics of another society, and to suggest some problems to those who think of uncritically importing Class War as a model for revolutionary politics in North America. ★

YO!

For another take on Class War, look for Chiquita Pistolera's article in the next issue.

Caterpillar Strike Bursts Labor Cocoon?

BY MATT BLACK

WORKERS AT THE PEORIA, Illinois plant of Caterpillar Machinery Corporation have been out on strike for the past 5 months. They have recently agreed to go back to work while continuing contract negotiations.

Who are the players here? Caterpillar is a multinational corporation, the largest manufacturer of construction equipment in the world. Peoria is a town of 113,000, a town where Caterpillar workers are one-tenth of the workforce, a town where a strike of this size has people worried that whatever the eventual compromise, the city's economy will lose in the short run. The UAW is the United Auto Workers, a large union that represents workers in many different industries, from manufacturing construction equipment, to light machinery, to the big three auto-makers. The 12,600 UAW

workers in Peoria have been on strike twice in the past decade, and have been able to force management to include them more in decision-making and control of the production process. Statistically, they represent less than 2% of the UAW's total membership.

The strike began over contract negotiations. The UAW wanted to bargain a contract along the same lines as a contract recently forged with the John Deere Company, a manufacturer of tractors. This practice of seeking similar contracts within an industry, called "pattern bargaining," is a way for the union to insure that they can't be forced out of advances at one company due to compromising with another. If Ford agreed to a good contract, but the union had to compromise more seriously with GM, Ford would be harder to bargain

with next time. And, in fact, the UAW is worried about Peoria because its contracts with the big three in Detroit are coming up soon, and it doesn't want to let Cat set a precedent for breaking with the pattern.

Caterpillar, on the other hand, is pleading special circumstances. Caterpillar is an advertiser's dream — one of the few US companies that dominates its field worldwide with a well paid, union workforce. But, claim Cat executives, to stay competitive, especially against Japan's Komatsu Company, Cat can't pay the same prices as John Deere, whose international business isn't nearly so central to their success.

The claims and counter-claims go on forever. Caterpillar insists that its workers are already paid roughly what Komatsu's are, and that any increases would raise end-product costs, and would make it harder for Cat to compete. But, the UAW points out, Japanese workers are compensated differently than US workers; and, after factoring in the value of perks and benefits, the US workers make only 83 cents more than their Japanese peers. Not only that, but Japanese workers enjoy tremendous job security, which workers in the US don't get either from the companies, who see cost as more important than maintaining a happy and skilled labor crew, or from government, where George Bush promises to veto a bill that would prevent companies from hiring permanent replacement workers during strikes. Caterpillar began advertising for permanent replacements this month.

Wrapped up in this strike, too, are more general questions about labor and labor organizing in the US and Canada and Mexico. Some analysts say that this strike shows UAW choosing a more militant relationship to the company — holding out for better contracts rather than making concessions — and doing it using demonstrations, pickets, and slowdowns. At the same time, we can see how much smaller the range of ideas is than in the 1920s and 30s, when destroying capitalism was the radical side of unionism. While we need to support workers in their fight to secure a decent wage, benefits, and job security, we also need to remain critical and be clear that those are holding actions — necessary to live and breathe, but not the struggles that will solve our problems in the long run.

chinery, a skilled workforce, and was still productive, to do it. The savings must have been pretty tremendous to want to spend so much to get them.

Cat didn't really offer the Canadian workers a choice — part of the "high" cost comes from taxes and legally fixed benefits, which the workers could not bargain away even if they wanted to. But in Peoria, the dynamics are more clear. Cat is saying that US labor costs are too high — that the unions demand too much and hurt corporate ability to compete internationally. If Cat wins the strike, the stage is set for other companies to follow suit, and destroy the bargaining strength of the unions. If the union wins, Cat may well announce in a couple of years that it is moving to Mexico — also made possible by an impending North American Free Trade Agreement — where labor is cheap, the unions aren't very strong, and other companies are heading. One understanding of the continental workforce is that Canada will supply resources and raw materials, the US will supply money and management, and that Mexico will supply labor.

There are several important things to notice here. One is that this is the base of the imperialist relationship: the dominant country runs things and extracts the profits for its ruling class, and the dominated countries do the work of providing materials and producing the goods. It's important to note that this is hardly a new relationship created by the FTA — imperialism in this form has been going on since roughly 1492 (and in other ways before). The changes brought by Free Trade are a reorganization of the imperial relationship. Interestingly, while earlier forms of imperialism have relied on removing capital from the dominated countries, this form actually returns capital in the form of factories and operating costs being sent into Mexico from the US — though the profits still benefit the bosses North of the Rio Grande and South of the Great Lakes. Imperialism can be flexible, so long as the flow of profits remains the same.

This makes clear why anarchists in North America need to envision organizing on a continental scale. We need to be working on all sides of the Free Trade Zone to fight for what we need — jobs, a living, revolution. Although we will play different roles — slowdowns in pro-

CLASSY GROUPS

BY BILL MEYERS

THE MYTH OF THE ONE GREAT Middle Class of Dick Van Dyke and the Brady Bunch was torn to shreds in the 80's by the ever-present sight of homeless beggars on America's streets. The 90's so far are a collage of lengthening unemployment and soup kitchen lines and record-high executive salaries and stock market figures. America is becoming an increasingly divided nation, with the divisions more and more along economic lines: lines of class.

Anarchism in its modern form was born of the great class struggles of the 19th century; and anarchism came to stand for more than just a better wage: it stands for the abolition of the class system and government both.

Unfortunately, class struggle anarchism has had little effect on reality in the US since World War II. There are, however, many seeds of hope. Individuals and small autonomous groups are responsible for much of what is currently being done — and most anarchist collectives have some sort of class struggle stance. However, this article will concentrate on the larger groups, from which information is most readily available.

One of the interesting developments has been the worker-environmentalist alliance forged by Industrial Workers of the World/Earth First! (IWW) Local No. 1 in California's timber country. By demonstrating how the overcutting of the forests ultimately destroys jobs as well as the environment, the IWW has won support among timber workers.

The IWW was one of America's early class struggle organizations. In the first two decades of this century it organized timber, mining, garment workers, and others, before being crushed by the government during World War I for opposing the war. It now functions both as a union and as a political organization, while autonomous local groups continue to decide how to best go about "abolishing the wage system" in their own areas.

The Lehigh Valley, Pennsylvania IWW group has been a particularly active one lately. They are currently fighting against the incineration of toxic or hazardous waste at Keystone Cement and ESSROC Materials. They report they are working very closely with rank and file militants inside the plant. Some workers claim to have sabotaged equipment inside the plant.

The IWW can be contacted at 1095 Market Street, San Francisco, CA 94103, telephone (415) 863-9627 and has branches and members around the US and Canada.

There are other fronts in the class struggle apart from job sites.

Anarchist groups working with the homeless, for instance, usually see class

divisions clearly. They also feel the brunt of government violence. Food Not Bombs in San Francisco has been brutally attacked by the police several times while attempting to give free food to the homeless in city parks and in front of city hall. In New York City the anarchist squatters movement is almost always under siege by the police. Meanwhile, homeless camps around the country often are, unconsciously, models of anarchism: they function as communities without violence or authority, except when attacked by the state.

We are now beginning to realize how small our planet is, and how an injury to even one forest can be an injury to all life on earth. International solidarity is of particular importance in class struggles as well as when the environment needs protection. Such solidarity has been the hallmark of the anarcho-syndicalist (translate: anarchist-union) movement. The largest anarcho-syndicalist organization in the world, the International Workers Association (IWA), has groups on every continent (except Antarctica) and most recently has raised money to aid Eastern European anarchists. Its largest single national affiliate, the CNT, is famous for its role in creating anarchist regions in Spain during the revolution of 1936. Its US affiliate, the **Workers Solidarity Alliance (WSA)**, has functioned as a propaganda group, most notably producing the magazine *Ideas and Actions* (\$3, write POB 40400, San Francisco CA 94140-0400).

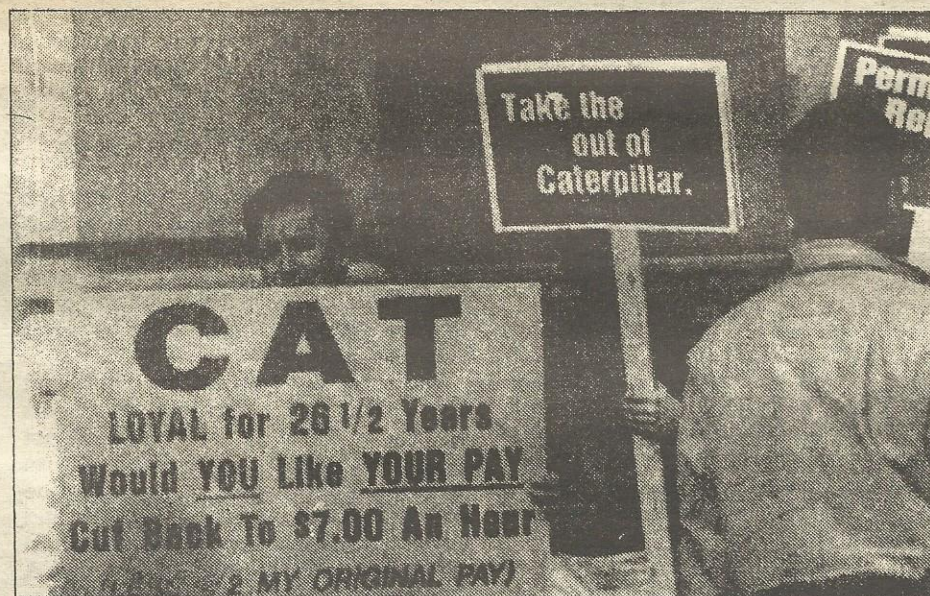
Another anarcho-syndicalist group in the US that produces a propaganda magazine is *Libertarian Labor Review* (Box 2824, Champaign, IL 61825). Most of the members of both of these groups are also members of the IWW.

A very clear introductory pamphlet *Class Struggle Anarchism* is available from the **New York Anarchist Youth Federation** (POB 365, Canal Street Station, NY, NY 10013-0365 — send SASE).

Another of my favorite magazines devoted to class struggle anarchism is *Bayou La Rose* (\$2 — POB 5464, Tacoma, WA 98405-0464).

Also check out the activities of the US Class War Federation: **Twin Cities Class War**, c/o *Profane Existence*, PO Box 8722, Minneapolis, MN 55408.

While these aren't all of the anarchist groups organizing around class issues in North America, they are some of the largest and easiest to find. In addition to its long history, class struggle anarchism remains an area of debate and discussion — look for more articles in *Love and Rage* about anarchism, class, and revolution. ★

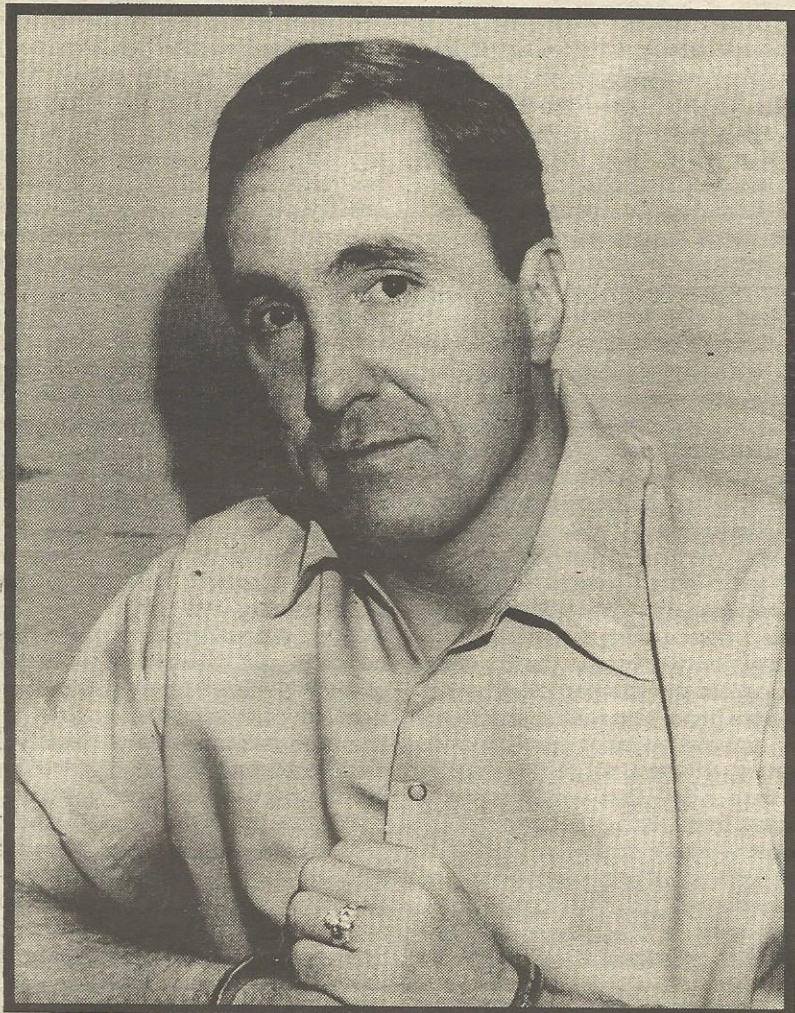


The questions that Caterpillar is raising about international trade open up questions for us, too. Last April, workers at Caterpillar's Brampton, Ontario plant occupied the plant to protest a plan to close operations and move to Raleigh, North Carolina (see *Love and Rage*, Vol.2 No.6, June/July 1991). Caterpillar's move was made possible by the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) between the US and Canada — making it possible for Cat to produce goods in the US and ship them to Canada without paying protective tariffs. The UAW leadership, after a little stalling, supported the occupation and tried to get the company to stay, or at least give a better settlement to displaced workers than the legal minimum Cat was offering. Cat was planning to leave because Canada has high taxes to support a broad range of social services not available in the US. Caterpillar could get labor for less money in Raleigh, and it was worth it to them to abandon or move a plant that had up-to-date ma-

duction, sabotage in resource extraction, disruptions of the easy running of society — we will need to be working together to make our struggle effective.

Finally, the resolution of the strike in Peoria isn't the end of this story. The upcoming UAW negotiations with the big three automakers in Detroit may be seriously affected by the resolution of the Cat strike. If the big three think they can break with pattern bargaining, the gains won over years of bargaining may be lost very quickly, and the viability of the UAW as a union may be compromised. Any change in the UAW's role in labor could have widespread effects — will the more radical elements of the UAW split and start a new, radical union? What will instability in Detroit mean for labor and unions? In any case, any kind of shakeup will open up possibilities for the development of more radical tendencies within the organized labor movement of the US, and it remains to be seen whether anything will come of it. ★

DOHERTY LETTER



THE FOLLOWING EXCERPTS ARE from a letter written by Joe Doherty, an Irish Republican combatant and member of the Irish Republican Army (IRA). He was arrested in the US for a "crime" committed in Ireland and imprisoned here for almost 9 years, without a conviction, as he fought extradition to Ireland. One court ruling after another stated that his continued imprisonment here without trial was wrong, but the federal government, looking to please the British government, refused to free him.

Although Joe's politics are not "anarchist," he is a political prisoner and deserves our support. After his deportation he smuggled out this letter detailing his experiences. We'll be running the letter in installments along with more information on Joe and his situation, the political situation in Ireland, the Republican and other "left" groups there, and an anarchist take on it all.

The letter in its entirety appeared in the *Irish Voice*, March 17 issue.

THE FEDERAL MARSHALS ARRIVE

Receiving a notice of deportation that day, Tuesday, February 18 from the office of the US Attorney General, I knew that I had mere hours before the US Federal Marshals would "storm" Lewisburg Penitentiary. I told the lads at the prison, and we bade farewell at lock-up. Was this really it this time, as I drifted into an uneasy sleep?

The torch lights shining on my face made my body move and the banging on the cell door told me that, indeed, my time had arrived. I looked at my watch. It was 3:45 a.m. Wednesday morning, and I was awakening to my last remaining hours in America.

I was told to step into the cell block hallway. Placed against the wall, I was abruptly handcuffed from behind. My property was left behind in the cell. Even my watch was taken from me. My demand that I should be allowed to take my personal belongings, including family photos, legal material, and address books were coldly denied. They promised to mail them to the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) in Belfast.

What followed was an insult and an undignified end to my decade in America. I was stripped naked and subjected to a brutal and meticulously long body search. Not an inch of my body or inner cavities were left unsearched.

This again happened when the US Federal Marshals arrived. My clothes were taken off and I was given a set of clothes for the journey. Watching

the array of chains and leg irons before me I was angered at the violent over-reaction to my status.

I was then cuffed, body-chained, belly-chained, and leg-ironed, like some dangerous animal. The awareness and pain of those chains were to last for the next 16 hours. Fog had set in over the penitentiary, but I could make out the three US Marshals' cars and the M-16 carrying Marshals who nervously watched my every move as I slowly passed the front gate and watch towers.

The chains and irons made walking an unnatural and arduous feat. As the US Marshals carried me into the car, I gazed back at the misty wall of Lewisburg and my eight years and eight months, to the day, of penal life. It was a difficult moment, as were the difficult emotional moments that lay ahead of me that day.

DESTINATION: ANDREWS AIR FORCE BASE

The US Marshals made haste through the fog to hit the freeways. Passing Harrisburg, I tried to figure out my destination. The Marshals were tight-lipped. Most of them looked like Special Forces, macho and ready to blow me away at any sudden move.

Watching road signs as the sun fought to break the mist, I calculated that I was heading for Washington, DC. I was not officially informed that I was going to England. So maybe they want me at the US Justice Department? Mary Pike and Steve Somerstein would be there. So would some US members of Congress. A deal was made, I thought. But my wishful thinking and dying hope gave way as I saw the sign: Andrews Air Force Base.

We had problems entering the base. Apparently the President, George Bush, was flying out on Air Force One at the same time. The Secret Service did not want any problems with me. I guess they did not want me yelling any last pleas.

I looked around for Bush only to see a C-20 jet nearing our car. "That's your jet, Doherty," the head Marshal said. "We shall make London, England in seven hours," he added. They are really handing me back to the British, my last breath of hope said.

Climbing aboard, I thought I should make a speech, kiss the ground, say farewell. But the stealthy nature of my departure and the armed farewell committee left me speechless and I dared not look back at a land I came to love and admire. I dared show no emotion. My weeks of media interviews and complaining that I would be taken on a Royal Air Force (RAF) bomber had paid off.

TO BE CONTINUED NEXT ISSUE

ABC

anarchist black cross

SOLIDARITY IN PERÚ

ON OCTOBER 27TH OF 1991, Andres Villaverde, an anarchist and friend, was detained after attempting an act of sabotage. He was taken by the National Police to the Comisaria del Distrito (the district's HQ), and three days later was questioned by DIRCOTE (an anti-terrorist agency). Lacking tangible evidence of the crime, Andres was accused of being a militant of the Peruvian Communist Party — Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) and finally transported to Peru's maximum security prison, Castro-Castro. He finds himself in the pavilion of independent political prisoners. Five months have gone by already since his detention and his case has yet to be even opened. The penitentiary system, besides being a bureaucratic apparatus that retards the opening of the process, functions by means of the bribe this being the reason the case has been forgotten.

The intention of this letter is to create a campaign of solidarity and material support with him, to raise funds to pay lawyers and legal expenses. Those who can send aid will be provided with further information.

For more info (preferably in Spanish):

Teresa Dávila
Jr. Mosquegua 270 Dpto 708
Lima 1 Perú

Natives Stump Vermont Court

ON JANUARY 13, ABENAKI CHIEF Homer St. Francis went before the judge of the Franklin County Superior Court in Vermont to confront a bogus charge of falsely swearing a court statement. The maximum penalty is 15 years in jail, and the court was packed with supporters from several Native American tribes, the American Indian Movement, and Earth First!

Chief St. Francis had been indicted by a grand jury because he did not list tribal property, which Abenaki tradition holds cannot be owned, on a form requesting a public defender represent him on a previous charge.

Chief St. Francis refused to enter a plea, as he does not recognize the court's authority over the Abenaki. At the same time, the chief and his tribal lawyers submitted numerous motions to have the charges dismissed because the state of Vermont was violating federal laws, UN Charters, and numerous treaties regarding Native peoples. The Abenaki tribal court has already found Chief St. Francis not guilty; the Franklin County Superior Court postponed the hearing until an unspecified later date. ★

News From John Perotti

AFTER BEING RELEASED INTO GENERAL POPULATION AT THE END OF last summer, John was approached by a guard who offered to assist him in an "escape" and get him a gun. Although he didn't accept the offer he was picked up an hour later and charged with conspiracy to bribe a guard. John was in the hole for 75 days, and is now back in isolation. After filing a suit over this set up his legal materials were confiscated. The confiscation by prison officials of legal materials has been an ongoing problem since 1985. In 1988 the prisoners went to court to change that policy but it was ruled that it was the prison's policy to "store" the legal materials of prisoners in isolation. John is asking that letters of protest be sent:

Warden Dennis Baker MANCI POB 1368 Mansfield, Ohio 44901
Director Wilkinson 1050 Freeway Drive N. Columbus, Ohio 43229

(John sent an update on Chryz Knecht (last issue we asked for letters on his behalf) who was on hungerstrike there at MANCI. He is eating again and some of his property has been returned to him.)

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

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

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

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

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

Project 1313
PO Box 1313
Lawrence, KS 66044

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

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

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

Leonard Pellier
Defense Committee
PO Box 583
Lawrence, KS 66044

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

Friends of Liberty
Box 95686
Seattle, WA 98145-2686

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

OGB

on gogol boulevard

POLISH WOMEN'S ABORTION RIGHTS STILL UNDER ATTACK

BY JAN SYLWESTROWICZ

(excerpt taken from Socialist Action, March '92)

...The Polish parliament is now poised to outlaw abortion—in all cases except a direct threat to the woman's life—and those at the forefront of this reactionary undertaking flatly state that they will want to follow this up with a ban on contraception.

A first attempt to revoke Poland's present, relatively liberal abortion law was made last summer. But it was abandoned in the face of strong opposition; the members of Poland's parliament backed down at the prospect of a mass campaign of protest just before the general elections scheduled for October last year.

(Ironically, the Polish anti-abortion lobby claims that the current law is a "relic of the Stalinist policy directed against the Polish nation." In fact, it dates from the 'thaw' of 1956 and was adopted as a concession to public opinion, replacing restrictive legislation introduced at the height of the Stalinist terror.)

Obligated to retreat last summer, the anti-abortion forces began preparing themselves for a new offensive right after the elections. At the end of November, they succeeded in getting the congress of the Polish doctors' association to amend its statutes. Any doctor now performing an abortion is liable to be banned by the association from practicing abortion.

This amendment to the association's statutes (introduced at the congress without warning, and catching the medical community by surprise) is a violation of the Polish constitution as it currently stands. Yet the government has done nothing to have the constitution enforced.

This is hardly surprising when we look at the composition of the new government of Prime Minister Jan Olszewski. The greatest role in this government is now being played by the extreme rightist and clericalist ZChN (National Christian Union), a party which openly demands that Poland's constitution—indeed, Polish politics as a whole—be based on "Catholic values." In its internal press, this party praises both the past clerico-fascist, Spain's General Franco, and his present counterpart in France—the notorious racist Jean-Marie Le Pen.

Despite the full support of the Catholic Church, the ZChN won only eight percent of the votes in last October's elections. Yet today it is fast becoming the most powerful force in Poland's political institutions. It heads three ministries, including the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Justice.

The party's hold over the country's repressive apparatus further tightened in early February, when another ZChN supporter was appointed head of the Office of State Security (still overwhelmingly staffed by members of the old Stalinist secret police). In addition, the speaker of Poland's parliament, who plays an important role within the present system, is the national chair of the ZChN.

A ZChN spokesperson declared at the end of February that his party had collected the signatures of over half the members of Poland's parliament supporting the proposed anti-abortion legislation. In this situation, it seems very possible that the bill prepared by ZChN activists will be discussed by parliament in the next few weeks.

Women's activists had previously believed the ZChN would wait for the adoption of a new constitution before trying to have their bill passed. Yet the experience of the doctors' association demonstrates that constitutional niceties are no obstacle to the extreme right.

Estimates of the number of abortions performed annually in Poland range from 400,000 to 650,000. This huge figure reflects the limited access to, and information on, contraception. All opinion polls conducted over the last two years have shown a firm majority in favor of maintaining the present legislation. Yet the demand for a referendum on the issue is rejected by clericalist politicians and the Catholic hierarchy as being "immoral."

Pro-choice campaigners are beginning to mobilize again in Poland. In Warsaw, for example, a broad coalition of left organizations and feminist groups was set up at the start of February to fight the proposed legislation.

With a determined anti-abortion (and totally unrepresentative) parliament against them, however, those defending abortion rights in Poland face a difficult battle. International solidarity is needed.

Polish Feminist Contacts:

Polish Feminists Association, Ul. Gorska 7/53, Warsaw, Poland;
Ewa Kaczynska, Ul. Matejki 5/9, Opole, Poland, tel. 77-38619
(anarcha-feminist); Malgorzata Tarasiewicz, Karmelicka 1B/9, 00-149 Warsaw, Poland, tel. 312257 (anarcha-feminist).

Anarchist Action in Poland

Hello Neither East Nor West,

My name is Jacek Sierpinski and I participate in the An Arche group. If at all possible, I want to write something about An Arche in your newspapers. There are about 20-30 persons from the various towns of Katowice in our group. Not everyone of us considers ourselves to be an anarchist and not everyone identifies themselves with the Polish Anarchist Federation (FA). Most of An Arche people are individualistic counter-culturalists (hard-cores, punx, artists etc.). Furthermore, there are some radical libertarians akin to anarchists from the U.S. Libertarian Party (I among others), some "greens" and even one anarcho-communist. Friendly meetings are held in the student club "Pod Rura" every week. We publish the street paper *Gazeta An Arche*, and it's

distributed mostly to inhabitants of Katowice (5000 copies). Some people publish their own zines (music, art); one of these is *Alarm* published by our straight-edge-anarcho-communist Darek Ciepielewicz and another one guy from Zabia Wola in the vicinity of Warsaw. There are some students in An Arche; we practically manage the official "students' self-government" in The Faculty of Social Sciences in Silesian University. Incidentally, we have created conditions for the participation of all of the students in this self government, but they aren't interested in any activity. In Spring 1991, we initiated a protest against an attempt of setting up a faculty of Roman Catholic theology, controlled by church authorities, in our university. (An open letter to the rector, collecting signatures under the protest, and discussion in the senate of the university.) For the present, nothing more is heard about this matter. More of the An Arche people are interested in environmentalism and animals' rights. That group acts in the Green Federation (FZ). They participated, among others, in "Tama Tamia" [Dam the Dam] actions in Czorsztyn [against the building of an environmentally ruinous dam] and the



Some An Arche participants at a seminar against the Czorsztyn Dam. Left to Right: Marek Budy, Gosia Kulczycka, and Darek Ciepielewicz.

famous protest of the "greens" against the corrida [bullfight] organized by military men at Silesia Stadium. We also participate, as do all Polish anarchists, in the struggle against coercive military service. We try to help people willing to escape military service, to inform them about the substitute [alternative civilian] military service (also in the non-anarchist press), and to propagate the idea of suppression of the coercive military service. I and another man from An Arche—Staszek Gorka—manage the national information office of FA and publish the internal bulletin of FA.

SOME INFORMATION ABOUT FA ACTIVITIES:

Concerning the army and the military service: some persons from Wrocław (Kropotkin Anarchist Group—GAK) and other towns (Szczecin, Lublin, Debica) have totally refused military service (refusing to register as pre-recruits). There are problems with recruiting boards (they refuse conceding substitute service in Katowice). Recently authorities met people halfway: they widened the realm of the discharge of substitute service e.g. in churches, and they cut it down for students. There were demonstrations and the burning of military books in Warsaw, on October 12th—the police arrested about 30 persons. There were also two demonstrations against the war in Croatia; in Wrocław (organized by the association "Objector") and in Warsaw on December 13th (organized by Warsawian anarchists). I think that all libertarian environments in the Occident ought openly protest against the murders and the ill treatment of civilians by the communist-nationalist regime of Milosevic and Kadjevic.

Concerning the "Tama tamie" action; about 200 persons were fined, most of them haven't paid. We raise funds and try to come into contact with experts, scientists and all forces favouring our actions.



May 15 anarchist demo against capitalism, in Prague.

There was the VII congress of FA, in Rzeszow (east Poland), on December 20th to 22nd. We passed the new proclamation of FA, and resolutions concerning: the military service; offence councils; Czorsztyn Dam; and the coercive social insurance (ZUS). This insurance, in fact, a special tax working out at 40% of wages. Some persons from the FA refused payment of the ZUS tax. We consider that all insurance ought to be voluntary and that the retiring fund for present pensioners and retired employees may and ought to be replenished from other sources (i.e. from the part of the "national property" restitutioned by the government).

The new proclamation of FA: "Federacja Anarchistyczna aims at the abolition of all social structures and regulations restricting in any way anyone's personal freedom."

Greetings, Jacek Sierpinski

An Arche/Information Office of the FA, An-Arche Uniwersytet Slaski, Ul. Bankowa 12B, 40-007 Katowice, Poland

An Arche's English-language phone numbers:

-Bogdan Pliszka 48-31-543091

-Staszek (Stanley) Gorka, 48-12-550505

in room 289 (Krakow)

-Pawel Bogocz, 48-32-523091 to 4

ask for room F-206 (number of hostel, on week-days).

EVERYTHING YOU ALWAYS WANTED TO KNOW ABOUT ANARCHY IN THE CIS — PART ONE

BY DMITRY KOSTENKO of IREAN
(the Initiative of Revolutionary Anarchists)



Moscow anarchists stage a happening to protest price-hikes in the Fall of 1991. They called for cannibalization: "Eat the Bureaucrats!" The author is at the left in this photo.

(Dmitry makes some criticism of other Anarchist groups. We invite those groups to respond.)

Immediately after the suppression of the putsch, the Anarchist Youth Front (AYF) met to seize the building of the Komsomol [official C.P. youth group] Museum in Krasnaya Presna [an inner city area of Moscow] where the Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists (KAS) "Bezpartshkola" [Soviet-speak for non-party school] previously conducted seminars and where the AYF had their first meetings. The occupation turned into a comedy. "The invaders" were moved from the museum buildings to the nearest militia station and then back. After two days of such trips the local powers offered the AYF premises in a basement. The idea of squatting the Museum was ours, and we also did the actual planning of the occupation with some involvement from members of the Anarchist Shock Battalion (UAB). After the failure of the AYF's action, it's impossible to have a squatters' movement for a long time yet.

The members of the Moscow Organization of KAS apparently have finally understood that you can't make a career in the anarchist movement and started to seek other venues for themselves. Alexander Shubin became the co-president of the Greens and proceeded during a dispute to throw out one of that party's founders, a member of the Initiative of Revolutionary Anarchists (IREAN), Vadim Damier. The other members of KAS as well decided to take up entry in official post-Communist trade unions. Andrei Isaev became the editor-in-chief of the paper of the Moscow Federation of Trade Unions, *Solidarity*, (not to be confused with the Moscow Union of Anarchists' paper by the same name), and almost all of the Moscow KAS have become contributors to this magazine, except the people from KAS-KOR [a KAS labor bulletin]. Besides from that, Andrei Isaev, together with the head of the Socialist Party, Boris Kagarlitsky, functionaries of official trade unions, Moscow Soviet representative B. Gonchar and former member of the Communist Party Cheka A. Buzgalin, signed a founding statement for the Party of Labor. This is an experiment in creating something similar to the Labor Party in Britain, a mass party, presenting itself under washed out slogans calling for the social defense of workers. They were hoping to win over part of former Communist Party members, but for the time being this hasn't worked out too well. Roy Medvedev [former C.P. dissident] outdid them, having created a Socialist Workers Party including previous C.P. members. Thus Isaev and Kagarlitsky have only party structures, but no members.

TO BE CONTINUED

Dmitri Kostenko, 105215 Moscow, Ul. Parkovaya 9-aya, Dom.55
Kv.60, Russia. Tel. for IREAN: 963-7861 (Vadim Damier)

Anarchists, skinheads protest Czechoslovakian society ball

PRAGUE, Czechoslovakia (Reuters)—Hundreds of jeering anarchists and skinheads protested the weekend revival of a high-society ball and pelted the guests with rotten fruit.

The demonstrators, who complained the event was too costly at a time of austerity for most Czechoslovaks, blocked the main entrance to Prague's historical Smetana Theatre when the Opera Ball began Saturday night.

The ball finished Sunday. The event restored a tradition of society balls lost during four decades

of Communist rule, which ended in 1989 with a democratic revolution.

"The people did not want a formation of new nobility showing off their privileges while asking people to tighten their belts," anarchists' spokesman Jakub Polak told journalists.

The theater's director, Karel Drgac, said it was absurd to consider the ball extravagant because profits were to help reconstruct the theater, the CSTK news agency reported.



Czecho-Slovakian Anarchist Contacts

Laura and Roman Laube

Kettnerova 2052

15500 Prague 5

Czecho-Slovakia

or Jakub Polak / A+Kontra

Valdstejnsha 14

Prague 1

Czecho-Slovakia

Anarchist Youth Federation

WE'RE PRO-CHOICE AND WE RIOT

BY MISHY & ABBY

AS WITH ANY OTHER DEMONSTRATIONS, people left the April 5th pro-choice march with mixed emotions. Some felt that the whole day was a total fiasco. There was good reason to question certain aspects of the day's events.

Most people who first hear about the AYF (Anarchist Youth Federation) and other anarchist collectives sneer and toss stereotypical remarks, such as "An anarchist organization? Isn't that a contradiction?"

Well, if you were anywhere near the Black Block during this march, you would have seen organized, militant anarchists from many places around the continent. There were affinity groups from New York, Dayton, Cincinnati, Baltimore, Chicago, Minneapolis, Detroit and Canada, among other places. Unfortunately, a lack of direction was evident, since all the groups didn't get a chance (or didn't take the chance) to meet and discuss tactics, direct action, etc. before we arrived in DC.

The anarchists had decided to meet in Lafayette Park. When we finally assembled there, the wimmin called a brief meeting to get organized. It was there that the plan for the wimmin to march in the front of the black bloc was announced to all women who were present.

A bit into the march, a confrontation arose concerning this pre-planned decision. Certain men felt that the wimmin were acting like "sexist separatists." Other men were merely upset that we hadn't informed them of our decision beforehand. At this point the scene had grown a bit heated and many wimmin were discouraged.

We couldn't understand why the men didn't respect our need to march alongside of and arm-in-arm with one another on such an issue. As for being informed, we should take the blame for that, but when the men were told of our plans, or realized for themselves what was going on, that only seemed to cause further friction. Marching in front provided most of the wimmin with a sense of empowerment. There was a real feeling of strength present that most of the women enjoyed. It is ridiculous to ac-

cuse us of trying to insult or intimidate the men.

We can't understand why some men think it is a sexist or separatist action when women seize the initiative to be in the front — whether it be a demo for control over our own bodies, or on the front lines of struggle itself. What was the point of being at that demo if wimmin weren't going to be fierce and uppity? It is necessary that men join the struggle for wimmin's liberation, just as it is necessary for white people to uphold the struggle for non-white liberation. But the equality with each is not established yet.

We still live in a racist, patriarchal society, and until it is smashed, wimmin are going to be in the front when it involves freedom over their own bodies. The main reason for our "separation" was because no matter how idealist the anarchist community tries to be, this is still a wimmin's issue. We can't avoid that. Sexism is rampant, even in places where you hope not to find it. We need to acknowledge this, and pretending that we're equal because we're anarchists won't do it.

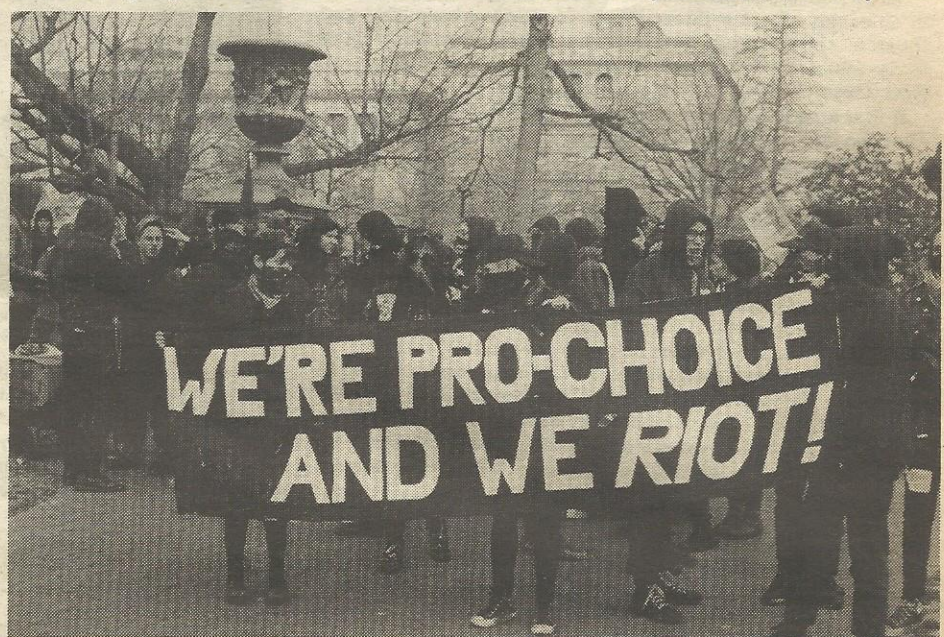
While we're on the subject of controlling our bodies, there is another significant area which must be considered when evaluating this demonstration. That is questioning why we're leaving it up to politicians in the first place to take care of, and be concerned about, our health. Let's face it, wimmin's health issues are not any male politician's list of top priorities, and therefore we are basically left to deal with it ourselves. We would undeniably benefit from knowledge of our bodies, so we wouldn't have to rely solely on others to tell us what's going on.

Another thing that we noticed was that, comparatively speaking, this demonstration lacked a greater sense of militancy than most other demos (especially anti-war demos). It doesn't necessarily hold true for everybody, but it was felt in the general atmosphere. Why was that? Do people think that a pro-choice demo isn't about fighting and unnecessary bloodshed? This is about fucking war! It's a war about control and who's going to have it; just like the Persian Gulf War was. The war

against wimmin is an even greater one, since it's been an internationally and socially accepted practice to oppress and fuck-over wimmin for centuries.

Outside of the @ contingent, there were more people assembled in DC than any other demonstration in history there. That's a good thing, given that we were all there on a united opposition. But most people were confused about

symbolizing "babies" who had "died" through abortion. We mosed on over there, arms locked, and charged the fence. We don't know how many of us were actually stomping on the fence and how many were bystanders, but it definitely wasn't widely backed-up. Before we could pull any crosses up, we were being pushed away and told that this scenario was peaceful (!) and symbol-



how wimmin were going to keep their freedom of choice to an abortion. There was a sign at the demo that read on one side: "I vote for politicians for choice," and on the other side said, "Keep your laws off my body!" This is a serious contradiction.

By voting, people are putting whatever bullshit support they have into a system that does nothing for "the people." Voting supposedly keeps these "laws" alive and well, so if someone wanted freedom to control their body and didn't want "laws" to regulate that control, why would they bother voting? Never mind the ballots...

And finally, here's a little bit about the not so successfully executed direct action that took place. At one point during the demo, we decided to head toward the play-cemetery with wooden crosses

ized women who died through legal abortions. People got confused and the cops arrived so we ended up being chased and running through bushes. Let's hear it for the copper who lost control of his bike and fell. It was upsetting that so many of us were so easily deterred by such nonsense. Not to mention the fact that no matter how you look at it, any way of making such a cemetery is completely fucked-up.

But overall, the day wasn't a complete waste. We met a myriad of fierce, kick-ass wimmin from a bunch of different backgrounds and the latest @ fashion cover-ups should definitely get us all on the cover of *Vague*. ★

The National AYF Conference and Midwest Anarchist Gathering is May 8-11 at Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio.

CAMPING: Bring tents and sleeping bags, extras if you can. Indoor space will be available if necessary.

CHILDREN: Bring lots of kids! There will be child care activities.

WORKSHOPS: There will be room for spontaneous workshops.

FOOD: All vegan! Bring plates, cups, and utensils.

Let DAC know how many people are coming, any special needs, etc. For info, maps, etc. write: **DAC/Dayton AYF POB 3316, Dayton, OH 45401**

AYF DISCUSSION BULLETIN

In addition to the first fantastic AYF Discussion Bulletin, a new and improved **Disco Bull (# 2)** is now available for \$1 plus 52 cents postage from:

NY-AYF
PO Box 365
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.

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

UNITED STATES

Love and Rage Supporters
PO Box 581354
Minneapolis, MN 55458-1354

Youth Greens
PO Box 7293
Minneapolis, MN 55407

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

AWOL
PO Box 7293
Minneapolis, MN 55407

Art Decco
PO Box 12504
Raleigh, NC 27605

Love and Rage
Supporters in Atlanta
PO Box 5236
Decatur, GA 30307

Cincinnati Autonomous
Anarchist Collective
PO Box 19589
Cincinnati, OH 45219

Liberate the Obsessed
PO Box 1916
Rapid City, SD 57709-1916

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

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

Revolutionary Group X
PO Box 6022
Chicago, IL 60680

Circle A Collective
1126 Marais
New Orleans, LA 70116

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

Aitail Collective
PO Box 7962
Austin, TX 78713-7962

United Anarchist Front
PO Box 1115
Whittier, CA 90609

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

CANADA

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

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

Autonomous Green Action
PO Box 2163 Station D
Ottawa, ONT K1P 5W4

Arm The Spirit
PO Box 57584 Jackson Station
Hamilton, ONT L8P 4X3

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

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

MEXICO

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

AÑO 3 NUMERO 4

ABRIL/MAYO DE 1992 \$1

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ANARQUICA Y REVOLUCIONARIA

CARTAS

**GUERRA DE LAS
CLASES**

**CRUZ NEGRA
ANARQUISTA**



JUSTICIA PARA LOS DETENIDOS DEL MARIEL

Estimados Amor y Rabia:

Quiero comunicarles algo que quizás sea de interés para ustedes. Ante todo, mis respetos para todos los que colaboran en el periódico.

Mi nombre es Roberto Rodríguez y quiero hablar sobre algo que seguramente muchos de ustedes tienen conocimiento: los refugiados cubanos del Mariel, llegados a estas tierras en 1980 y presos injustamente en las cárceles de este país.

Pues bien, nosotros nos preguntamos ¿por qué toda la prensa habla exclusivamente de los problemas políticos de Cuba y nadie se detiene a mirar la gran tragedia de los refugiados del Mariel? ¿hasta cuando seguirá el negocio de trata humana? Nadie se detiene a denunciar las violaciones de los derechos humanos que el gobierno de Estados Unidos ha cometido con los cubanos del Mariel encarcelados en distintas prisiones a lo largo y ancho del país, contra todas sus leyes constitucionales, durante doce años de sufrimientos, donde terminamos nuestras condenas y no somos puestos en libertad sino que continuamos detenidos por el Departamento de Inmigración por tiempo indefinido como si fuéramos alimañas indeseables; para después ser negociados con el gobierno de Castro, a pesar de que muchos de nosotros hemos sido encarcelados en sus prisiones. Sabemos que todo esto es inhumano, que todo esto son violaciones tanto del gobierno de Estados Unidos como del de

del mundo, quisiéramos también conocer más sobre las injusticias cometidas por el gobierno de Estados Unidos en Panamá, Irak, Viet Nam y Santo Domingo.

Sinceramente,

Roberto Rodríguez # 24434- 004
P.O. Box 1000
Oxford, Wisconsin, USA

CON AMOR Y RABIA DESDE LAS PRISIONES DE LA MIGRA

Estimadas/os compañer@s:

Desafortunadamente aún no hemos descripto las fronteras y esta carta es escrita desde uno de los peores lugares que han inventado los gobiernos para ejercer su control sobre la libertad de la gente: las prisiones de emigración. Vinimos a Canadá algún@s compañer@s que participamos en la Brigada Internacionalista "Buenaventura Durruti," con la intención de dar a conocer y de exponer las actividades de la Brigada en la reunión de la Red Amor y Rabia, a la vez que solicitamos la solidaridad del movimiento anarquista norteamericano para que la Brigada pueda seguir adelante con sus proyectos; por desgracia en nuestro regreso a USA fui detenida por la policía fronteriza yanqui.

Este incidente en vez de desanimarnos ha aumentado nuestros deseos por seguir en marcha el proyecto ya que gracias al apoyo, la solidaridad y el trabajo de vari@s compañer@s, especialmente del periódico Amor y Rabia en New York, la Brigada ha alcanzado logros importantes como el inicio de una red anarquista latinoamericana.



La Brigada Internacionalista "Buenaventura Durruti" es un proyecto autónomo de solidaridad con nuestros compañeros anarquistas en Latinoamérica. Se ha formado con la participación de algunos compañeros de Estados Unidos y México y pretende desarrollarse como proyecto piloto en Chile. La Brigada exorta a la comunidad anarquista internacional a que colaboren en este esfuerzo enviando donaciones materiales y monetarias. Para mayor información sobre la Brigada escribir a:

Brigada Internacional Anarquista "Buenaventura Durruti"
PO Box 3 Prince St Station
New York, NY 10012

dones, pruebas de embarazo, píldoras anticonceptivas, todo tipo de literatura sobre métodos alternativos para el cuidado de nuestros cuerpos y donaciones económicas.

Agradecemos de antemano su solidaridad con los pueblos latinoamericanos y con el movimiento anarquista latinoamericano. Esperando que este encierro no sea en vano.

Con Amor y Rabia.
Ana Hernandez M.

P.D. Agradesco a l@s compañer@s canadienses su apoyo en estos momentos difíciles. [Nota: Por fin nuestra compañera fué deportada a México]

...Y DE ARGENTINA

Queridos Compañeros:

Ante todo esperamos se encuentren en plena actividad.

Hemos recibido los ejemplares que nos enviaron de la revista; por cierto que el contenido es de excelente nivel. En cuanto a la convocatoria que formulan de colaboración, nos resulta muy interesante y deseáramos sumarnos a esta iniciativa. Los temas que trabajamos en nuestras reuniones de estudio y debate se refieren a: ecología social, economía a escala humana, feminismo, experiencias de autogestión comunitaria, tendencias y prácticas del anarquismo y tantos otros más específicos de nuestra realidad más cercana.

A nosotros nos toca padecer el capitalismo periférico con sus secuelas de marginación, miseria e ignorancia, con tasas de sobre explotación crecientes.

Respecto a las formas de colaborar con uds. en cuanto a traducciones o artículos esperamos sugerencias y propuestas. ¿Qué temas son los que más les interesan de esta parte del mundo? Tienen previsto participar de la campaña contra los "festejos" del V Centenario? Esperamos noticias. Reciban un fraternal saludo Anarquista.

Por Impulso Autogestionario,
Carlos Solero

Grupo Impulso Autogestionario
Castilla de Correo 984
2000 Rosario, Argentina

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CARTAS

Castro, pero nadie se pregunta, hasta cuando?

También conocemos la situación de Cuba y no vislumbramos nada alentador, sabemos que Castro no se va a caer mañana, al igual que sabemos que hay muchos bandidos esperando su caída para continuar explotando a Cuba y enriqueciéndose como lo han venido haciendo en estas tierras desde 1959. Sabemos que para estos capitalistas que conviven en este país, la problemática de los presos del Mariel no es asunto suyo.

Quisiéramos ver en sus páginas algo sobre los presos del Mariel, algún artículo sobre esta injusticia, una campaña para darlo a conocer al mundo o para obligar a estos cerdos a que nos consideren seres humanos. Sabemos que Castro es un dictador, pero también hay muchas otras pirañas con garras de rapia y tentáculos de pulpo esperando su caída, también no solo hay injusticias en Cuba sino alrededor

Por este medio solicitamos nuevamente el apoyo y la solidaridad de la comunidad anarquista para que la Brigada inicie sus actividades en Chile. Uno de los propósitos de la Brigada Durruti es crear un espacio para poder elaborar un periódico y que a la vez sirva de local para la realización de actividades alternativas como talleres, conciertos de música alternativa, centro de reunión y una cocina común, además estamos poniendo especial énfasis en la lucha en contra de la opresión de las mujeres en Latinoamérica.

Las necesidades más urgentes de la Brigada son la donación de una computadora con laser, diskets, audio cassettes (en blanco o con música alternativa) un proyector de pared para video VHS / NTSC, video cassettes (en blanco o con material alternativo — VHS / NTSC — preferiblemente en español) un fax, papel para fax, una fotocopidora, papel y tinta para la fotocopidora, con-

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 Concejo 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 Concejo de la Red. Las decisiones que requieren acción inmediata (de acuerdo con las decisiones de la Conferencia y el Concejo 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 especifi-

cos y en organizaciones que militan local 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:

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Box 3, Prince Street Station
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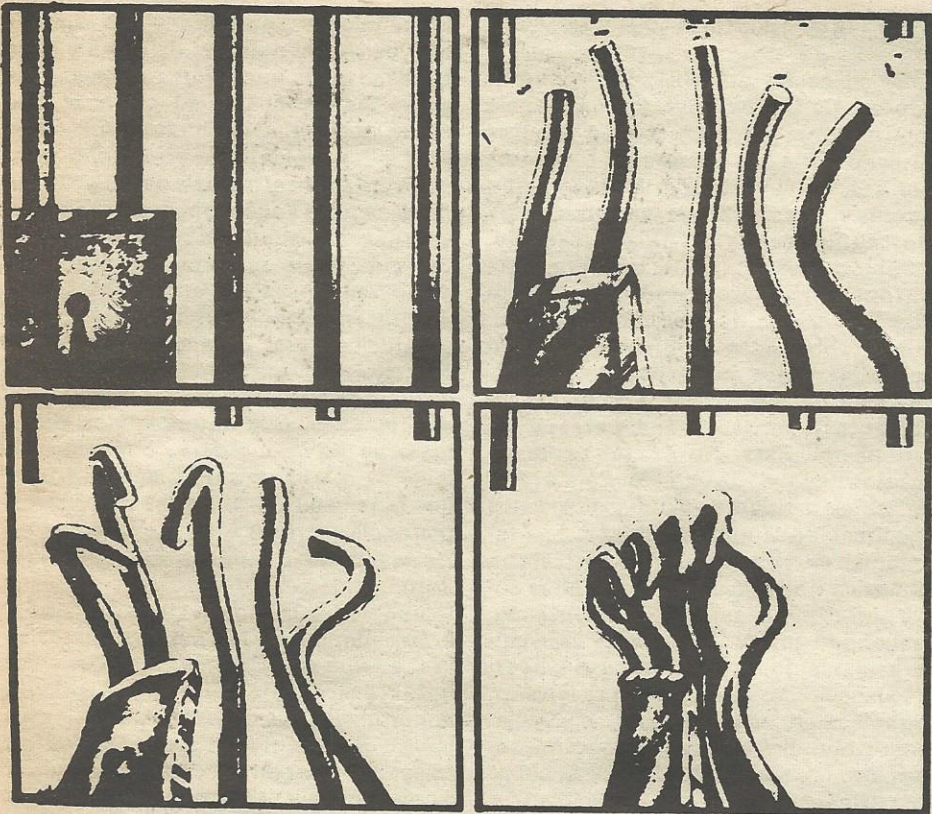
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Traductores:
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Intentamos tener la publicación lista para la segunda semana de cada mes, rogamos que las colaboraciones sean enviadas a la oficina antes del día siete de cada mes. Regularmente se les 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.

Aviso 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 Concejo 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.?



CRUZ NEGRA ANARQUISTA

EL 27 DE OCTUBRE DE 1991, FUÉ DETENIDO EL COMPAÑERO LIBERTARIO Andres Villaverde, tras cometer tremenda imprudencia al intentar realizar una acción de sabotaje en forma inesperada. Siendo conducido por efectivos de la Policía Nacional hacia la Comisaría del Distrito. Tres días más tarde pasa a ser interrogado por DIRCOTE (Organismo Contra el Terrorismo), al no encontrarse pruebas tangibles del delito es acusado de ser militante del Partido Comunista del Perú "Sendero Luminoso" y finalmente conducido al penal de máxima seguridad del Perú Castro-Castro, encontrándose hoy en el pabellón de los presos políticos independientes. Hoy ya han pasado cinco meses desde su detención y su caso no es nisiquiera abierto. El sistema penitenciario, además de todo el aparato burocrático que retarda que se abra el proceso, funciona a través de "coima" y "tarjetazos," motivo por el cual su expediente está olvidado.

Esta carta intenta desatar una campaña de solidaridad para con él, para solventar gastos de abogados y demás gastos legales. Además poder brindar al compañero víveres y para gastos de primera necesidad; siendo informado toda persona que remita colaboración.

Teresa Dávila
Jr. Mosquegwa 270 Dpto 708
Lima 1 Perú

SE FORMA RED DE ESTUDIANTES ANARQUISTAS EN CHILE

LOS COMPAÑEROS DE LA RED DE Estudiantes Anarquistas en Santiago de Chile nos informan que se han agrupado en dicha organización con la intención de coordinar acciones y actividades. En el presente comparten esfuerzos en la edición de un zine con los compañeros de Acción Directa y preparan un volante con motivo del Día Internacional de los Trabajadores, contando además con la colaboración de los compañeros de Acción Libertaria de Concepción para este fin.

Entre los proyectos futuros del grupo, están estudiando la posibilidad de aprovechar la oportunidad de tener un espacio en el aire en una nueva radio ("Madre Tierra") que les ha ofrecido conducir un programa.

Para ponerse en contacto con la Red de Estudiantes Anarquistas o para mayor información escribe a:

José Ego Aguirre
Piramide 337. San Joaquín
Santiago de Chile
Chile

(Por favor no poner otras señas en el sobre)



500 Años de lucha y resistencia de la mujer indígena y latinoamericana

EL PASADO 6 DE MARZO SE INAUGURÓ una exposición alusiva al Día Internacional de la Mujer bajo el título: "500 Años de Resistencia de la Mujer," en homenaje a la mujer indígena y latinoamericana, en la Galería de Arte de "La Peña del Bronx," localizada en pleno corazón del South Bronx en la ciudad de Nueva York.

La muestra colectiva de diferentes expresiones artísticas, realizada en su totalidad por mujeres, en celebración del mes de la mujer fué inaugurada con un programa artístico cultural que contó con la participación de mujeres cantautoras y poetisas latinoamericana-

nas, representando a la mujer en lucha de Ecuador, Colombia, Puerto Rico y Perú, además de la actuación de artistas folklóricos y del grupo Reflexiones, quienes brindaron su música de manera solidaria al evento.

La exhibición permaneció abierta durante todo el mes de marzo como muestra de solidaridad con el mes de la mujer y de resistencia de la mujer indígena y latinoamericana desde las propias "entrañas del monstruo."

Del movimiento cultural a la construcción del poder del pueblo mismo.

Vamos a la Peña del Bronx, es un centro comunitario alternativo mul-

ticultural, dedicado a la difusión de la cultura latinoamericana, no recibe ningún tipo de subvención gubernamental (ni desea recibirla), por lo que se mantiene gracias a las donaciones de compañeros y amigos. El próximo viernes, 1 de mayo tendrá lugar una celebración en honor del Día Internacional de los Trabajadores.

Vamos a la Peña del Bronx
226 E. 144 St. Piso 3
BX, NY 10451
(Detrás del Lincoln Hospital)
Teléfono (212) 402-9411

Class War

(Viene de la página 3)

nes, dando a entender que eran definitivamente sesiones de entrenamiento. Class War tenía un gran proyecto que intentaba tratar con el sexismo dentro de la organización, pero de igual importancia es el desarrollo de un análisis revolucionario en el que el sexismo no sea parte de una lista de presuntos productos del capitalismo, apropiadamente relegado en un grupo afín (¿o a un comité posrevolucionario?). La cuestión de los géneros debe ser central para lo que se entiende que es la organización para la revolución y que clase de actividades y cambios serán necesarios para obtener una sociedad libre e igualitaria.

EL PROBLEMA RACIAL Y LA FEDERACIÓN

Las preguntas sobre lo racial también fué uno de los conflictos centrales en la conferencia. La gente se cuestionaba el apoyar (si este fuera el caso) o no a los movimientos de liberación nacional. También se criticó a los organizadores por no hacer suficientes contactos con grupos no blancos. Pensé que estos argumentos eran importantes, pero que olvidaban un punto aun más impor-

tante: que no podemos hablar de razas y clases como si estas fueran cuestiones separadas. Esto es a lo que me refiero al titular este artículo "Nuestro Tiempo ha Llegado... Y Se Fue." Es anti-histórico (y tonto e inefectivo) imaginar en Europa un movimiento revolucionario de base proletaria que no sea anti-racista en su análisis del capitalismo. Antes de comenzar a pensar en un llamado para la verdadera revolución de clase internacionalista, antes de imaginar la solidaridad de una clase que trascendería las barreras raciales de la división racista del trabajo, Class War debería de centrarse en integrar a su análisis de clases el eslabón entre la industrialización Europa Occidental y el proceso colonial. Class War surgió de un movimiento anti-racista, pero todavía tiene incorporado muy poco análisis sobre la relación entre razas y clases, mientras proclama ser un organización de la clase trabajadora.

Lo racial tiene (y ha tenido por mucho tiempo) una importancia enorme en la política Europea. Por la forma de los acuerdos pos-coloniales de inmigración, un gran número de no-Europeos se han mudado a Europa Occidental desde la segunda guerra mundial, buscando mejores beneficios económicos y políticos.

Esto ha causado migración (y su corolario político, el racismo) y esta es una gran controversia social en varios países, incluyendo Inglaterra, Francia, y Alemania.

Se puede arguir que la reunificación de Alemania fue en parte un intento de satisfacer la demanda laboral sin generar una migración de gente de color. La decadencia de los imperios coloniales esta relacionada al aumento de la cooperación económica de Europa Occidental. Como los imperios Europeos han reducidos, los estados Europeos individualmente han sido incapaces de proveer alto (aunque desigualmente distribuido) nivel de vida para los Europeos blancos. La complicidad de la clase obrera blanca en el proceso colonial fué comprada con los productos de la explotación del Tercer Mundo. Actualmente la derecha esta ganando poder apoyándose en la reacción de la clase trabajadora blanca contra el flujo de inmigrantes que coincide con la incapacidad estatal de no poder darles su añorado alto nivel de vida que creen merecer. Fué el trabajo y la explotación de las colonias lo que hizo posible un relativamente alto nivel de vida para lo/as trabajadores/as en Europa Occidental, pero esto estaba dentro de los intereses capitalistas reforzando la creencia de que la prosperidad se debía a el empeño y a la superioridad cultural de los blancos Europeos. La triste ironía de la actual conexión entre el problema racial y de clase en Europa es que los emigrantes de las ex-colonias han resistido doblemente la carga de la economía

de Europa Occidental, primero cuando la construyeron y ahora que son culpados de su decadencia.

En esta situación, la ausencia de un análisis sobre el problema racial en cualquier movimiento de clase trabajadora de Europa Occidental puede parecer racismo, ignorancia o ambos.

¿CLASS WAR PARA NORTEAMÉRICA?

Es posible describir un argumento similar del movimiento de la clase trabajadora organizada en Norteamérica, y esto es por lo que creo que es una mala idea tratar de comenzar un Class War aquí.

Lo que encuentre útil de la conferencia es la importancia de situarse sobre entendimientos de las diferentes situaciones políticas en los distintos países. También creo que se debe poner más atención en la necesidad de desarrollar un movimiento anti-capitalista que no ignore la composición de sus propias clases. Yo aprendí cantidad de las personas que conocí en la conferencia y de los problemas y conflictos que allí se planteado. Yo espero que quienes lean esto encuentren mucho más que un intento de tirar por la borda a la Federación. Solo he tratado de ser honesta, evitando romanticismo e indicar algunos problemas para aquellos que piensan sin criticar, importar el modelo Class War para desarrollar una política revolucionaria en los estados unidos. ★

NOTA DE DOLOR

EL PASADO 4 DE MARZO falleció en el exilio el querido compañero y amigo anarcosindicalista Santiago Cobo a consecuencias de un paro cardíaco.

Militó en el Movimiento Libertario, desde su adolescencia en Cuba hasta que lo sorprendió la muerte en el exilio. Miembro fundador del colectivo editorial de la revista trimestral *Guáncara Libertaria* (órgano del Movimiento Libertario Cubano), contribuyendo con sus aportaciones y esfuerzos a la difusión de las ideas anarquistas, defendiendo siempre los ideales de libertad por los que luchó toda su vida.

Hasta luego compañero.

Resumen de los Artículos en Inglés Pág. 2 y 3 — Cartas — de nuestros lectores.

Pág. 4 — "Que sea lo próximo en Perú?" Un artículo de Rachel Rinaldo. Sobre la actual situación en el país latinoamericano.

Pág. 5 — "Los Mitos de Malcolm X" por Wayne Price.

En la misma página Tommy Lawless nos hace una crítica literaria del libro "Los Mitos de la Belleza" (Beauty Myth) de Naomi Wolf.

Pág. 6 y 7 — Notas de Agitación — nuestra acostumbrada sección de acción directa alrededor del mundo.

Pág. 8 y 9 — (centro) "Nuestro Tiempo Ha Llegado... Y Se Fue" por Kate Starr. Ver pag 3, sección español.

"La Huelga de la Oruga Explota al Capullo Laboral" por Matt Black. Un análisis sobre la huelga de los trabajadores del Sindicato de la Industria Automovilística (UAW) en la Planta La Oruga (Caterpillar) en Peoria, Illinois.

Bill Meyers nos narra la situación del movimiento alternativo en la actualidad en sus comentarios "Grupos Con Clase." También nos suministra direcciones y contactos de los grupos a través de USA.

Pág. 10 — Cruz Negra Anarquista — Nuestra sección dedicada a la ayuda y solidaridad con los presos anarquistas, políticos y de guerra alrededor del mundo.

Pág. 11 — Desde la Avenida Gogol — La habitual sección del Europa del Este.

Pág. 12 — Federación de Juventudes Anarquistas — La acostumbrada página del grupo de jóvenes anarquistas llena de buen humor, noticias, y contactos.



NUESTRO TIEMPO HA LLEGADO ...Y SE FUE

(Nota de la Autora: Este artículo fue escrito para un periódico anarquista revolucionario Norteamericano, por una norteamericana clase media, sobre un periódico revolucionario británico de base (trabajadora) y una federación política, que condena al movimiento anarquista. Es posible que aun esta sea útil, a pesar de sus limitaciones inherentes.)

LA FEDERACIÓN "CLASS WAR" (guerra de clases), que aboga y trabaja por una revolución internacional anti-capitalista de la clase obrera, surgió originalmente (primero como un periódico) del movimiento anarquista en los ochentas. El periódico ganó su reputación brillante por la coherencia estelar de los violentos enfrentamientos entre anarquistas, policías y fascistas, sus reportes y análisis de la violencia prevalente en la vida cotidiana de la clase obrera en Inglaterra. El periódico al formato tabloide de la prensa regular, usando humor y audacia para ganar lo que pocos periódicos anarquistas han logrado: una audiencia de lectores más allá de la escena anarquista.

Como los lectores crecieron y el proyecto del periódico maduró, Class War sufrió una transformación radical convirtiéndose en federación con cuotas de membresía, eliminó la A circulada del

membrete del periódico, autodefiniéndose diferente de lo que ellos declaran que está dominado por la clase media, basado en un estilo de vida y que ofrecen un enfoque esporádico de la escena anarquista. En esta transición, algunos anarquistas abandonaron Class War y varios ex-comunistas se integraron, dándole a la federación su carácter peculiar.

No es un partido tradicional de izquierda (aunque parece estar adoptando progresivamente tales aptitudes), Class War es usualmente visto en el contexto de las otras organizaciones anarquistas de base en Inglaterra, como el anarcosindicalista Movimiento Acción Directa (DAM), la Federación Anarquista-Comunista (ACF) y el Grupo de Trabajadores/as Anarquistas. A pesar de su modesto número de afiliados (menos de 150), Class War reporta un significativo número de simpatizantes y generalmente goza de una muy buena influencia en la gran prensa desproporcional a su tamaño. La Federación consiste de diferentes grupos a través de Gran Bretaña. Estos grupos distribuyen el periódico, se organizan localmente, construyen la organización y participan en la producción de su publicación teórica interna: *The Heavy Stuff*. El periódico *Class War* se edita en Londres.

LA CONFERENCIA DE CLASS WAR

En el otoño de 1991, la Federación (Guerra de Clases) tuvo su conferencia internacional por cinco días en Londres titulada "Nuestro Tiempo Ha Llegado." Por acá, en las colonias, ha bido algún interés en Class War, así que hubo varios Norteamericanos en la conferencia. También hubo bastante asistencia de Europa Occidental (norte y sur), un pequeño grupo de Australianos, pero, lamentablemente el ofrecimiento de subsidiar viajes por parte de la Federación no fué efectivo, pudiendo únicamente financiar a una persona de Europa del Este. No asistió nadie de Asia, Africa o Sud América. La mayoría de los participantes fueron blancos y poco más de la mitad hombres. Las reuniones se condujeron en inglés con limitadas traducciones, hubo talleres sobre anti-capitalismo, revolución, Irlanda, sexualidad, fútbol, las políticas de la cultura, sexismo, movimientos de liberación nacional, el apoyo a prisioneros, organización comunitaria, el Nuevo Orden Mundial, Europa '92 y otras temas. La semana concluyó con una pobre concurrencia a una demostración, una muy buena asistencia al show de Chumbawamba adornado con la presencia de penderos fascistas y la obstrucción de la policía.

Para mi satisfacción la conferencia estuvo nutrida de conflictos políticos. Hubo muchos argumentos sobre una infinidad de tópicos, pero a los que les dedicaré mi atención es a las peleas sobre sexismo y racismo, que no simplemente son de mi interés particular sino que también están relacionadas a las razones por las cuales yo no aconsejo que se abandone todo y nos unamos a la versión de Class War de revolución internacional anti-capitalista.

LA FEDERACIÓN Y SEXISMO

Mi primer encuentro con el sexismo en la conferencia, sucedió cuando uno de los organizadores hablaba con un conocido, me detube escuchar y como ellos estaban hablando sobre sexismo, él empezó a dirigirse a mí, lanzando una elaborada defensa de la pobre representación de las mujeres en la conferencia. Traté de hacer preguntas al respecto, pero el me interrumpía enojándose y poniéndose más a la defensiva, así que lo corté y me fui por un té. Más tarde se me acercó bailando, me tomó de los brazos y me dijo que esperaba que yo fuera a la fiesta de esa noche. Casi me vomito. Esto fué solo el comienzo. Durante la conferencia, las reuniones de las mujeres fueron paralelas

las reuniones generales sobre algunos tópicos. Asistí a un par de estas y hallé varias razones que reforzaron mis ideas sobre las reuniones. Al principio, me chocó notar que las mujeres de Class War no parecían tener mucho conocimiento sobre el análisis de las políticas de clase de la Federación y la revolución internacionalista. Ellas parecían identificar más como mujeres Inglesas que como miembros de una clase trabajadora internacional mucho menos revolucionarias. Parecían tener poco conocimiento sobre anarquismo, feminismo, movimientos autónomos del resto de Europa, y autonomistas de el resto de Europa, contrastando con las mujeres que no era de Class War pero que eran capaces de hablar sobre la importancia específica de las mujeres en los iminentes cambios en el sistema Europeo.

También había contrastes en cuanto a la experiencia de las mujeres de Class War en enfrentamientos y demostraciones. Por otra parte parecían entender la importancia de la participación de la mujer en determinadas experiencias de clase, y al final de la conferencia fueron capaces de desarrollar una crítica sobre dominación masculina en la federación y se inquietaron por la cultura machista en la clase trabajadora. (Copias de esta crítica pueden conseguir a través del Grupo Revolucionario X — su dirección aparece en nuestra lista de contactos).

Una noche en el "pub" una mujer me dijo que pensaba que estas reuniones eran una mala señal para la organización, que las mujeres estaban menos experimentadas políticamente que los hombres y que no estaban muy acertadas analíticamente en cuanto a la organización. Discutí con ella que en cambio yo veía en esto muy buenas razones para tener estas reuniones, señalando que no solo se trata de Class War saliendo del "gueto anarquista" sino de involucrar a más gente, evidentemente sin alienar a las mujeres de la clase trabajadora como hace la mayoría de la izquierda.

Entonces, las mujeres leyeron su crítica a la conferencia. La reacción de algunos de los hombres, especialmente de los que tenían prominentes roles en la conferencia, fueron tan extremas, sexistas e ignorantes que no cabe dudas de que Class War tiene un largo camino por recorrer. Por ejemplo, un hombre dijo que las reuniones solo para mujeres debieron realmente haber sido sobre la mujer y no "sesiones de quejas" sobre los hombres de la organización. Otro más, cuestionó lo apropiado de estas reuniones

(Continúa en la página 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. Proveeremos 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 vivo 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 inmigración

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 francófono en Norteamérica. Nos organizamos contra el racismo de los "skin-heads", 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 incontestable 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 - AYT) 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 concierne 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.